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Foreword by John Behr



Pentecostal

Orthodoxy



Toward an  
Ecumenism  
of the Spirit



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## RECONSTRUCTING FOUNDATIONS



OF THE MANY RESOURCES on the amalgamation of evangelical, charismatic/Pentecostal and liturgical/sacramental streams, few attempts have been made to offer a concise historical outline of the major expressions that encapsulate such spirituality.<sup>1</sup> Even fewer resources address how such expressions have contributed to segments of pentecostalism now looking toward the recovery of the Great Tradition.

This chapter looks to consider the history of the church expressions that combine the evangelical, liturgical, and charismatic streams of the church. These three streams, which to some extent can be seen being practiced in much of the early church, as illustrated in Lesslie Newbigin's book *The Household of God*, represent an outline that fits the practical and theological journey of pentecostals recovering the historic Great Tradition.<sup>2</sup> In truth, while other claims can be made in regard to other streams (e.g., the social justice stream), all Christian traditions will hold to, in one way or another, the existence of a charismatic, evangelical, or liturgical/sacramental element in their ecclesiology. I will examine three of these expressions in particular: evangelical orthodoxy, the convergence worship movement, and

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<sup>1</sup>Gordon T. Smith, *Evangelical, Sacramental, and Pentecostal: Why the Church Should Be All Three* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017); Winfield Bevins, *Ever Ancient, Ever New: The Allure of Liturgy for a New Generation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2019).

<sup>2</sup>Lesslie Newbigin, *The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008).

ancient-future faith. These expressions will be situated within the broader paleo-orthodox movement and examined as antecedents to a Pentecostal orthodoxy. This work claims the paleo-orthodox movement as a valid, Protestant, theological, Spirit-led renewal movement dedicated to the recovery of the Great Tradition.

### PALEO-ORTHODOXY

Since 1979, Thomas Oden has used the term *paleo-orthodoxy* to describe “an orthodoxy that holds steadfast to classic consensual teaching, in order to make it clear that the ancient consensus of faith is starkly distinguishable from neo-orthodoxy. The ‘paleo’ stratum of orthodoxy is its oldest layer. For Christians this means that which is apostolic and patristic.”<sup>3</sup> Paleo-orthodoxy, or “ancient correct belief,” refers to the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century Protestant theological movement that sees the essentials of Christian theology in the consensual understanding of the faith as displayed within Christianity’s first five centuries, the first seven ecumenical councils, and the writings of the church fathers before the Great Schism.<sup>4</sup> As a theological movement, it looks to critique the liberal rationalism and subjectivity of Christian modernity and to answer the questions of Christian postmodernity by recovering classical Christianity. John C. Peckham writes that paleo-orthodoxy looks to “encourage Protestantism (especially evangelicalism) to retrieve the orthodox consensus of Christianity, particularly that of the patristic tradition.”<sup>5</sup>

The paleo-orthodox movement, along with its expressions (evangelical orthodoxy, convergence worship, ancient-future faith, Pentecostal orthodoxy), most commonly takes a communitarian approach to theology. Similar to the canonical approach, the communitarian approach sees the canon of Scripture as authoritative, yet emphasizes the authority of the Christian community in adopting what Peckham calls a

<sup>3</sup>Thomas C. Oden, *The Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 34.

<sup>4</sup>Kenneth Tanner and Christopher A. Hall, eds., *Ancient and Postmodern Christianity: Paleo-Orthodoxy in the Twenty-First Century* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup>John C. Peckham, *Canonical Theology: The Biblical Canon, Sola Scriptura, and Theological Method* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 95.

“community-determined extracanonical rule of faith or other normative interpreter for theological doctrine.”<sup>6</sup> An extracanonical normative interpretive arbiter is a way of interpreting Scripture and developing the authority of doctrine away from a solely scriptural (*sola Scriptura*) approach. It argues that community can also have a decisive say in the interpretation of Scripture and in developing authoritative doctrine.

This fact is significant for paleo-orthodox segments within Protestantism, since a community-determined extracanonical normative interpretive arbiter represents one way of thinking about a recovery of an ancient consensual method of interpreting Scripture. Roman Catholicism’s communitarian approach to theological method, for example, involves its magisterium (teaching office) as its extracanonical normative interpretive arbiter, while Eastern Orthodoxy adheres to what it has come to know as “the rule of faith,” which is a symbiotic relationship between the church, Scripture, and the apostolic tradition.<sup>7</sup>

In Protestant postliberal renewal movements such as paleo-orthodoxy, extracanonical normative interpretive arbiters also make meaning within the practices and faith of a believing community. Paleo-orthodoxy, in particular, adopts Vincent of Lérins’s rule of faith—*ubique, semper, omnibus* (everywhere, always, and by all)—as its guide toward its consensual and Spirit-guided discernment of Scripture.<sup>8</sup> The Vincentian rule, according to Oden, is the “decisive text for orthodox ancient ecumenical method,” because agreement at all three levels (that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all) “assures reliable truth.”<sup>9</sup> Oden’s reliance on the Vincentian rule for the recovery of classical consensual Christianity is shared by many high-church Anglicans, and within Methodism (Pentecostalism’s direct antecedent) John Wesley himself was influenced heavily by the Vincentian rule.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 74.

<sup>7</sup>Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 75-79.

<sup>8</sup>Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 96.

<sup>9</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 157, 163.

<sup>10</sup>Albert C. Outler, in speaking of John Wesley’s five principles of theological and biblical interpretation, states, “His last rule is actually a variation on the Anglican sense of the old Vincentian canon that the historical experience of the church, though fallible, is the better judge overall of Scripture’s

While teaching at Drew University, Oden was challenged to study the classical writers of the Christian tradition by his Jewish mentor, Will Herberg. This led Oden to have what he describes as a radical “change of heart” regarding the importance of patristic intervention within modern and postmodern theology. Oden says, “Holding one finger up, looking straight at me with fury in his eyes, [Herberg] said, ‘You will remain theologically uneducated until you study carefully Athanasius, Augustine and Aquinas.’”<sup>11</sup>

It was Oden who coined the term *paleo-orthodoxy*. For Oden orthodoxy is defined as “nothing more or less than the ancient consensual tradition of Spirit guided discernment of Scripture,” which consists of the “integrated biblical teaching as interpreted in its most consensual classic period.”<sup>12</sup>

Oden sees paleo-orthodoxy as a renewal movement emblematic of a new ecumenical reality that is a work of the Holy Spirit grounded in a personal faith in Jesus Christ. This movement can take a number of forms (Pentecostal, Catholic, Orthodox, or charismatic) and represents “a very deliberate, intentional ecumenizing of renewal movements.”<sup>13</sup> In speaking of the terms “renewing church,” “renewing Christians,” and “renewing Christianity,” Oden states that all “refer to a single movement that is full of vitality and touched with many features of spontaneity, charisma, and inspiration.” Further, the term *movement* “does not yield easily to being described as a static object or an inert standing entity. . . . If it were not moving and changing it would not be a movement.”<sup>14</sup> Oden’s extensive theological body of work continues to inspire innovative and creative ways in which Protestants can think about the recovery of the Great Tradition.<sup>15</sup>

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meanings than later interpreters are likely to be, especially on their own.” See Outler, *John Wesley’s Sermons: An Introduction* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991), 67.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas C. Oden, *A Change of Heart: A Personal and Theological Memoir* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014), 136.

<sup>12</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 24, 31, 129.

<sup>13</sup>Austin Welch, “Thomas Oden Interview on Church Renewal,” *Juicy Ecumenism*, May 19, 2017, <https://juicyecumenism.com/2017/05/19/thomas-oden-interview-church-renewal/>.

<sup>14</sup>Thomas C. Oden, *Turning Around the Mainline: How Renewal Movements Are Changing the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2006), 41.

<sup>15</sup>Oden’s extensive work on the matter includes *After Modernity . . . What? Agenda for Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992); *Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (New York:

Besides Oden, the most prominent contributor to the paleo-orthodox movement has been Robert Webber. In 1965 Webber, a Baptist fundamentalist, underwent a transformative shift in theological and ecclesiological thinking that ultimately led to his 1972 decision to enter the Episcopal Church. Fifteen years after Newbigin's *Household of God* and almost in parallel with Thomas Oden's work, Webber went on to chair the Chicago Call Conference, an appeal to evangelicals to recover an orthodox continuity with historic Christianity. As professor of theology at Wheaton College, Webber held a strong conviction that evangelicalism suffered from a reductionism in regard to historic faith and practice and thus had hoped that the Chicago Call would help "to restore a sense of historical awareness among evangelicals."<sup>16</sup>

As a distinguished evangelical scholar and former professor of theology at Wheaton College, Webber is credited with coining the phrase "ancient-future."<sup>17</sup> In calling for an evangelical appreciation of the historic Christian calendar, Webber remarks, "The road to the future runs through the past."<sup>18</sup> He valued a recovery of the Great Tradition among Protestantism, arguing that a return to classical consensual Christian truth possesses the power to speak to a postmodern world dissatisfied with the modern version of evangelical faith and with the current innovations that have no connection with the past.<sup>19</sup>

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HarperCollins, 2003); *Classical Christianity: A Systematic Theology* (New York: HarperOne, 1992); *Change of Heart: A Personal and Theological Memoir* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2014); and last but certainly not least, his editing of the *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*. Oden has also done extensive work in the rediscovering of early African Christian heritage, which has had a profound influence on current Afro-Latino ecclesial identity. Works written on the matter include *How Africa Shaped the Christian Mind: Rediscovering the African Seedbed of Western Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007); *Early Libyan Christianity: Uncovering a North African Tradition* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011); *The African Memory of Mark: Reassessing Early Church Tradition* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2011); and *The Rebirth of African Orthodoxy: Return to Foundations* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2016).

<sup>16</sup>Robert Webber and Donald Bloesch, eds., *The Orthodox Evangelicals: Who They Are and What They Are Saying* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978), 35.

<sup>17</sup>Webber was utilizing "convergence worship movement" until Leonard Sweet gave him the terminology "ancient-future."

<sup>18</sup>Robert E. Webber, *Ancient-Future Time: Forming Spirituality Through the Christian Year* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2004), 11.

<sup>19</sup>Robert E. Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith: Rethinking Evangelicalism for a Postmodern World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999), 29. His published works in ancient-future Christian spirituality have been acclaimed by Anglicans, evangelicals, and charismatics alike and include *Common Roots: The*

## QUALIFYING CRITERIA FOR RENEWAL MOVEMENTS

Now that I have offered a brief introduction to the paleo-orthodox movement, it would behoove us to pause and reflect on whether the paleo-orthodox movement ought to be considered a valid Spirit-led renewal movement. If so, what definition exists for validating renewal movements? What are some of the qualifying criteria?

Donald A. Maxam defines church renewal in sociological terms as “individuals or groups who were implicitly or explicitly critical of the contemporary life, practice or thought of the Christian Church in the United States, and sought to work individually and corporately to change the church.”<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Howard Snyder sees a sociological dynamic to renewal movements that operates as “God’s work by his Spirit to create Christian community and to renew his people when they fall into unfaithfulness.” These renewal movements, as opposed to church revivals, represent the inner dynamics of this work of the Spirit. As qualifying criteria, Snyder proposes that a renewal movement be a “theologically definable religious resurgence which arises and remains within, or in continuity with, historic Christianity, and which has a significant (potentially measurable) impact on the larger church in terms of number of adherents, intensity of belief and commitment, and/or the creation or revitalization of institutional expressions of the church.”<sup>21</sup>

Snyder’s definition and criteria for a renewal movement are significant when one considers that the historical analysis of his book covers Pentecostalism’s ecclesial antecedents (pietism, Moravianism, and Methodism). For Snyder, these three religious groups, when examined under the lens

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*Original Call to an Ancient-Future Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009); *Evangelicals on the Canterbury Trail: Why Evangelicals Are Attracted to the Liturgical Church* (New York: Morehouse, 2013); *Worship Old and New* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994); *Ancient-Future Worship: Proclaiming and Enacting God’s Narrative* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2008); *Ancient-Future Faith; Ancient-Future Time; and Ancient-Future Evangelism: Making Your Church a Faith-Forming Community* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2003). Webber also served as the main editor for *The Complete Library of Christian Worship*, 8 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), a compendium for practical worship.

<sup>20</sup>Donald A. Maxam, “The Church Renewal Movement in Sociological Perspective,” *Review of Religious Research* 23, no. 2 (December 1981): 195-204.

<sup>21</sup>Howard A. Snyder, *Signs of the Spirit: How God Reshapes the Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1997), 9, 34.



he provides, are renewal movements in the sociological and religious senses. A closer examination of Snyder's historical exploration in *Signs of the Spirit* reveals a deep appreciation for an ongoing pneumatological presence within the life of the church, which for Snyder is inclusive of the charismatic renewal movement. One must wonder, however, why Snyder hardly makes mention of Pentecostalism, and whether he considers global Pentecostalism to be a renewal movement at all. These questions are probably best left for another work, more adept to covering such queries in full.

Snyder's definition serves this work as an effective blueprint for examining, identifying, and validating the paleo-orthodox movement as a genuine renewal movement within postmodernity. The first criteria given by Snyder is that of a resurgence of sorts that must take place within such a renewal movement. A renewal movement by nature is not something brand new but something that is being "re-newed," rising again into activity or prominence.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, for a renewal movement to be legitimate, there must be something that is resurging. So what is resurging or being renewed in the paleo-orthodox movement?

The first area of resurgence or renewal in the paleo-orthodox movement is the recovery of classical consensual teaching. Oden speaks of a "rebirth of orthodoxy," by which he means first and foremost the recovery of "integrated biblical teaching as interpreted in its most consensual classic period." This teaching can also be referred to as either ancient or classical consensual scriptural teaching and encompasses the first five centuries of the Common Era, inclusive of the translation and interpretation of Scripture by the earliest orthodox believers. For Oden, "No profound recovery of orthodoxy can occur apart from the recovery of its classic texts."<sup>23</sup> John Wesley, speaking of the same, states:

The most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being both nearest to the fountain, and eminently endued with the Spirit by whom all Scripture was given . . . I speak chiefly of those who wrote before the Council of Nicea.

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<sup>22</sup>Merriam-Webster, s.v. "resurgence (n.)," accessed March 31, 2022, [www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/resurgence](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/resurgence).

<sup>23</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 29, 98.

But who would not likewise desire to have some acquaintance with those that followed them? With St. Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, Augustine, and above all, the man of a broken heart, Ephraim Syrus?<sup>24</sup>

As opposed to the rebirth of orthodoxy occurring within other areas of people's lives, such as worship, the leading indicator of the rebirth of orthodoxy in the academy for Oden is the recovery of historical scriptural interpretation.<sup>25</sup>

The second area where there is a renewal or resurgence for paleo-orthodoxy is in the church's liturgy and sacramental spirituality (especially the Eucharist). If for Oden the rebirth of orthodoxy means the recovery of classical consensual teaching, then for Webber the rebirth of orthodoxy means the recovery of biblical and historical worship. Unlike Oden, Webber's focus within the Protestant recovery of the Great Tradition is mostly centered on worship, as displayed in his numerous writings, in particular *Worship Old and New* and *Ancient-Future Worship*. In *Worship Old and New*, Webber advocates for a blended (old and new) worship that "respects the tradition yet seeks to incorporate worship styles formed by the contemporary church." This type of worship is drawn from the historical worshipping community at large, looking sympathetically at liturgical worship as well as worship within the various reformational churches and beyond. As a practical matter, *Worship Old and New* focuses itself on the four acts of "entrance, service of the Word, service of the Eucharist and the acts of dismissal."<sup>26</sup> For Webber, these acts are performed in conjunction with the biblical narrative of the people of God's way of being and worshipping within both the Old and New Testaments. Furthermore, these four acts, according to Webber,

draw the worshipper into the experience of symbolizing a relationship to God through a joyful entrance that brings the worshipping community into God's presence, the reading and preaching of Scripture that speak to felt needs, a Eucharistic response that celebrates Christ's healing presence at

<sup>24</sup>Thomas C. Oden, *John Wesley's Scriptural Christianity: A Plain Exposition of His Teaching on Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), 66.

<sup>25</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 97.

<sup>26</sup>Webber, *Worship Old and New*, 13-14.

the table, and a mission-oriented dismissal that sends the people forth into the world to love and serve the Lord.<sup>27</sup>

In both *Worship Old and New* and *Ancient-Future Worship*, worship—as a whole but in particular Protestant evangelical worship—must “do God’s story.” By this Webber means that worship must “connect creation with God’s involvement in the history of Israel, with his incarnation, death, resurrection, ascension, eternal intercession, and coming again to establish his rule over all creation.” In *Ancient-Future Worship* (written after *Worship Old and New*), this is done, first, by way of a worship that remembers its past through *historical recitation* of preaching, creeds, and songs, as well as through a *dramatic reenactment* of the Lord’s Supper and other liturgical rites, which “draws the worshipper into the action, not as an observer but as a participant.”<sup>28</sup> Second, a worship that does God’s story *anticipates the future*. Webber calls for an appreciation of the divine design found in the creation liturgy as described in Genesis 1–3, arguing, “If the creation liturgy expresses a divine design to the whole created order, what does that say about worship? It says that worship is not thrown together, that it too, like the rest of creation, is ordered and reflects the divine design.”<sup>29</sup> This divine design includes the keeping of a Sabbath as God’s vision for the world and a recognition and appreciation of temple space along with holy living.

The second distinction made by Synder’s definition of a genuine renewal movement is that whatever the resurgence is or whatever is being renewed must remain within and have continuity with historic Christianity. Here paleo-orthodoxy’s adamant recovery of both classical theology and liturgical sacramental worship is made stronger by its use of the Vincentian rule (“everywhere, always, and by all”) as its official extracanonical normative interpretive arbiter. The Vincentian method as a rule of faith aids adherents of paleo-orthodoxy in distinguishing, as Oden puts it, “fraudulent expressions of faith from true faith.”<sup>30</sup> It does so by employing

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<sup>27</sup>Webber, *Worship Old and New*, 14.

<sup>28</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Worship*, 71, 51.

<sup>29</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Worship*, 60.

<sup>30</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 161.

universality, apostolic antiquity, and conciliar consent within the historic community of believers (especially Christianity's first five centuries) as a criteria for discovering truth.

This new ecumenical methodology (universality, apostolic antiquity, and conciliar consent) provides paleo-orthodox Protestants with a guideline for dealing with theological and biblical disagreements. Per Oden, when disagreements arise, “the universal prevails over the particular, the older apostolic witness prevails over the newer alleged general consent, and conciliar actions and decisions prevail over faith-claims as yet untested by conciliar acts.”<sup>31</sup> This methodology not only allows paleo-orthodoxy to meet Snyder's second criteria (historic Christian continuity), but, according to Oden, also makes room for “Orthodox, Catholics and Protestants . . . [who] despite diverse liturgical and cultural memories, find unexpected common ground ecumenically by returning to classic interpreters of scripture texts that still stand as authoritative for teaching today.”<sup>32</sup>

Third, Snyder says that a renewal movement must have a measurable impact on the broader church in regard to number of adherents and intensity of belief and commitment to the movement. Whether or not paleo-orthodoxy, along with a Pentecostal orthodoxy as one of its various expressions, will have such a such an impact long term must be mainly left up to future researchers to decide. But given both my experience and research on the future growth of Pentecostalism, I do anticipate that Pentecostal orthodoxy as an expression of paleo-orthodoxy can and will have a major impact on the broader Christian world, particularly by way of ecumenism. Philip Jenkins, in speaking of Pentecostalism and its global growth and impact, suggests that, according to projections made by David Barrett and Teresa Watanabe, “Pentecostal believers should cross the one billion mark before 2050.”<sup>33</sup> In contrast, the population of Eastern Orthodox believers by 2050, according to Barrett in the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2001), will have “shrunk to less than 3 percent of the world's

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<sup>31</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 171-72.

<sup>32</sup>Oden, *Rebirth of Orthodoxy*, 186.

<sup>33</sup>Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9.

population. . . . In the worst-case scenario, the total number of Orthodox believers in the world by 2050 might actually be less than the Christian population of a single nation.”<sup>34</sup>

This work will argue for an understanding of Pentecostalism as a biblical and historical spirituality (*charismata*) among “people of the Spirit.”<sup>35</sup> It will also argue that this Pentecostalism can be best situated ecclesially within the mystical and monastic Christian traditions, especially Eastern Orthodoxy. If that is the case, there exists a strong correlation between Pentecostalism as a spirituality, Eastern Orthodoxy, and future demographic projections. If the Orthodox population is expected to shrink because of demographic changes and shifting cultural implications, then its mystical and monastic spirituality will shrink with it unless it is kept alive.<sup>36</sup> Here, a Pentecostal orthodoxy within a booming Pentecostal population has the potential to not only keep the Eastern mystical and monastic spirituality alive but to see it blossom.

Snyder’s last criteria for a renewal movement is that it must create or revitalize institutional expressions of the church. Here one could point to both the various institutional organizations that embody elements of paleo-orthodoxy and to older and more established organizations that have been revitalized. Newer organizations such as the Charismatic Episcopal Church, the Communion of Evangelical Episcopal Churches, the Union of Charismatic Orthodox Churches, and to some degree the Joint College of African American Pentecostal Bishops have been created in order to practice the recovery, renewal, and rebirth of a particular theological or liturgical/sacramental stream in amalgamation with others.<sup>37</sup> As to revitalization occurring within older, already established organizations, the Anglican Church of North America is a good example. The Anglican Church of North America continues to be shaped by paleo-orthodox expressions that stem from Webber’s work.

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<sup>34</sup>Jenkins, *Next Christendom*, 111.

<sup>35</sup>A term utilized by Stanley M. Burgess.

<sup>36</sup>Jenkins, *Next Christendom*, 110.

<sup>37</sup>Most recently there has been another branch off the Communion of Evangelical Episcopal Churches called the Continuing Evangelical Episcopal Communion. See Continuing Evangelical Episcopal Communion, accessed November 13, 2021, <https://ceec.church/>.

Having situated paleo-orthodoxy as a valid renewal movement, before I turn to its various ecclesial expressions, I must offer a word concerning the tendency to become overreliant on or uncritical of the recovery of the Great Tradition as Oden and Webber present it. First, in analyzing their overall perspective on a return to patristic roots, many times there seems to be a resounding consensus for a Christian European universality devoid of ethnic or cultural presence. Admittedly, as alluded to earlier, Oden in his later years did develop incredible introductory works regarding the importance of Africa and African theology within ancient Christianity, but to some extent the European framework still exists. Vince Bantu, in making the case for a dominant Romanization of early Christianity, makes this clear when he states, “Despite the multiethnic and international presence of the universal church during the fourth century Eusebius presents the Christian faith as ‘inextricably interwoven’ with the Roman Empire as his construction of Christian identity became foundational for subsequent Western iterations of church history down to the present day.”<sup>38</sup>

Adherents of paleo-orthodoxy, in particular Afro-Latino adherents of the pentecostal orthodox expression, should consider strongly Bantu’s work and seek the benefits that come from examining a broader, more robust cultural study of the recovery of the Great Tradition inclusive of non-Eurocentric Christian identity, which stems from theological expressions developed in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.<sup>39</sup>

Another criticism of the overreliance on how Webber and Oden present the recovery of the Great Tradition is that the paleo-orthodox framework can sometimes also seem to favor dialogue with Eastern sources over Western Roman Catholic or Protestant traditions. This type of thinking necessitates a corrective inclusive of both Roman Catholic and Protestant voices, as attested by Anglican-Orthodox, Lutheran-Orthodox, and Catholic-Orthodox ecumenical dialogues.<sup>40</sup> Further, in reading Oden and Webber’s presentation

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<sup>38</sup>Vince L. Bantu, *A Multitude of All Peoples: Engaging Ancient Christianity’s Global Identity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2020), 18.

<sup>39</sup>Bantu, *Multitude of All Peoples*, 72.

<sup>40</sup>Geoffrey Wainwright and Paul McPartlan, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Ecumenical Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), particularly chaps. 3 and 6, can serve as a great resource for those seeking more information on the various contributions made by various traditions to

of the recovery of the Great Tradition, it can come off as almost mythic, fantastic, or even bloodless due to its inattentiveness to the dynamics of power and oppression in its reconstruction of a consensual proto-orthodoxy. Missing are the accounts of the Donatist martyrs or the forceful and violent conversion of “pagans” in fourth-century Gaza. Both accounts have deep cultural, material, and political implications for how people of varying beliefs and cultures in the Christian tradition are viewed and treated, a subject that neither Oden’s nor Webber’s sanitized historical recovery acknowledges.

Here again, Bantu is correct when, in reflecting on how violence was perceived in a Constantinian Christian state, writes, “The sentiment that God uses Christian agents to carry out violent acts for divine purposes is one that is strongly rooted in the administration of Constantine and, more importantly, in the Christians who lauded his efforts.”<sup>41</sup> The bloody history of the sometimes-brutal power and influence exercised by Roman emperors in attempting to settle theological disputes (e.g., the Nestorian and monophysite controversies), especially in Africa, has for many African Americans and Latinx Christians led to finding a better fit in the churches that came out of Chalcedon for the recovery of the Great Tradition, a topic which will be picked up in chapter four.

I begin by examining the seminal and foundational work of Lesslie Newbigin, from which most, if not all, of the paleo-orthodox movement’s theological framework comes.

## THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD

**Conceptual framework.** Any conversation concerning three streams of renewal movements within the life of the church as an expression of the paleo-orthodox movement must include Lesslie Newbigin’s *The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church*. Over sixty years ago, Newbigin (a bishop in the Church of South India) set out to answer the question, “By what is the Church constituted?”<sup>42</sup> He argues that the

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matters of faith and doctrine and on the recovery of the Great Tradition via a “transconfessional” recovery of a “reconciled diversity.”

<sup>41</sup>Bantu, *Multitude of All Peoples*, 17.

<sup>42</sup>Lesslie Newbigin, *The Household of God: Lectures on the Nature of the Church* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1953), 9.

church's nature is inherently *Protestant, Catholic, and Pentecostal*. For Newbigin, these three streams, fragmented by human sinfulness, will have to somehow be reconciled if the church is to succeed in its ecumenical and missional efforts in the world. His thinking is emblematic of the lived pastoral experience with the Church of South India, which was an amalgamation of Anglican, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Reformed theology.<sup>43</sup>

**Purpose.** The purpose of Newbigin's work seems to be the continual development of a missional and ecumenical agenda connected to the question of ecclesial identity. To this end, Newbigin himself states that he will "refer to three such factors: the breakdown of Christendom, the missionary experience of the Churches in the lands outside of the old Christendom, and the rise of the modern ecumenical movement."<sup>44</sup>

**Gifts.** Although far more influenced by neo-orthodox thinking, Newbigin's work is an early developmental pattern for the three-stream expression found in paleo-orthodoxy. What is more, by placing Pentecostalism with the other designations, he provides one of the first instances where Pentecostalism is set side by side as an ecclesial designation with Catholicism and Protestantism in an effort to answer the question of the church's constitutional nature. In describing the three-streams formulation, Newbigin reveals the prevailing thought of the 1950s, when Pentecostalism was viewed as a "third force."<sup>45</sup> He calls for a clear distinction between Protestant and Pentecostal identities, a perspective that I will explore further in the proceeding chapters.

**Limits.** In describing the first two streams by which the church is constituted (Catholic and Protestant), Newbigin qualifies the usage of the terms by conjoining the word *orthodoxy* to them. In designating Protestantism as orthodox, for example, Newbigin closely ties the qualification to sixteenth-century Reformational demarcations: true preaching of the

<sup>43</sup>"History," Church of South India, accessed December 11, 2017, [www.csisynod.com/aboutus.php](http://www.csisynod.com/aboutus.php).

<sup>44</sup>Newbigin, *Household of God*, 11.

<sup>45</sup>The title "third force" is given to Pentecostalism in Henry P. Van Dusen, "The Third Force in Christendom," *Life*, June 9, 1958, 122.



word, along with the right administration of the sacraments.<sup>46</sup> In speaking of Catholicism as orthodox, Newbigin associates the term with the sacramental nature of incorporation into Christ's church and thus the participation in the very life of Christ. In Newbigin's examination of the third stream (Pentecostalism), which he sees as part of what constitutes the church, the orthodox qualification he ascribes to Catholicism and Protestantism is missing. Instead, Newbigin stresses Pentecostalism's reliance on the power and presence of the Holy Spirit, saying "that neither orthodoxy of doctrine nor impeccability of succession can take place of this." He also characterizes Pentecostalism as a stream running "outside" the broader ecumenical movement, where the church is present only through the recognizable power of the Holy Spirit. For Newbigin, this "Community of the Spirit," unlike Catholicism and Protestantism, is not concerned with what has been given and is now unalterable (sacraments and Scriptures). Instead, Pentecostals lay an independent stress "upon that which is to be known and recognized in the present experience—the power of the ever living Spirit of God."<sup>47</sup> Newbigin's reluctance to designate Pentecostalism as orthodox gives cause for further reflection and exploration of his claims concerning historical and theological Pentecostal suppositions in the face of postmodern neo-Pentecostal developments.

The classical Pentecostalism practiced and believed in the 1950s and '60s not only was considered an anomaly within the American social fabric but was a conservative and classical spirituality suspicious of anything outside its scope.<sup>48</sup> This type of Pentecostalism could in no way either be considered or even want to identify itself with "orthodoxy." This might explain why Newbigin's work seemingly makes no attempt to designate Pentecostalism as orthodox. Was Newbigin's intentional exclusion of the term *orthodox* emblematic of his assumption that

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<sup>46</sup>John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion* trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1997), 4.1.9. "Wherever we see the word of God sincerely preached and heard, wherever we see the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ, there we cannot have any doubt that the Church of God has some existence, since his promise cannot fail."

<sup>47</sup>Newbigin, *Household of God*, 68, 87-88, 98.

<sup>48</sup>Vinson Synan, *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 205.

Pentecostalism lacks a concerted focus for either the sacramentalism or the message of the church? If so, could this assumption be reconsidered in light of recent developments in segments of neo-pentecostals recovering the Great Tradition? Furthermore, what historical developments can be traced from other, prior expressions that would indicate such a change within Pentecostalism?

**Conclusion.** Since its publication, *The Household of God* has been hailed by many within Protestantism as one of the pioneering works responsible for the various shifts within postmodern ecclesiological thinking, particularly among evangelicals and Pentecostals/charismatics. The book has sparked the further development of a number of efforts to develop an amalgamated ecclesiology. Due to these efforts, dozens of national and international ecclesial evangelical and charismatic bodies dedicated themselves to the practice of an amalgamated three-stream Christian identity. These organizations (some of which I will cover in the next chapter) have recovered historical, ecclesiological orthodoxy, which includes a sense of sacramentality, creedal identity, consensual authoritative teaching, and liturgical worship. They tend to follow the church's liturgical calendar (Western or Eastern), celebrate the Eucharist every Sunday, and use some type of historical prayer book as a guide toward the administration of the sacraments and the ceremonies of the church. As part of the various shifts in Protestant thinking, however, concerning ecclesiological identity, the original trifold terminology (Pentecostal, Catholic, Protestant) used by Newbigin and others to refer to the nature of the church has been reworked. Far removed from Newbigin's original denominational terminology, those within the paleo-orthodox movement most commonly utilize *evangelical* terminology when referring to Protestant, *charismatic* when referring to both charismatic and Pentecostal (a designation that needs to be further explored), and *liturgical/sacramental* when referring to Catholic aspects of the faith and practice.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Resources written under such new terminology include Richard Lovelace, "Three Streams, One River?" *Charisma Magazine*, September 1984, 8, and Gordon T. Smith, *Evangelical, Sacramental, and Pentecostal: Why the Church Should Be All Three* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017).

Now that we have a framework for paleo-orthodoxy inclusive of Snyder's conceptual framework for a renewal movement, along with Lesslie Newbigin's ecumenical and ecclesial work in *The Household of God*, we can continue to explore and examine the three paleo-orthodox expressions that led up to a call toward a Pentecostal orthodoxy.

### **THE CHICAGO CALL AND EVANGELICAL ORTHODOXY**

**Conceptual framework.** *The Chicago Call: An Appeal to Evangelicals* is a document that served as the outgrowth of the Chicago Call Conference, which was a gathering of evangelical leaders organized at an old Catholic retreat center outside Chicago in 1977. The conference's ecclesial outgrowth produced the evangelical orthodox expression. The conference, according to Webber, "urged evangelical churches to turn away from an ahistorical Christianity to recover new and enriching insights from the early church."<sup>50</sup> It was attended by forty to forty-five scholars, pastors, theologians, and students, mostly from various evangelical denominations. Only forty-two of the participants signed the Chicago Call statement, which was a compilation of eight calls preceded by phrases such as "we decry" and "we confess." These phrases were meant to set the tone of each appeal. The eight appeals that make up the Chicago Call are as follows:

- a call to historic roots and continuity
- a call to biblical fidelity
- a call to creedal identity
- a call to holistic salvation
- a call to sacramental integrity
- a call to spirituality
- a call to church authority
- a call to church unity

These eight sections, along with a personal account by Webber and two responses from two other participants, were later printed and published as *The Orthodox Evangelicals: Who They Are and What They Are Saying*. *The*

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<sup>50</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*, 26.

*Orthodox Evangelicals* later not only galvanized an official ecclesial body (the Evangelical Orthodox Church) but also became a theological blueprint for charismatics recovering the Great Tradition.

**Purpose.** The purpose of both the Chicago Call and the evangelical orthodox expression is to reengage and recover historic Christianity in order to regain and secure evangelicalism’s spiritual health. David Neff (former editor in chief of *Christianity Today*) makes this point clear when, in speaking of the Chicago Call and its adherents, he argues, “The goal was not historical recovery but spiritual health, and that they believed the spiritual health of the evangelical movement would not be possible without a renewed understating of its place in the church catholic.”<sup>51</sup> Webber himself, in calling evangelicals out of what he deems to be “popular evangelicalism,” states:

My conviction, and the subject of this writing, is that evangelicalism must mature into a truly biblical and historic faith, and that through this maturation, the replenishment of its tradition and the revitalization of its message will occur. This will not take place, however, without both a chastening and a renewing. The process necessitates a purging of our modernity and a return to Christianity in its historic form.<sup>52</sup>

**Gifts.** The Chicago Call and the evangelical orthodox expression are of vital importance for two reasons. First, they both share Newbigin’s designation of an evangelicalism (Protestantism) as orthodox, which is representative of an evangelicalism in spiritual connection with, and in recovery of, the Great Tradition. Inadvertently, evangelical orthodoxy paves the way for a pentecostal orthodoxy in that if the designation *orthodox* can be given to evangelicals recovering elements of the Great Tradition, as Peter Gillquist suggests both with his involvement in the Chicago Call as well as in his book *Becoming Orthodox*<sup>53</sup>, then the same designation can be utilized for pentecostals who are also recovering elements of the Great Tradition as well, since evangelicalism is diametrically distinct from pentecostalism.

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<sup>51</sup>David Neff, “The Chicago Call: Catholicity Through History,” in *Evangelicals and the Early Church: Recovery, Reform, Renewal*, ed. George Kalantzis and Andrew Tooley (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 126.

<sup>52</sup>Webber, *Common Roots*, 38.

<sup>53</sup>Peter E. Gillquist, *Becoming Orthodox: A Journey to the Ancient Christian Faith* (Chesterton, IN: Ancient Faith Publishing, 2009).

Second, the Chicago Call and the evangelical orthodox expression provide future expressions with an ecclesial blueprint (for better or worse) for how to mobilize themselves missionally and organizationally away from a solely academic identity. To this end, much is still to be examined and explored regarding the successes and failures of the Evangelical Orthodox Church.

**Limits.** The Chicago Call Conference did not live up to its originally intended end. Even to this present day there are those who continue to view it, as Michael Gallo once described it, as “a small puff of smoke on the theological horizon.”<sup>54</sup> What was slated to be a call toward fundamental reforms, recovery, and redirection within contemporary Protestant evangelicalism seemingly turned out to be an exercise in futility. This common sentiment is shared by observers such as Donald Tinder, who in an article in *Christianity Today* called the conference “an ad hoc group of 46 comparatively unknown Christians.”<sup>55</sup> Even Thomas Howard, one of the originators of the conference, admits that the call ultimately “came to virtually nothing.”<sup>56</sup> That the Chicago Call itself did little if anything during its time to convince its constituency or, for that matter, the broader evangelical world of the need to rediscover orthodoxy is also a sentiment shared by Randy Sly. Sly, a former archbishop in the Charismatic Episcopal Church, describes the evangelical reception to the Chicago Call as “less than half-hearted.”<sup>57</sup> Forty-two of the forty-five invitees signed on to the Chicago Call, and sadly only one representative was Roman Catholic, and there was no representation from the Orthodox Church, even though they had been invited.

The uneasiness within the conference itself became evident after the fact, when statements on the part of participants concerning unauthentic evangelical voices ran in parallel with terms such as “Anglo-Catholics” and

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<sup>54</sup>Michael F. Gallo, “*The Chicago Call Ten Years Later*,” *Touchstone Magazine*, Winter 1988, [www.touchstonemag.com/archives/article.php?id=02-02-007-f](http://www.touchstonemag.com/archives/article.php?id=02-02-007-f).

<sup>55</sup>David Neff, “Together in the Jesus Story,” *Christianity Today*, September 1, 2006, [www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2006/september/10.54.html](http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2006/september/10.54.html).

<sup>56</sup>Gallo, “*Chicago Call Ten Years Later*.”

<sup>57</sup>Randy Sly, “Special Report,” Catholic Online, 2008, [www.catholic.org/national/national\\_story.php?id=27157](http://www.catholic.org/national/national_story.php?id=27157).

“crypto-Greek Orthodox,” directed primarily at conference organizers Webber, Howard, and Gillquist, who were considered to have “high church tendencies.”<sup>58</sup>

The concern of a good majority of conference participants about an unadulterated evangelicalism is possibly best articulated by David Wells, professor of history and history of Christian thought at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. Wells, one of the Chicago Call’s most verbal critics, in responding to what he sensed was the display of evangelicalism co-opted by Anglo-Catholicism, stated that he

cannot be persuaded that we would be substantially better off venerating Catholic saints than pretty starlets, or that sober-faced genuflectors and swingers of incense are much to be preferred to the vacant worshippers some of our churches are creating. This may be a time of small happenings, of pygmy spirituality, but a mass pilgrimage into the world of Anglo-Catholicism is not, with all due respect, what we need right now. Indeed, it is not what we need at any time.<sup>59</sup>

Aside from the charge of having high-church tendencies, there also existed cultural and gender diversity issues, which became immediate stumbling blocks for many. Out of the forty-five scholars involved in the conference, there were only four women. While all of the women ended up signing the Chicago Call’s document, none of them were mentioned in the drafting of the calls themselves, nor were any of them included in the compilation of essays printed later.

Even more disappointing is that African American and Latino American evangelical groups had little or no representation. To this point, Elesha Coffman, assistant professor of history at Waynesburg University, states, “When examining the signatories of the Chicago Call, there is not a lot to report on the diversity front. Those who gathered at Cenacle Retreat Center in Warrenville in 1977 were practically all white men.”<sup>60</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>58</sup>Gallo, “Chicago Call Ten Years Later.”

<sup>59</sup>David F. Wells, “Reservations About Catholic Renewal in Evangelicalism,” in Webber and Bloesch, *Orthodox Evangelicals*, 214.

<sup>60</sup>Elesha Coffman, “The Chicago Call and Responses,” in Kalantzis and Tooley, *Evangelicals and the Early Church*, 109.

Benedict Viviano, the only Roman Catholic participant, remembers the conference as “an elite appeal to an elite.”<sup>61</sup> Sharon Gallagher, at the time editor of the *Christian World Liberation Magazine*, responded to Webber’s press release in a note that was later discovered at the Billy Graham Center archives. She expressed concern over the Chicago Call, objecting to the lack of women on the planning board and going as far as to call it “gross.”<sup>62</sup>

**Conclusion.** Amazingly, forty years removed from the gathering at an old Catholic retreat center outside Chicago, diverse forms of paleo-orthodoxy within Protestantism increasingly find guidance from the pages of *The Orthodox Evangelicals*. The racial, gender, and social insularity that characterized much of the Chicago Call, which had reverberating effects for decades, has not deterred postmodern evangelicals or charismatics from turning to *The Orthodox Evangelicals* in striving to recover elements of Christian orthodoxy considered to constitute the fullness of the church (*plene-esse*).<sup>63</sup>

Effects such as continuing racial insensitivity and the social exclusion of women were factors that for some time seemed to place the recovery of orthodoxy outside the grasp of minorities. These factors, however, have been somewhat overcome recently, by both women and racial minorities, within the charismatic and neo-Pentecostal orthodox movements. There significant consideration has been given not only to components of ecclesial orthodoxy whose roots are in Africa but also to the historical role of women in ministry, a factor that I will consider in chapter five.

Interestingly, Coffman makes the following mind-blowing statement: “It is possible to view this document as a call without response.”<sup>64</sup> Her comment, which encapsulates the sentiment of some at the time, is worth

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<sup>61</sup>Gallo, “Chicago Call Ten Years Later.”

<sup>62</sup>Chicago Call, Collection 33, Billy Graham Center, December 2, 2009, [www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/033.htm](http://www2.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/GUIDES/033.htm). Also taken from Coffman, “Chicago Call and Responses,” 110.

<sup>63</sup>*Plene-esse* is a term most commonly used for elements of the historic Christian Tradition such as the episcopate, which are thought of as making up its full being. Erwin Fahlbusch, “Episcopacy,” in *Encyclopedia of Christianity Vol 2.*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, David P. Barret, and Jaroslav J. Pelikan (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 108.

<sup>64</sup>Coffman, “Chicago Call and Responses,” 108.

examination now, especially given the various ecumenical developments that have taken place within the last forty-plus years.<sup>65</sup> In assessing the future impact of the Chicago Call from another perspective, Gillquist contends that it “put Evangelical Christians on notice that it is indeed possible to be both Evangelical and historically orthodox.”<sup>66</sup>

### THE CONVERGENCE WORSHIP MOVEMENT

**Conceptual framework.** In 1984, *Charisma Magazine* published an article describing a movement among evangelicals that highlighted the recovery of liturgical/sacramental aspects within evangelical and charismatic services.<sup>67</sup> The article, somewhat reminiscent of Newbigin’s *Household of God*, was written by Richard Lovelace and titled “The Three Streams, One River?” Lovelace, an original contributor to the Chicago Call, argued (as Newbigin had before him) for a united Catholic, evangelical, and Pentecostal/charismatic church. The language used by Lovelace (now far removed from the language of evangelical orthodoxy) was overwhelmingly well received, especially among evangelicals and charismatics who were themselves yearning to recover the orthodox faith of the early church. Many of these Christians had been exposed to either the charismatic movement, through the Vineyard movement with John Wimber in the late 1970s, or the liturgical renewal movement of the 1960s.

Ten years after Lovelace’s article, in an article in Robert Webber’s *Complete Library of Christian Worship*, Wayne Boosahda and Randy Sly developed one of the first historical and theological descriptions of the historical trajectory and beliefs of what has since come to be known as the convergence worship movement. Sly and Boosahda, the latter of whom is believed to have been the first to use the term *convergence* to describe the movement, used Psalm 46, the same text used by Lovelace. Key common elements of the convergence worship movement are:

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<sup>65</sup>Robert Webber and Donald Bloesch, eds., *The Orthodox Evangelicals: Who they are and what they are saying* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978), 212-33.

<sup>66</sup>Gallo, “Chicago Call Ten Years Later.”

<sup>67</sup>Lovelace, “Three Streams, One River?” 8.



- a restored commitment to the sacraments, especially the Lord's Table
- an increased motivation to know more about the early church
- a love for the whole church and a desire to see the church as one
- the blending in the practice of all three streams is evident, yet each church approaches convergence from a unique point of view
- an interest in integrating structure with spontaneity in worship
- a greater involvement of sign and symbol in worship
- a continuing commitment to personal salvation, biblical teaching, and the work and ministry of the Holy Spirit

**Purpose.** Heavily influenced by both the charismatic and the liturgical renewal movements, the convergence movement sought to “experience the fullness of Christian worship and spirituality” through the blending of the “essential elements in the Christian faith, represented by the three majors streams of thought and practice.”<sup>68</sup> Although not openly recognized until about 1985, it continues to argue for an experiential Christian spirituality that is wholly evangelical, charismatic, and liturgical/sacramental. Its ecclesial impetus is derived from an interpretation of Psalm 46:4: “There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy place where the Most High dwells” (NIV). According to this interpretation, the city of God is the church, the rivers are the action and flow of God's presence through the church, and the streams are the varied expressions within Christendom that have splintered off throughout its historical development, enriching the church in their respective times but now returning to each other, or converging, into one experience. This converging or blending of these three streams is considered by those who practice the convergence movement as “the work of God the Holy Spirit imparting a spiritual operation of grace best captured in the vision of Psalm 46:4.”<sup>69</sup>

In the early stages of the movement, Webber himself had begun to utilize the language of convergence in his writings, acknowledging, “The convergence worship movement has intentionally brought about a

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<sup>68</sup>Randy Sly and Wayne Boosahda, “The Convergence Worship Movement,” in *The Complete Library of Christian Worship*, vol. 2, *Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* (Nashville: Star Song, 1994), 134.

<sup>69</sup>Sly and Boosahda, “Convergence Worship Movement,” 134.

synthesis between the liturgical and contemporary worship renewal movements.”<sup>70</sup> Eventually, however, Webber stopped using the term *convergence* for fear that the terminology was being co-opted by New Ageism and began to use the term “ancient-future” instead. Since then, the convergence worship movement, as part of the broader paleo-orthodox movement, has been hailed as an alternative to the divisive, stagnant, and monolithic ecclesial spirituality that has contributed to the current mistrust of Christian mainline institutions.

**Gifts.** In their assessment of the future of the convergence movement, Boosahda and Sly use Malachi 4:5-6, which has the spirit of Elijah returning the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children back to the fathers, as an “expression of hope.” Their interpretation of the text sees a “new spirit in the church which will turn the hearts of this generation of believers back toward the apostolic fathers and other who formed and fashioned vital faith in the centuries following the ascension of Christ.”<sup>71</sup> Missing in Boosahda and Sly’s interpretation of the text, and an even more crucial point, is that the hearts of the fathers will turn back to the children. The application here speaks of a contextual relevance that situates the fathers and mothers of the church comfortably within Christian postmodernity and demonstrates a dynamic tension. If the children represent a generation of believers who are turning their hearts back to the apostolic fathers, then the presence of apostolic fathers within the hearts of the postmodern children represents an ancient spirituality and theology that is increasingly becoming relevant.

**Limits.** One of the most significant challenges facing the convergence movement today is for its adherents to explain its distinctive historical development and amalgamated religious spirituality in a way that can be understood within mainline Christian churches as well as society as a whole. While the movement itself has gained thousands of followers, it is often grossly misunderstood, and convergence spirituality remains an

<sup>70</sup>Robert Webber, “What We’ve Learned Along the Way: Reformed Worship Through Twenty Years of Liturgical Change,” *Reformed Worship* 77, September 2005, [www.reformedworship.org/article/september-2005/what-weve-learned-along-way-reformed-worship-through-twenty-years-liturgical](http://www.reformedworship.org/article/september-2005/what-weve-learned-along-way-reformed-worship-through-twenty-years-liturgical).

<sup>71</sup>Sly and Boosahda, “Convergence Worship Movement,” 139.

enigma to most Christians from mainline traditions, whose spirituality is usually informed by one or two traditions at best but never three. This is due in part to the increasing need for solid scholarly contributions on the part of convergence practitioners. Those from within the movement have yet to contribute any major bodies of work that seek to define, develop, or qualify the movement in light of social, political, and theological shifts occurring within postmodernity. Second, to my knowledge there has never been a real attempt by any of the convergence movement's adherents to qualify or identify the term *charismatic* versus *Pentecostal*, a reality that has allowed for an undescribed amalgamation along with a need for a clear distinction of how the recovery of the Great Tradition affects both.

**Conclusion.** Most recently, it seems as though the actual convergence movement has lost much of the vigor it exhibited in the '80s and '90s. Today, few prominent national or international ecclesial bodies exist that actually use the term *convergence* to describe their identity, even though they might use the term to describe their spirituality. Even more telling is that, as scholarship and amalgamated spiritual practices arise from mainline Christian traditions, specifically Anglicanism and Methodism, the terminology used mostly by white evangelical charismatics (convergence) is being replaced by less polarizing terminology.

### ANCIENT-FUTURE MOVEMENT

In welcoming the death of modernity's "triumvirate of individualism, rationalism and factualism,"<sup>72</sup> Webber produced several ancient-future faith works, published with Baker Books. For Webber, ancient-future faith was also a response to postmodernity that brought with it the burden of saying that "the road to the future runs through the past."<sup>73</sup> However, for classical Christianity to be effective in postmodernity, a shift in how evangelicals perceived historic Christian paradigms would be necessary. In his foreword to Webber's *Common Roots: The Original Call to an Ancient-Future Faith*, David Neff writes that in *Ancient-Future Faith* "Webber stressed paradigm

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<sup>72</sup>David Neff, "Foreword," in Webber, *Common Roots*, 20.

<sup>73</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*, 7.

thinking and showed how classical Christian theology, worship, spirituality, and mission were well suited to postmodern ministry.”<sup>74</sup>

**Conceptual framework.** Just as Oden dealt with many of the theological woes within modernity, Webber, in structuring *Ancient-Future Faith* as a call to evangelicals toward the recovery of the Great Tradition, tackled many of the same biblical, theological, and pastoral challenges existing within postmodernity. *Ancient-Future Faith* acts as a correction to Christian rationalism and subjectivity and is structured “around the phenomenon of the origin of the Christian faith first,” instead of the Scriptures, where evangelicals usually start.<sup>75</sup>

**Purpose.** The purpose of *Ancient-Future Faith* is not only to problematize the sometimes ahistorical evangelical concept of paradigmatic historical thinking but also to develop a grounded subjectivity “anchored in the revelatory experience of the early Christians.”<sup>76</sup> Pragmatically, it can be described as a call to the recovery of historic Christian theology along with the blending of historic Christian worship, which causes one to taste the “communion of the fullness of the body of Christ.”<sup>77</sup>

“Ancient-future” primarily speaks to the varied evangelical groups represented by their cultural and subcultural groups and divisions. Webber counts as many as fourteen evangelical denominational groups. The issue, according to Webber, is that evangelical Christianity demonstrates a kind of amnesia that has caused it to be sadly deficient of historical knowledge.<sup>78</sup> While attempts to trace evangelicalism back to the Protestant Reformation have been and will continue to be commendable, they are nonetheless ahistorical and often limited in their thinking of what it means to be evangelical within the church universal. Therefore, evangelicalism, in order to become historically sufficient, must respond to the call to a historic Christianity. This begins with the life and work of Jesus Christ; develops the

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<sup>74</sup>Neff, “Foreword,” 20.

<sup>75</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*, 30.

<sup>76</sup>Neff, “Foreword,” 7.

<sup>77</sup>Joan Huyser-Honig and Darrell Harris, “Robert E. Webber’s Legacy: Ancient Future Faith and Worship,” Calvin Institute of Christian Worship, May 18, 2007, <https://worship.calvin.edu/resources/resource-library/robert-e-webber-s-legacy-ancient-future-faith-and-worship/>.

<sup>78</sup>Webber references Bernard Ramm in Robert E. Webber, *Common Roots: The Original Call to an Ancient Future Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 39.

image, worship, spirituality, and mission of the church; and deals with the question of authority for proclamation and presence in the world.<sup>79</sup> This methodology of biblical interpretation situates the evangelical notion of Scripture within a historical framework that is connected to the historical hermeneutical proximity of the first six centuries of the church.

An ancient-future call to the recovery of historic Christianity is inclusive of the theology and order of worship as well. For Webber, to recover the theology of worship is to recover a classical worship that places the Old and New Testament in a dynamic tension that resembles the held tension between word and sacrament—the Old being preserved by the early church in the liturgy of the word, while the New is preserved in the liturgy of the sacrament.<sup>80</sup> Along with the recovery of the order of worship within the Christian calendar and the arts (which Webber describes mostly as symbolic communication), this type of recovery sees Christian worship as doing God's story.<sup>81</sup>

**Gifts.** The ancient-future movement is the arm of paleo-orthodoxy that seems most interested in the recovery, blending, and proper situating of classical Christian worship within postmodern evangelicalism. As such, Webber's theological body of work on worship, which includes his *Twenty Centuries of Christian Worship* series along with *Worship Old and New* and *Ancient-Future Worship*, presents evangelicalism with a stark reminder of the church's maxim *lex orandi, lex credendi, lex vivendi* (the law of prayer/worship leads to law of belief, which leads to the law of living). Webber's examination and exploration of the recovery and blending of historic Christian worship has been institutionally and academically embodied in the Robert Webber Institute for Worship Studies, located in Jacksonville, Florida. The institute offers both a master's and doctorate in worship studies and targets students from all Christian backgrounds, with online and residency approaches to learning available.

In contrast to the convergence movement, which has a limited body of official theological work and has been relegated to a more pastoral

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<sup>79</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*, 59, 39, 31.

<sup>80</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Faith*, 103.

<sup>81</sup>Webber, *Ancient-Future Worship*, 29. Webber answers the question "What is worship?" by stating, "Worship Does God's Story."

movement of amalgamation of Christian streams, the ancient-future movement has produced a large body of theological work accessible to both movements. Today it is no strange thing to find books being written with the “ancient-future” demarcation. Books such as Kenneth Stewart’s *In Search of Ancient Roots: The Christian Past and the Evangelical Identity Crisis* and Winfield Bevins’s *Ever Ancient, Ever New: The Allure of Liturgy for a New Generation* have been instrumental in continuing the legacy of Webber’s *Ancient-Future Faith*.<sup>82</sup>

**Limits.** Ancient-future faith seems to be a continuation of evangelical orthodoxy wrapped in different packaging. One must wonder whether the multicultural, ecumenical, and gender lessons of the Chicago Call Conference have been learned and rectified within the ancient-future faith movement, particularly for North American Anglicanism. Presently, the ancient-future faith movement has continued mostly among evangelical Anglicans.

**Conclusion.** Since the ancient-future movement primarily looks to call evangelicals to the recovery of historic Christianity, one must wonder what evangelicals today can learn from historic Christianity’s theology or spirituality in regard to their present political and social plight. How can the recovery of historic Christian theology influence their perception on issues such as immigration reform, gender and racial equality, and nationalism?

## PENTECOSTAL ORTHODOXY

**Conceptual framework.** History is replete with movements or expressions (social, economic, or religious) that have either inspired successive generations toward change or have themselves become distant memories of what used to be. The church’s history is no different. Whether the future of a Pentecostal orthodoxy will be one of impact or one of social-religious implosion, I will leave for our future historians to debate. I remain convinced that what is presently at work within segments of pentecostalism recovering the Great Tradition is the work of the Spirit

<sup>82</sup>Kenneth Stewart, *In Search of Ancient Roots: The Christian Past and the Evangelical Identity Crisis* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2017); Bevins, *Ever Ancient, Ever New*.

and that it constitutes a real phenomenon that deserves attention and identification. The expression itself, although I've coined the term *Pentecostal orthodoxy* to describe it, originates with no one person, group, or system. Pentecostal orthodoxy to date has no centralized church hierarchy, has no major institutional authority aside from each organization's hierarchical structure, and has not adopted or developed for itself any historical confession. In fact, a Pentecostal orthodoxy differs from much of Pentecostalism in that while Pentecostalism historically is suspicious of creeds and confessions, a Pentecostal orthodoxy embraces a creedal identity.

After all is said and done, Pentecostal orthodoxy represents a broad phenomenon within what can be described as autocephalous segments of pentecostalism that have been recovering what I call elements of the Great Tradition (vestments, sacramental terminology, and so on) over the span of decades. Yet, no real attempt has been made to identify, bring correctives to, or develop the expression further using a pentecostal theological or ecclesial framework. To this work have I given my energy. My hope is that better minds will engage, critique, build on, and develop the work presented here and that the expression will not only outlive me but aid various Christian traditions (pentecostalism in particular) in the work of rediscovering treasures old and new.

A year or so after having completed my doctoral program, I found that the research for my dissertation on paleo-orthodoxy and religious education had left me uneasy about using certain terminology in order to describe my spirituality and ecclesial or denominational identity. In particular, I wondered whether the term *convergence* (which I had adopted) adequately captured the subtle but important theological, historical, and even racial nuances between the charismatic and Pentecostal movements and their recovery of the Great Tradition. While wrestling with this idea, a defining or clarifying moment came to me through a conversation with my father, who has been for many years a minister in one of the larger Pentecostal denominations. One morning, while having breakfast at his favorite restaurant, we began to reflect on Brant Pitre's book *Jesus and the Jewish Roots of the Eucharist* and its implications for pentecostals

(particularly the belief in “real presence”).<sup>83</sup> I shared with him my own work on orthodoxy in relation to pentecostalism and the Eucharist, and by the end of the breakfast, my father stared at me and asked, “Would you consider me to be orthodox?”

My father’s question stirred in me a desire to explore and examine the implications of designating the phenomenon of pentecostals recovering the Great Tradition, a Pentecostal orthodoxy distinct from the various antecedent expressions within paleo-orthodoxy. My foundational framework for the expression, as limited as it may be, yields interesting facets of the expression’s spirituality and theology, most of which stem from my own experience with the congregations I led, my research of other pentecostal organizations/churches coming into the recovery of the Great Tradition, and scattered research on topics that deal with said recovery within pentecostalism. This research has never been placed together in order to develop a better understanding or identification of the phenomenon—a challenge I now undertake.

Pentecostal orthodoxy is an emerging expression within the broader paleo-orthodox movement of pentecostal believers recovering the theological and spiritual riches of the great tradition. In particular, there is a renewal of the liturgical celebration of the sacraments, especially the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, along with the recovery of a more ancient way of interpreting Scripture. This recovery is also inclusive of the church’s liturgical calendar, creedal identity, councils, and writings of the Fathers within the first five centuries. These segments of pentecostalism are being drawn and empowered by an ecumenism of the Spirit, which differs from the old spiritual ecumenism in that, while the latter was mainly exercised by the heads of Christian communions, the former is laity driven.

Pentecostal orthodoxy is committed to the development of a historic, educational, sacramental, and liturgical affective pentecostal spirituality (orthopathy) ahead of the development of a dogmatic, propositional pentecostal theology. Two major points must be made concerning this type of pentecostal orthodox spirituality. First, as already alluded to above, this

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<sup>83</sup>Brant Pitre, *Jesus and the Jewish Roots of the Eucharist: Unlocking the Secrets of the Last Supper* (New York: Doubleday, 2011).



spirituality and its continued development occur within a pentecostal framework. A Pentecostal orthodoxy is not evangelical orthodoxy, the convergence worship movement, or ancient-future faith. Rather, this framework calls for a way thinking from within pentecostalism about the work of the Holy Spirit in interplay with sacramental imagination, producing a new way of being pentecostal in the world. Furthermore, in comparing and contrasting its antecedent expressions, a Pentecostal orthodoxy's social-religious history is distinct from the rest in that its spirituality and ministerial presence is inclusive of minorities, people of color, and women. As a result, most adherents of the expression resist all calls to join the canonical churches. Instead the argument that I myself hold to and most commonly hear from adherents of a Pentecostal orthodoxy is that, just as those within the sacramental traditions (Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Eastern Orthodox) retained their identities after having recovered the baptism of the Holy Spirit during the charismatic renewal movement, pentecostals recovering the liturgical and sacramental elements of the Great Tradition should be allowed to retain their identity as pentecostals as well.

Second, a pentecostal orthodox spirituality looks to specifically and intentionally situate itself within the broader Christian monastic and mystical traditions. In regard to the former, the expression itself has more in common with the ascetic monastic spirituality of the fourth and fifth centuries, and from this spirituality derives its sense of mission. In regard to the latter, while pentecostalism proper is debating the place of spirituality and theology in regard to pentecostal identity, Pentecostal orthodoxy sees striking commonalities (modalities of prayer, experiential spirituality, and so on) with the mystical theology of the Greek fathers and assumes such a spirituality, which inextricably combines personal experience of the divine with Christian dogma. I will discuss this subject at greater length in the next chapter. Both historic movements, monasticism and mysticism, are used within a Pentecostal orthodoxy as models for practicing a modern pentecostal spirituality. Thus, it can be said that the expression (along with other segments of pentecostalism) loses its exclusive hold on theological distinctives in light of being considered within the vein of historic Christianity before the Azusa Street revival of 1906.

The recovery of language, vestments, and knowledge about the early church by pentecostals does not in itself constitute a Pentecostal orthodoxy. Rather, the main demarcation of Pentecostal orthodoxy is made evident in the consistent liturgical and sacramental practices of its eucharistic communities.

**Purpose.** The overall purpose of a Pentecostal orthodoxy is to first situate pentecostal spirituality historically, away from a timeline originating solely in 1906. Second, it is to strengthen pentecostal spirituality and theology by recovering elements of classical Christianity that can provide a deeper understanding of both current and future practices and beliefs within pentecostalism as a whole. Last, given Pentecostalism's rapid global growth, a Pentecostal orthodoxy can have the ability to continue to spread its spirituality as well as aid in the spread of historical orthodoxy.

**Gifts.** Because a Pentecostal orthodoxy lends itself to a robust solidarity with the historic Christian mystical and monastic traditions, there are a number of gifts it both extends and enjoys. First, by way of contrast and comparison with the mystical and monastic traditions, pentecostalism as a whole (but a Pentecostal orthodoxy in particular) has access to a wide array of theological and spiritual treasures. Further, not only do such treasures provide pentecostalism an invigorating perspective toward its own future, but they also place the responsibility (along with other Christian traditions) of handing on orthodoxy in pentecostalism's lap. Given the incredible and rapid growth of global Pentecostalism, a Pentecostal orthodoxy will be a vital segment of pentecostalism in the coming decades, particularly in the Global South. Last, the expression opens the path toward a new way of having ecumenical dialogues and relationships, especially between pentecostals and Orthodox Christians.

**Limits.** Aside from this book, to my knowledge, there currently exists no major work that explores and examines the depth of a pentecostal orthodox spirituality. The movement itself is in its embryonic stage and needs both good scholarship and good practical ecclesial representation. Thus, it is to this endeavor I give myself in this work.

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