The Four Phases of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (1967–2017)[1]

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Abstract *This article focuses on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal by looking at its development from 1967 to the present day through the prism of its social forms in light of its relationship to Pentecostalism. I identify four phases: the first (1967–1982) during which the Pentecostal experience entered Catholicism and translated into the birth and development of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal; followed by a phase of retreat into its Catholic identity and 'routinisation' of charisma (1982–1997); then, in the third phase, the Charismatic Renewal sought to find new impetus by moving closer to neo-Pentecostal networks (since 1997); and, finally and simultaneously, a 'post-charismatic' stage (since the early 2000s) corresponding to the wide introduction of typically Pentecostal elements into Catholicism, over and above the Charismatic Renewal in the strict sense of the term.*

Keywords *Catholicism, Charismatic Renewal, Church, Evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, Protestantism*

1. Introduction

On June 3, 2017, the Charismatic Renewal celebrated its jubilee in Rome. Fifty thousand pilgrims from 120 countries were gathered for the vigil of Pentecost. The Circus Maximus was deliberately chosen over the Roman basilicas or Saint Peter's Square in order to accommodate the dozens of representatives of various Christian churches invited for the occasion. They were seated on the platform or in the front rows. Among them, Giovanni Traettino, pastor of the Evangelical Church of Reconciliation in Caserta, spoke for about 15 minutes. Not-

1 This article is based on the book "Réveil Catholique. Emprunts évangéliques dans le catholicisme" (Aubourg 2020).

ing that 2017 was also the year of the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, he stressed that "Catholics and Evangelicals share a similar experience of the Holy Spirit". He went on to cite the various papal initiatives that had fostered "an unprecedented development" of relations with many pastors: "the visit to the Evangelical Church of Reconciliation in Caserta, asking Italian Pentecostals for forgiveness, the encouragement given to US pastors, and even this historic Pentecostal meeting … Since the election of Cardinal Bergoglio as pope, another season has begun"[2]. When Pope Francis' turn at the microphone came, he stressed the importance of interfaith relations: "Today Christian unity is more urgent than ever […] we desire to be a reconciled diversity"[3]. The Pope went on to preach conversion, a transformed life, and Baptism in the Holy Spirit.

This event provides an opportunity to look back at the history and development of the Charismatic Renewal through the prism of its links with Pentecostalism. As Pastor Traettino's words suggest, this is a long-standing relationship, since the Catholic Charismatic movement has its origins in Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church was long suspicious of Catholic Charismatics, many of whom distanced themselves from Pentecostalism. The Roman event shows the extent to which the situation has changed.

In fifty years, the Charismatic Renewal has been through different phases, different 'seasons', to take up the Italian pastor's image, going from the opening up of springtime to the retreat into the Catholic identity of wintertime. The history of the Charismatic movement is generally divided into three major periods[4]: first, the blossoming years (1967–1982), during which the Pentecostal experience entered Catholicism in the form of an initial 'renewal', followed by a retreat into its Catholic identity (1982–1997). This second period led to its routinization. In a bid to reassure the ecclesiastical institution, certain Pentecostal practices were abandoned (demonic deliverance, resting in the spirit, etc.), emotional expressions became less and less exuberant, prayer meetings followed an increasingly repetitive format, turning into real paraliturgical assemblies. Finally, a period of rapprochement with the neo-Pentecostals followed with the aim of reviving the Renewal (since 1997). To this, I will add a

2 Pastor Traettino's statement, Rome, June 3, 2017, personal notes.

3 Pope's statement, Rome, June 3, 2017, personal notes.

4 In North America as in Europe, the number of years allocated to each period varies by country and by observer (in Quebec, for example, Côté and Zylberberg date the second period from 1974 to 1978, and the third from 1978 to 1982), but the substance of each phase is comparable.

fourth so-called 'post-charismatic' phase which corresponds to the introduction of typically Pentecostal elements into Catholicism outside of the Charismatic Renewal *sensu stricto*.

Since its birth, the Charismatic Renewal has taken the form of prayer groups and communities. We are dealing with believers who emphasize the Holy Spirit so that they, and through them, the world they live in, can be transformed. However, Jean-René Bertrand and Colette Muller note that the social forms of this current "are so different, it is difficult to provide a complete diagnosis and classify this whole variety of communities. Each one is active in its own way, spreads the evangelical message according to its ways of living and engaging, most often within the known ecclesiastical structures of the movements, the parish, the diocese, but also sometimes within the wider society in which members are involved, investing of their time and energy" (Bertrand/Muller 2004: 225). [5] As also underlined by Martine Cohen "at first the Charismatic Renewal was not a movement of social reconquest undertaken in the name of a Catholicism that saw itself as homogeneous. Rather, it was a kind of religious explosion whose social manifestations quickly became distinct" (Cohen 1986: 66). In France, when the Catholic Charismatic Renewal was born, the social form that dominated in the Catholic Church was that of activists invested in society, like "the salt in the dough" of the earth (Matthew 5:13-16). They were grouped around age or social classes: children, young farmers, workers, health professionals, pensioners, etc. In contrast, Charismatic activism brought together lay persons, ordained individuals, youths, families, workers, and senior executives around praying.

The first two phases have been widely documented in North America (Csordas 1995; Côté/Zylberberg 1990; Ciciliot 2019), in Italy (Pace 2020), and in France (Landron 2004, Pina 2001; Cohen/Champion 1993). We have benefitted from precise surveys in which several researchers have described one or several aspects of the Charismatic Renewal: healing (Charuty 1987), prayer assemblies (Parasie 2005), glossolalia (Aubourg 2014), prophecy (McGuire, 1977), the exercise of authority (Plet 1990), its meaning and significance (Vetö 2012), etc. We have also benefitted from quantitative studies which estimate there were 119 million charismatic Catholics in the world twenty years ago (Barrett/Johnson 2005). They show how the Renewal grew rapidly during its first twenty years, corresponding to the first stage of its development (the focus of the first part of this article) and the beginning of the second (the

5 All translations by the author unless indicated otherwise.

focus of the second part), before seeing a decline in the Western countries. In response, interdenominational initiatives were taken to revive religious enthusiasm. These will be presented in the third part of this article. Finally, I will conclude by showing how groups and parishes describing themselves as completely foreign to the Charismatic Renewal are now taking up Pentecostal practices (Aubourg 2020), demonstrating a certain "evangelicalization" of Christianity (Willaime 2011: 346). Throughout this paper, I will draw on data mainly from Europe (France and Italy) and North America.

2. Birth and development of the Charismatic Renewal

In January 1967, four lay teachers and students from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, experienced "baptism in the Holy Spirit" among a group of Episcopal Pentecostals.

This experience quickly spread to student circles at the University of Notre-Dame du Lac in South Bend, Indiana, the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, and the Franciscan University of Steubenville, Ohio. It then extended beyond the academic world through the creation of prayer groups in traditional parishes. In 1973, there were 855 prayer groups in the United States and 65 in Canada. 200.000 people had joined the movement in 1972, and 670.000 in 1976 (Barrett 1982). Edward Denis O'Connor's estimations arrive at a lower number. According to him, an American priest and theologian, by June 1974, 100.000 people had joined the movement in North America (O'Connor 1975: 19). The movement simultaneously traveled abroad, beginning with Anglo-Saxon countries. There were prayer groups in 13 countries in 1969, in 25 countries in 1970, and in 93 countries by 1975. In less than ten years, the movement had become established on all continents. In regions such as Africa, it was so successful that it led the Jesuit anthropologist Meinrad Hegba to speak of a "veritable tidal wave" (Hegba 1995: 67).

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal spread in a relatively spontaneous manner, thanks to laypersons, priests, or monks and nuns who discovered the movement whilst visiting the United States and then introduced it to their home countries. It also spread through American Charismatics who promoted it during their travels abroad. Finally, some groups that were initially formed outside the Catholic Charismatic Renewal subsequently joined it. The Charismatic Renewal included a very wide range of individuals all over the world who occasionally took part in various groups and activities: prayer assemblies, con-

ferences, conventions, spiritual retreats, evangelization schools, publishing houses, new communities, etc.

The first phase of this Catholic Pentecostalism was characterized by "individual entrepreneurship and sacred effervescence" (Côté/Zylbergberg 1990: 84). It translated into a profusion of highly diverse prayer groups, several of which gave birth to so-called new communities: in the United States, The Word of God (1969); in France, L'Emmanuel (1972; cf. Dolbeau's chapter in this volume), Le Chemin Neuf (1973), La Théophanie (1972), Le Pain de Vie (1976), Le Puits de Jacob (1977) etc. Prayer groups and communities organized regular joint gatherings fostering relations between Catholics and Pentecostals. This social form was directly inherited from Pentecostalism and, more broadly, the Evangelical tradition of camp meetings (large revival conventions held in the 18th century).

Charismatic entities borrowed from Pentecostalism its emphasis on conversion (or reconversion), the proclamation of the Gospel, the experience of "baptism in the Holy Spirit", and the charismatic manifestations that are believed to flow from it (healing, glossolalia, prophecy).

Charismatic prayers were mainly prayers of praise, with an emphasis on religious emotions, real-life testimonies, and spontaneous expressions of faith. The body played a central part through rhythmic chants, dancing, and many gestures and postures such as clapping hands. This type of prayer attracted individuals in search of all kinds of divine favor, including healing, fertility, and marital success.

Apart from Pentecostal practices and beliefs, most of the communities emerging from the Charismatic Renewal adopted a strict orthopraxy characteristic of Evangelical circles: strong condemnation of behavior deemed immoral, such as adultery, prohibition of drinking and smoking, wariness of music (particularly rock music), a ban on gambling, as well as a condemnation of yoga, divinatory astrology, and spiritism. Proof of the condemnation of this type of practice in France can readily be found in the many books sold in Evangelical libraries. Authors bear witness to the way in which they categorically renounced astrology, New Age, esotericism, etc. (cf. Doerin/Von Der Wense 2009; Beekmann 1998; Foucart 2015).

Going beyond the strictly religious sphere, the changes linked to the experience of "baptism in the Holy Spirit" had to involve the whole life of a Catholic convert: from one's social relations through one's daily attitude to one's representation of society. This ethical dimension also affected gender relations: not only did women wear skirts and men grew beards, but male authority

was ascribed to greater value. There was a strong distinction between male and female roles. The maternal function was highly valorized and charismatic women usually had more children than their fellow countrywomen and often chose to stay at home to raise them. They followed an ethic that placed mistrust of ostentatious attitudes over their bodies: hardly any make-up, tattoos, perfume, eccentric hairstyles, bare shoulders, visible knees, or tight-fitting clothes. However, the Charismatic Movement (like Pentecostalism) did its best to simultaneously endorse the symbolic advantages of male domination (in terms of both ethics and confessional practice) and promote the female virtues expounded by a theology that encouraged emotions (Malogne-Fer/Fer 2015: 13).

Nevertheless, while appropriating the major features of Pentecostalism, Charismatics retained their Catholic identity: they defended Catholic doctrine, attended parish services regularly, and respected the Church hierarchy. Distancing themselves from political issues and the progressivism of their Catholic coreligionists, Charismatics preferred to revive traditional practices abandoned in the post-conciliar years: recitation of the rosary, Marian pilgrimages, individual confession, prostration, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, etc. From the point of view of their ecclesiastical integration, even if the new communities' way of life was similar to that of religious orders (vow of obedience, sharing of goods, daily life punctuated by the recitation of offices), Charismatic communities enjoyed the status of "associations of the faithful" (private or public) and were placed under the authority of the bishop of the diocese where they were set up. Some of them were subsequently recognized as international associations directly linked to the Dicastery for the Laity, Family, and Life, while others set up clerical associations of pontifical right. Since 1993, the Bishops' Conference of France has done an inventory of Charismatic communities and distinguished between several types of communities based on how they are organized and work and, secondarily, on their activities (Bertrand/Muller 2004).

The Charismatic Renewal was born in a church that was grappling with the effects of Vatican II. Indeed, the Council introduced reforms whose effects were perceptible in the birth of the Charismatic Renewal, such as opening up to other Christian denominations, the importance given to lay persons, and the renewal of the liturgy. In France, it was a continuation of the post-1968 countercultural protest movement. In this favorable context, the Renewal represented a form of social and religious protest. It challenged a Catholicism that was perceived to have become too prosaic, too aligned with the norms of global society,

having eliminated all wonder and sensitive emotions from one's personal engagement and from the liturgy (Cohen/Champion 1993: 79). However, unlike in Pentecostalism, at that point, the protest occurred within the Church since the groups that belonged to this movement remained faithful to Rome.

The Catholic Church's view of the Renewal was largely skeptical, if not negative. The important role given to the laity in running the movement and their claim that they acted directly under the influence of the Holy Spirit made them uncontrollable in the eyes of some in the hierarchy. The Charismatic Renewal was viewed critically because of its tendency towards an emotional Christianity that seemed to devalue engagement in society, and because of the perceived arrogance of these new converts who presented themselves as the future of the Church.

Even though, unlike Pentecostal converts, Catholic Charismatics did not abandon the pews of the Church and did not break with their "lineage of believers" (Hervieu-Léger 1999), they nevertheless went through a process of individualization of their religious experience. This phenomenon manifested in the emergence of "elective fraternities" made up of Renewal prayer groups and the new communities. Indeed, their adherence to these groups represented a personal choice that emancipated them from the communities they belonged to, particularly their parishes. These voluntary affiliations further changed their relations with their family circles.

But over time, contrary to what the religious authorities feared, the Catholic Charismatics became integrated into the Church. The Jesuit theologian Sullivan even noted the opposite trend: "On the contrary, the evidence suggests that their Pentecostal experience turned Catholics into more faithful participants in the life of the Church" (Sullivan 1988: 87). This fidelity to the Catholic Church explains the fact that, after being called "Catholic Pentecostalism", "neo-Pentecostalism", or the "Pentecostal movement in the Church" (O'Connor 1975: 18), the movement was finally referred to as the "Charismatic Renewal" and, soon after, the "Renewal". It also explains the fact that several church leaders gradually began to look favorably upon the Charismatic movement and give it their support. On May 18 and 19, 1975, on the feast of Pentecost, 12.000 people from more than 60 countries took part in the third international Catholic Charismatic Renewal conference in Rome, where Pope Paul VI asked them this question: "How could this Renewal not be an opportunity for the Church and for the world? And how, in this case, could we not do everything possible to ensure that it remains so?" (La Documentation catholique 1975: 562). By calling the Renewal an "opportunity", the Pope not

only offered the Charismatic Movement the legitimacy it hoped for, but he also encouraged the development of this "new spring for the Church". This event illustrates the opening up to Pentecostalism, but also the institutional assertion of control over the Charismatic Renewal. Pauline Côté and Jacques Zylberberg underline these two aspects: a "Protestant expansion and acculturation", on the one hand, and the beginning of an exogenous control closely interwoven with the endogenous structuring of the Charismatic Renewal, on the other (Côté/Zylberberg 1990: 83–84). The years that followed, and especially the 1980s, would be particularly marked by this second aspect: its integration into the Catholic matrix.

3. Retreat into Catholic identity

The 1980s represent a second stage in the development of the Renewal. After a difficult start between the Charismatic Movement and the Catholic Church, relations became easier. As Christine Pina points out, these pacified relations were "proof of a twofold movement whereby the Renewal mellowed and the Catholic Church adopted a more moderate stance as it wished to both make use of the vigor and mobilizing potential of this current and permanently anchor the Renewal in the universal Church by lessening its protest-oriented aspect" (Pina 2001: 29). It is true that some of the Renewal's innovations were "potentially destabilizing for the institutional system" (Cohen 1990: 144). Thus, in order to become less marginal and at the same time reassure the Church, the Charismatic Movement made a number of pledges to the Roman institution, namely that it would use emblematic figures (saints, mystics, popes), reappropriate the history of the ecclesiastical tradition and bring back devotions that had fallen out of favor. Pentecostal practices were either abandoned or transformed. Prophecies – particularly those related to the end times – became rare. There were fewer and less visible healings. Their conception changed to "conversion" or "inner healing". The ecclesiastical institution, which sought to regulate charismatic practices, issued warnings about them. In particular, the Church issued recommendations concerning certain practices such as exorcism, which it reserved for priests, or "resting in the Spirit", which it banned. According to Martine Cohen, this evolution led these Charismatic practices to become markedly less spectacular (Cohen 1986: 69). Delivery practices, for example, became more cautious. The Dominican Jean-Claude Sagne, an exorcist in the diocese of Lyon and a member of a charismatic Community, urged

believers to be wary of "grand, noisy, and violent displays" and instead favor "detachment, silence, and adoration". He emphasized "discernment", which aimed to distinguish mental disorders from supernatural elements (Sagne 1994: 124). As for the idea of conversion associated with "baptism in the Holy Spirit", this was euphemized: groups such as the Emmanuel community replaced it with the term "outpouring of the Spirit" to clearly distinguish it from the Pentecostal experience. Prayer meetings became increasingly repetitive in format. In several French prayer groups, it was noted how, over time, these meetings turned into real paraliturgical assemblies. It was therefore clear that a process of "routinization of charisma" (Weber 1947) was at work.

The regulation of the Charismatic Renewal was attended by a restructuring of the movement. The Catholic charismatic landscape was organized around two main types of religious groupings: communities, on the one hand, and prayer groups, on the other. The communities themselves were subdivided into three categories: firstly, there were covenant communities, which brought together individuals that continued to be part of working life and civil society, including those who had taken vows. Then there were life communities, which brought all categories of people together in one place in order to engage in contemplative forms of prayer while observing rules of life similar to those of monasteries. Finally, a third category included mixed forms, that is, households that followed various rules and groups that met periodically to pray, for example (Bertrand/Muller 2004).

The communities were more visible, and their organization was more formal than that of the prayer groups. In most communities, irrespective of their specific social form, members made a solemn commitment, were subject to the obligations imposed by a code of conduct, and rendered mutual services. In these communities, the founder played a key role. The members of these communities were generally younger than those of the prayer groups and their involvement within the community was more restrictive than in a simple prayer group.

On the other hand, in prayer groups, the leader – called a "shepherd" – did not play a major part. This second type of assembly did not require intensive commitment from its members. However, even if their membership was more fluid and mobile, prayer groups made the effort to structure themselves by setting up national coordination bodies. In France they took the name Fra-

ternité Pentecôte ('Pentecostal Fraternity').[6] Local Renewal delegates were appointed with the aim of "establishing dependence on the Bishop". An "ecclesiastical subsystem" was thus set up (Côté/Zylberberg 1990: 85).

This institutional evolution of the Charismatic Renewal was criticized by Protestants, who also noted that the movement had clearly distanced itself from ecumenism. "With a few exceptions, it was always the Protestants who took the initiative of organizing major interdenominational meetings. The Catholic authorities kept encouraging the charismatics of their denominations to organize themselves and invite their leaders to Rome", notes Olivier Landron (2004: 251). As Valentina Ciciliot has shown in her study on the relations between Catholic Charismatics and other US Christian groups in the late 1960s and 1970s, "the abundant interconnections between Catholic charismatic and Protestant leaders were put in the background, if not partially censored, for the sake of acknowledgement and acceptance" (Ciciliot 2021: 2).

In North America, the Charismatic Renewal predominantly involved middle and upper classes. In France, it also appealed to marginalized populations (homeless people, patients of psychiatric hospitals, backpackers, former drug addicts, conscientious objectors). It offered weekly meetings with a friendly atmosphere, helped by the norms of behavior implicitly prescribed in these assemblies: they called each other by their first names, used informal forms of address, kissed upon arriving and leaving, and did not make any mention of their professions… All these elements marked the fact that they belonged to a microsociety founded on a familial metaphor that erased the differences of generation and position within the social hierarchy. Furthermore, prayer groups and regional gatherings enabled followers to form relationships of friendship and mutual aid outside their families and professional circles (Charuty 1990: 75). This created a sense of psychological security and personal reassurance.

As for the new communities, they were characterized by the fact that they encouraged relations of solidarity rather than competition between members. They distanced themselves from modern societies' conception of social ties centered on individual will. This solidarity may be interpreted as an attempt to counteract the fragmentation experienced by societies in modernity. From

6 Founded in 1976, the group was initially made up of representatives of Charismatic communities and two representatives of prayer groups. Since 1988, it has brought together 23 individuals in charge of coordinating prayer groups not affiliated to communities. There are currently 1200 groups linked to this body, which is advised by a priest.

a sociographic perspective, the leaders of these Catholic communities were able to gather around them a number of followers who were sufficiently motivated and stable (they were in general better equipped culturally than prayer group members) to implement their innovations. That is why most founders belonged to the bourgeoisie or middle classes (Landron 2004: 85; Cohen 1990: 144).

In terms of the governance of the Renewal, Ralph Martin had set up a first International Communications Office (ICO) in Ann Arbor, USA, in 1972. Eager to strengthen the link between this entity and the Catholic authorities, in 1976, Cardinal Suenens transferred the ICO to the Bishopric of Mechelen-Brussels and, in 1978, changed it into the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Office (ICCRO). The 1980s saw the institutionalization of this office and the consolidation of its links with the Roman authorities. It first moved to Rome in 1981, and finally to the Vatican in 1985. In 1993, the Pontifical Council for the Laity granted it pontifical recognition (i.e. approval of its statutes as an international service organization), and its name was changed to International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services (ICCRS), thus emphasizing that it was a pastoral ministry service rather than merely an administrative office. The organization's aim was to promote relations between Catholic Charismatic entities and liaise with the Holy See.[7]

Throughout his pontificate (1978–2005), John Paul II gave his constant firm support to the Charismatic Renewal. The Polish Pope saw the movement's evangelizing potential and stressed its capacity to promote Christianity in societies "without God"[8] "infected by materialism"[9]. He interpreted the movement as "risposta provvidenziale" ('providential response') to secularization.[10] However, although he encouraged it, Pope John Paul II constantly reminded the Charismatic Renewal of "the importance of being rooted in that Catholic unity of faith and charity which finds its visible center in the See of Peter".[11]

7 Cf. https://dev-iccrswp.day50communications.com/wp-content/uploads/ICCRS-STATUTES_EnOFFICIAL.pdf.

8 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1998/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19980530_riflessioni.html.

9 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/it/speeches/1986/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19861115_rinnovamento-spirito.html.

10 Cf. https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1998/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19980530_riflessioni.html.

11 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1981/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19810507_rinnovamento-carismatico.html.

He entrusted the leaders of the Charismatic Movement with "the primary task of safeguarding the Catholic identity of charismatic communities".[12]

The following two decades saw the continuation of the process of the Charismatic Movement's integration into Catholicism. New communities would increasingly take their place within the Church as they were entrusted with parishes, abbeys, and ecclesiastical responsibilities. Thus, several bishops came directly from within their ranks: Michel Santier (Créteil) founded "Réjouis-Toi" ('Rejoice'); Msgr. Dominique Rey (Toulon), Msgr. Guy de Kérimel (Grenoble), and Msgr. Yves Le Saux (Le Mans) were members of the Emmanuel Community. At the same time, however, another trend was emerging that sought to turn the tide.

4. The Charismatic Renewal's neo-Pentecostal reload

A third period began in the 1990s and continued into the 2000s. The Renewal's members were getting older, and the number of its prayer groups was beginning to decrease (Barrett/Johnson 2005).[13] However, there was a new impetus under the influence of the Pentecostal "third wave" which emphasized the power of a Holy Spirit that was supposed to manifest itself more strongly through "signs, wonders, healings, miracles"[14] and deliverances from demonic entities. New initiatives, taken from the fringes of the Catholic Renewal, reactivated Pentecostal-Charismatic emotions. They led to a transdenominational effervescence which the ecclesiastical institution struggled to control. In France, the Bishops' Conference devoted a seminar (in May 2009) and a book to this subject (CEF 2010). With the Toronto Blessing – a Canadian neo-Pentecostal movement which came to France in late 1997 – old Charismatic practices were updated, and new bodily phenomena promoted: resting in the Spirit, prolonged laughter, crying out, and even animal-like behavior (Poloma 2003). These phenomena occurred mainly during large group meetings organized by various Christian churches (Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical,

12 https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1998/october/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19981030_carismatici.html.

13 This slowing down, particularly noticeable in North America and Europe, did not prevent the Catholic Charismatic Movement from continuing to grow in Latin America and Africa.

14 http://www.laguerison.org/presentation/vision.

Pentecostal), such as the "Embrase nos cœurs" ('Fire up our hearts') conferences (since 1996) as well as gatherings at the Charlety Stadium in Paris (1998) and in Villefranche-sur-Saône (1998). Groups and entities bringing together Charismatics from different denominations were then set up.

Beginning in 1997, the Burning Bush initiative started by Kim Kollins spread throughout the Italian Renewal and then, in the course of 1999, in Europe, as it sought to achieve three goals: Christian unity, evangelization, and the renewal of the Church. The following year the interdenominational association 'Intercession France' was created, which encouraged fasting and praying for France. At the same time, the movement Dans la Gloire ('In the Glory') was introduced in France by Deborah Kendrick, a disciple of Ruth Ward Heflin. Beginning in 2002, there was a symbiosis between the intercessory networks, the Toronto Blessing, the annual Embrase nos cœurs-conventions, and the promotion of evangelization between Christians of different denominations (Chieux 2010: 65). The new way of conducting a prayer assembly, focusing on healing and praising, was gaining widespread acceptance, although there were still significant reservations. The healing practices prompted the Catholic Church to react by publishing, in 2000, *Instruction on Prayers to Obtain Healing from God*, a text written by Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the 'Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith'.[15]

All these new practices and initiatives brought together preachers working within interdenominational networks. The association called Paris tout est possible ('Paris, everything is possible'), established by Pastor Carlos Payan, is a good example. It set up training courses, prayer meetings, and evangelization days which focused on three areas: "Unity, Unction, Healing".[16] Another example is the healing methods introduced in Lyons, which brought together Catholic and Evangelical Charismatics in healing rooms and for monthly Miracles and Healing evenings. These initiatives were supported by the Consultation Charismatique Œcuménique Lyonnaise (CCOL) ('Lyon Ecumenical Charismatic Consultation'), whose activities were also part of the "third wave" movement. In 2004, this Lyons-based association began holding small intercession meetings for the city every month, as well as larger evening events every three months. The latter would begin with a long session of worship in

15 Cf. https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20001123_istruzione_fr.html.

16 *Unité Onction Guérison* ("Unity, unction, healing"), a pamphlet written by Pierre Cranga 2004. Flyer quoted by Chieux 2010: 71–72.

the neo-Pentecostal style and be followed by a dual Catholic and Evangelical sermon. Neo-Pentecostalism, also known as third-wave Pentecostalism or the neo-Charismatic Movement, is characterized by the promotion of extraordinary divine manifestations under the effect of "power evangelism". A greater variety of spiritual experiences was encouraged: uncontrollable laughter, intense sobbing, screaming and roaring, shaking, falling to the ground, showers of gold confetti, etc. Miracles, healings, and deliverances were already observed in "classical" Pentecostalism and the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, but the various movements that made up the "third wave" (Freston 1995) accentuated their importance. Their theology was accompanied by a particular emphasis on spiritual struggle, giving rise to new religious notions such as "spiritual warfare", "spiritual mapping", and prosperity theology (Coleman 2000).

Aside from the prayer groups and new communities whose members were partly active in these networks, this new Charismatic impulse went far beyond the Catholic Renewal: it involved the wider Evangelical Movement. In some contexts, the term Charismatic even went as far as to designate an interdenominational (and even transdenominational) movement that no longer referred to the 'borders of institutions' (Gonzalez 2014).

In terms of social forms, there was the novelty that those who participated in this movement did not seek to form interpersonal relationships that were likely to extend beyond the worship setting. Studies conducted among those who attended (Aubourg 2020) show that people came primarily in search of answers to personal or family needs (healing, well-being, resolving a difficulty, spiritual recharge). They would be re-energized by these collective meetings but then return to their homes as if nothing had happened. The prayer evening, prayer meeting, or Sunday's Eucharist service did not lead to the creation of new social ties. The attitude of these laypeople seemed in a sense more consumerist (ibid.). That said, these same individuals could belong to another Catholic group (Scouts, Itinéraires Ignatiens, family ministries, Équipes Notre Dame, etc.), where they developed close and sustained relationships. Their engagement with these groups sometimes reflected a high level of integration in the church institution. In other words, the difference from the Charismatic Renewal (in its initial and then routinized form) lay in the fact that the participants in the groups that were studied ("third wave") no longer combined spiritual regeneration with building community ties within the same entity.

Furthermore, there was a significant difference in the formation of each of these groups. Whilst in its early stages the Charismatic Renewal was character-

ized by a mix of social backgrounds, the Miracles and Healings events reached primarily individuals of modest means and believers from immigrant backgrounds (ibid.).

5. Towards a 'Post-Charismatic' period?

While the Charismatic Renewal corresponds to a church movement identified as such, many Evangelical and Pentecostal elements have spread within the Catholic Church beyond its Charismatic section. They have 'infiltrated', as it were, the parish as the basic social form of traditional Catholicism.

They take the form of prayer groups, healing assemblies, training courses, individualized arrangements, musical aids, books, body techniques, objects, etc. As noted by Henri Couraye, "a certain charismatic sensibility in the broadest sense has reached the Church by capillary action, without all the faithful always being aware of it" (Couraye 2011: 38). This includes, for example, the Mothers' Prayer Groups founded by the English Charismatic Veronica Williams (Williams 2004),[17] which brings women together for weekly prayer sessions (Aubourg 2016). Unlike Renewal prayer groups, there are no charisms and prayers are extremely formalistic. As certain gestures could look incongruous and surprising in a European cultural context (raised, clasped, or open hands), aspects that could threaten the respectability of the groups' members the most have been discarded. Nevertheless, Pentecostal features are still evident in several practices. Firstly, these meetings encourage spontaneous prayer and emphasize praise. When a biblical text is looked at, there are no theological discussions, but rather commentaries based on the participants' experiences and feelings. Secondly, as with Pentecostal-Charismatic circles, the rhetoric of salvation is favored and the proclamation "Jesus Christ is Lord and Savior" is at the heart of the message contained in prayers. Thirdly, the entity of the devil has been reintroduced. This phenomenon has been amply demonstrated in extra-European societies: in Africa, the Mascarene Islands (Boutter 2002), and South America (Boyer 1996). It is worth stressing the extent to which conceptions of Satan have accompanied religious revivals, including

17 Veronica Williams regularly attends charismatic conventions in Walsingham and her book mentions typically charismatic practices such as "perceiving inner images" or randomly opening one's Bible and attributing the text one's eyes land on to the Holy Spirit (Williams 2004: 15).

in groups of Anglo-Saxon origin. As noted by Birgit Meyer, the figure of the devil has proven to be "remarkably resistant to ideas which, ever since the Enlightenment, have criticized belief in its existence" (Meyer 2008: 4). Finally, it is worth noting the place given to lay people, who can address God directly, away from the presence of a priest and outside parish premises.

Parishes are also a good place to observe this 'Pentecostalisation' of Catholicism. From Baltimore (Mallon 2016) to Halifax (White/Corcoran 2015), Lyons, Hyères, Senlis, and Sophia-Antipolis, several Catholic parishes have adopted features that have made megachurches successful. Many of them have engaged in a process of "pastoral conversion" in order to produce "missionary disciples". Emphasis is laid on individual experience and personal appropriation of the Christian faith. The term "church" itself has replaced the term "parish". This semantic shift reflects a particular representation of the Church, conceived as a grouping of converts who evolve within networks made up of convinced Christians; this is the case of Amazing Parish,[18] an international network which brings together more than 200 parishes committed to renewing their pastoral project.

Since its beginnings in France in 1998, so-called "Alpha courses" have played a key role in disseminating Pentecostal practices and tools in Catholic circles, building an interdenominational and international network of leaders, and implementing a new model for organizing parishes. Alpha courses, which were started in an Anglican parish in London and take place over dinner, "are an evangelization tool characterized by the conviviality they seek to introduce and their well-honed logistical organization" (Rigou-Chemin 2011: 355). With Alpha, it is a whole vocabulary (related to conversion and evangelization), a set of practices (prayer of the brothers or even baptism in the Holy Spirit, Bible reading, small discussion groups, testimonies, welcome), and a way of running things (centered on the user, valuing lay people's input, presenting the faith with humor and in a relaxed way) which Catholic parishes have become familiar with over the last twenty years. Since 2012, Alpha has partnered with the Talenthéo Association of Christian Coaches to provide so-called Des pasteurs selon mon cœur ('Pastors according to my heart') courses. The aim of these training courses is to obtain the support of the church authorities and involve all parishioners in a new evangelizing dynamic. Currently in France, Des pasteurs selon mon cœur have already brought together 710 priests and vi-

18 Cf. https://amazingparish.org.

cars general, 29 bishops, and two cardinals committed to a process of "pastoral renewal".

Meanwhile, the diocesan prayer groups of the Charismatic Renewal – gathered within the Fraternité Pentecôte – have continued to lose ground: their members are aging, their numbers are dwindling, while social circles with a strong socio-cultural capital (who had previously provided the movement's leaders) are abandoning them. Charismatic prayer groups were initially seen as posing a threat to parish structures. Their members then emerged as major players thanks to their involvement in various parish services, while elements of Charismatic piety came to spread quietly through the parishes. In the end, the parish structure was not weakened by the Charismatic Renewal and its extensions (particularly the Alpha course) since it all happened within a sphere of Catholic membership that has steadfastly maintained its doctrinal and liturgical apparatus. The Catholic institution has tried not so much to exclude as to channel believers' energies, synthesizing doctrines, regulating practices, and bringing actors together under the banner of a unity it promoted with the watchword "visible communion". Thus, for centuries, parishes have been the "social core unit" of Catholicism. At first, the Charismatic Renewal was seen as a challenge and even a danger to parish structures. Today, Charismatic piety is a part of parishes and the latter even develop links with international and transdenominational networks. It is interesting to note here the union of two seemingly opposed rationales: the territorial organization of Catholic communities within the parish and their integration into a network.

For their part, the new communities have continued to develop on a global scale while showing real dynamism. As major places for priestly and religious vocations, they create an attractive pastoral offer for Catholic youth. The ecclesiastical institution has recognized this strength of theirs, going as far as appointing one of their priests in charge of youth ministry in France, after having constantly given an increasingly important role to charismatic communities during youth gatherings, especially World Youth Days.

However, Charismatic communities have not remained on the sidelines of the initiatives mentioned above. Indeed, they were the first to promote Alpha courses. The first course in a French Catholic environment was run by the Chemin Neuf community (1998) in the parish of Saint Denys de la Chapelle (Paris, 18th arrondissement). The following year, Marc and Florence de Leyritz, who were in charge of the program in France, trained Alpha course leaders at Paray-le-Monial in collaboration with the Emmanuel community. "It is a unifying project which draws together many charismatic communities", a mem-

ber of the "Fondations du Monde Nouveau" ('New World Foundations') noted (De Galzain 1999). Furthermore, charismatic communities have engaged the parishes under their care in "pastoral conversion"-projects by drawing direct inspiration from the North American megachurch model,[19] or by participating in the training courses offered by Des pasteurs selon mon cœur. In the case of this latter association, it should be noted that several coaches are also members of one or another of the established Renewal communities. Thus, while retaining an important and well-defined place within Catholicism, Charismatic communities have taken part in this "process of developing a transdenominational Christianity centered on the individual and their personal conversion". They have joined the vast field of an "evangelizing ecumenism" (Willaime 2011: 349).

From an organizational point of view, Pope Francis has set up the International Catholic Charismatic *Renewal* Services (CHARIS) to replace the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Service (ICCRS). The statutes of this new service begin by noting, in their preamble, the ecumenical dimension of the Charismatic Renewal. They go on to emphasize "the same fundamental experience of 'baptism in the Holy Spirit'" shared by all those belonging to this movement. Finally, they reflect a desire to restore flexibility to its organization and to encourage a plurality of charismatic expressions.[20]

6. Conclusion

The Catholic Charismatic Renewal is "a child of North American Pentecostalism" (Pina 2001: 26). Thus, in its initial form, it was characterized by its emphasis on religious emotions and closeness to Pentecostal circles. In the second phase, as it became institutionalized, the Renewal lost its momentum and left the margins of the Church. In reaction to this institutionalization of the Renewal, in the third phase, initiatives were taken with the aim of reconnecting with the Evangelical world and encouraging more intense emotional expressions. Currently, Pentecostal practices are being introduced into the

19 Some of them even went to the Saddleback Valley Community Church in California, founded by Rick Warren, and used the tools suggested by this pastor in *The Purpose Driven Church* (Warren 1998).

20 Cf. https://www.nsc-chariscenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/7_Charis-Statutes-Final-Text-Protocol-06.03.2018.pdf.

Catholic world again by groups who do not wish to be identified with the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Could this fourth stage be a "post-charismatic" one?

In the end, we can ask ourselves what face of the Charismatic Renewal the above discussed developments reveal. Unlike rationalized faith, formalized religious practice, and abstract religious language, this type of Catholicism gave a chance to spontaneity, spiritual exigency, and the involvement of the believer's body. It favored the immediacy of faith's realities. Believers sought not so much future salvation as a pragmatic response to the desire to lead a successful life here and now. Echoing contemporary individual aspirations, the Charismatic Renewal rejoined the space of health and the desire for wellbeing by focusing its offer on healing and personal reassurance. This development of an enthusiastic type of Catholicism had obvious consequences in terms of political disengagement. Just as Veronica Williams renounced her work with the House of Lords to create mothers' groups, political activism was abandoned in favor of worshipping and praying. It was by transforming themselves that, alongside their coreligionists, these Catholics aspired to change society. The way in which their meetings were run left little room for debates. Conflicts and struggles were minimized, and tensions shifted to the psychological register.

Later, the Charismatic Renewal was increasingly marked by mobile forms of belonging. In its third (closer to neo-Pentecostalism) and fourth (post-Charismatic) phases, allegiances have become unstable and membership loose. Whether in relation to individuals searching for healing, women attending mothers' prayer, or laypersons and clerics following the US-American megachurch model, significant permeability is observed between these different groups, where commitment is reversible. Regardless of any pyramidal logic, individuals follow their own personal religious paths. Previously, the Catholic appropriation of the Pentecostal movement reflected a religious entity whose objectives, organization, orthodoxy, and orthopraxy corresponded to a very precise mission. The ICCRS statutes are ample proof of this (Pesare 2005: 141–142). Today, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal has become completely splintered. It has taken the form of international and interdenominational networks.

Many of its practices (testimony, prayer of the brothers, musical repertoire, etc.) have been adopted by parishes or Catholic movements not affiliated with the Renewal movement. Thus, the Charismatic Renewal's social forms partially evolved with time: at first, they gave rise to elective assemblies (life communities and prayer groups) which became institutionalized. Today, it rather takes

the form of a network, attracting believers who do not place themselves exclusively under its banner, while its practices permeate very diverse Catholic realities. Networks, individual pragmatism, scattered forms of belonging, religious dissemination – all these features are echoes of "ultramodernity" (Giddens 1994; Willaime 1995).

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