|  |  |  |
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| ☯ |  | *Eastern* |
| *World* |
| *Religions* |
| Dr Paul Hahn  Theology Department  University of St Thomas  Houston TX 77006  © 2021 |

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# Introduction

## Introduction to the Study of Religion

1. **etymology of “religion”**
   1. From Latin *religare*, “to bind together” (in fellowship). (Johnstone 13)
   2. Or: from Latin *relegere*, “to execute painstakingly.” (Johnstone 13)
2. **partial definitions of religion**
   1. Religion as “belief in God” is too narrow: though reli­gions be­lieve in superhuman beings, these are not necessarily oth­er-world­ly. (Livingston 6)
   2. psychological (individual-centered) definitions
      1. Religion is “a feel­ing of an absolute depen­dence” (Friedrich Schleiermacher) or “experience of the holy” (Rudolf Otto). (Livingston 6)
         1. These def­ini­tions focus on an individual, emotional response; but they ignore rel­i­gion’s social, doctrinal, and ethical dimensions. (Livingston 6)
         2. Hegel “rejected the definition of religion [220] proposed by Schleiermacher. For, Hegel said, if it were true that the “essence” of piety, or religion, consists in the *feeling* of absolute dependence, as Schleiermacher could be understood to assert, then Hegel’s dog, rather than any human, would be the most religious animal.”
      2. Immanuel Kant reduces religion to “moral regulation . . .” (Livingston 6)
      3. Paul Tillich said that religion is whatever is our “ulti­mate concern,” whatever gives our life meaning and purpose. [6] But this definition might be applicable to political ide­ol­ogies, such as communism or Naz­ism. Should these be classed as religions? (Livingston 6-7)
         1. Communism has religious elements: “its prophets, its emphasis on orthodox beliefs, its rituals, its sacred shrines, the mission­ary zeal and unquestioning commitment of its adherents.” (Johnstone 21)
         2. Scientism has religious elements: “a system of beliefs about the utility of scientific endeavors, a set of practices (the scien­tific method), prophets of old (the founding fathers of modern science), sacred places (the laboratory, the computer room), supreme loyalty and commitment of its adherents, the missionary zeal, if you will, with which proponents try to win others to share their faith in sci­ence.” (Johnstone 21)
         3. But including ideologies as religions makes “religion” too broad. Reli­gion always involves “the sacred and the supernatural . . .” (Johnstone 21)
   3. functional definitions (these confuse the nature of religion with an explanation of its origin) (Livingston 7)
      1. Karl Marx: religion is “the opium of the people.” (Livingston 7)
      2. Sigmund Freud: “Religion is comparable to a childhood neurosis.” (Livingston 6)
      3. Thomas Ate: religion is a response to uncertainty, powerlessness, and scarcity. (This is inadequate: religion is also rooted in won­der, trust, and joy.) (Livingston 10)
      4. Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), founder of functionalism: religion ex­ists to fulfill social functions, functions “in the total life of a community.” (29) Examples would be: puberty rites, marriage, fun­er­als, etc. For Durkheim, the value of rel­i­gion is its contribution “to social in­teg­ra­tion and stability . . .” (30) But, though religion may fulfill such social functions, it is more than this. (Livingston 29-30)
3. **a proposed complete definition**: religion is “a system of beliefs and prac­tices by which a group of people interprets and responds to [the] su­per­­natural and sacred.” (Johnstone 20)
   1. Compare: “religion is a system of activities and beliefs di­rected toward that which is perceived to be sacred or of ultimate value and power.” (Liv­ingston 47)
   2. Compare: “an institutional aspect of society based on beliefs in a superhuman or supernatural realm . . .” (Ernest Krausz, “Religion and Secularization: A Matter of Definitions,” *Social Compass* 18 [1971-1972]: 211)
   3. Compare: “a system of beliefs and practices that are relative to superhuman beings.” (Smith 893)
   4. a group of people: “sociologists are very explicit” about what a group is. A group has six major features. (Johnstone 15)
      1. “. . . a group is composed of two or more people (members) who have es­tab­lished certain patterns of interaction (including communica­tion) . . .” (Johnstone 15)
      2. “. . . group members share common goals . . .” (Johnstone 15)
      3. “. . . a group is guided by shared norms” (i.e., means to goals). (Johnstone 15)
      4. “. . . every group member has a role, or set of functions, to fulfill.” (Johnstone 15)
      5. “. . . a group functions collectively in accordance with a status system, a hierar­chy . . . of power, authority, and prestige . . .” (Johnstone 15)
      6. “. . . group members feel and express a sense of identification with the group . . .” (Johnstone 16)
   5. a system of beliefs (doctrine)
      1. “. . . groups of any kind have beliefs.” (Johnstone 18)
      2. Beliefs are “attitudes or opinions . . .” (Johnstone 18)
      3. Religion “invariably includes or implies a body of beliefs. . . . [For] to deal with or justify these phenomena and experiences, religious groups develop explanations . . .” (Johnstone 18)
      4. “Every major religion has its sacred book or books . . .” E.g., *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures*,or the Book of Mormon. (Johnstone 18)
      5. “Furthermore, every major religion has beliefs *in addition*,” based on later interpretations “of lesser prophets” or successors to the founder . . .” (Johnstone 18)
      6. And every tradition (modern ones too) develops an oral tradition. (Johnstone 18)
   6. a system of practices (morality and ritual)
      1. morality
         1. All groups inevitably have behavioral norms. (Johnstone 19)
         2. “. . . religion is unique in claiming . . . the sacred or the su­per­nat­ural in order to influence the behavior of individuals.” (Johnstone 19-20)
      2. ritual: ritual is a universal feature of religions, an even more obvious one than beliefs. (Johnstone 19)
   7. the supernatural and the sacred (the object of religion)
      1. the supernatural: “a power or being not subject to the laws of the ob­serv­able universe.” (Livingston 17)
      2. the sacred: that which inspires “awe, reverence, and fear” [16], that which is “deserving or demand­ing respect . . .” (Livingston 16-17)
      3. the connection between the supernatural and the sacred: ordinarily some­thing is sacred “because some super­natural force or activity arouses the feeling of awe . . .” (Livingston 17)

## Background to the Study of Religion

1. **history of the scientific study of religion**
   1. The sociology of religion began c. 1850 because of awareness of prim­i­tive societies in Africa and Oceania. Europeans came to realize
      1. “the existence everywhere of some form of religion,” and
      2. the wide variety of religions. (Johnstone 9)
   2. reactions
      1. Many Christians said all other religions are wrong. (Johnstone 10)
      2. Others concluded that all religions are sincere efforts, and “each should be considered as good as any other so long as its adherents arre satisfied.” “The es­sence of religion is common to all of them.” (Johnstone 10)
      3. Still others concluded that all religions are erroneous: religion will be increasingly rejected as pre­scien­tific. (Johnstone 10)
      4. And some decided that we should pick and choose the best elements. (This is the position of Christian Sci­ence, Ba’hai, some modern Bud­dhist cults.) (Johnstone 10)
2. **why humans are religious**: From self-conscousness comes religious or ex­is­ten­tial questions, which are universal in humankind: Why am I here? To whom or what do I owe my ultimate loyalty and devotion? Why do righteous people suffer? Is death the end? (Livingston 9)
3. **why study religion?**
   1. “To understand *Homo religiosus* . . . just as we study humans as a biologi­cal species, as political creatures . . .” (Livingston 11)
   2. “To overcome our ignorance. . . . We often have a narrow, ethnocentric view . . .” (Livingston 11)
   3. “To comprehend [a] culture. [11] . . . [the] fabric of any culture is woven from the loom of fundamental religious assumptions . . .” (Livingston 11-12)
   4. “To achieve a global perspective.” (Livingston 12)
   5. “. . . to maintain peace . . . among the nations, it is imperative that we achieve . . . empathy for beliefs . . . that we find very foreign . . .” (Livingston 12)
   6. “To help us formulate our own religious belief . . . We are often hesitant to look at other faiths or to examine our own critically because we feel that, in so doing, we are being disloyal to our own deeply felt convic­tions. That is a natural and healthy reaction. And yet our beliefs are not worth very much if they cannot stand up to any scrutiny.” (Livingston 13)
4. **commitment and objectivity**
   1. Is disinterested neutrality possible? “Is not the gathering and organizing of data itself a pro­cess of selection? Are not some things overlooked or left in the shade? Do not the kinds or the forms of our ques­tions set the bounda­ries and shape of the an­swers we can expect to receive?” (Livingston 17)
   2. Just as a political scientist can be a committed Republican, so a student of religions can be both committed and objective. (Livingston 22)
   3. “. . . we need not be a believer to understand a religion.” (Livingston 19)

## Religion as a Social Institution

1. “**society**”
   1. A *society* is a collection of people “in near isolation from other such collections, [3] having definite geographic boundaries, and enacting distinctive cultures.” (The term is harder to apply to modern industrial nations.) (Leslie and Korman 3-4)
   2. There have been about 4000 distinct societies in the world. (Leslie and Korman 4)
2. “**institution**”
   1. “The term *institution* is used by social scientists to refer to complex systems of social norms organized about the preservation of basic societal values.” (Leslie and Korman 20)
   2. An *institution* is a system of social norms. “Norms are society’s rules of conduct for its members.” (Leslie and Korman 5)
3. “**functional requisites**”
   1. introduction
      1. “. . . certain institutions are found in all known societies . . . [This] suggests that societies may not be able to exist without them.” (Leslie and Korman 6)
      2. “All societies have these major institutions: family, government, economic system, education, and religion.” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      3. These basic five are called “functional requisites.” (Leslie and Korman 7)
   2. family
      1. Family concerns “rules regulating adult sexual relationships and procreation . . .” [5] “. . . provision for the reproduction of new members of the society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5, 7)
   3. education
      1. Education concerns “the transmission of values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills from one generation to the next.” [5] “. . . provision for the adequate socialization of new members of the society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5, 7)
   4. economy
      1. Economy concerns a “normative system [for] the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services . . .” [5] “. . . provision for the continued adequate biological functioning of the members of society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5, 7)
   5. government
      1. Government concerns “a normative system governing the legitimate use of power in the society.” [5] “. . . provision for the maintenance of order within the group and with outsiders . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5, 7)
   6. religion
      1. Religioin concerns a “normative system regulates our relation to the supernatural . . .” [5] “. . . provision for maintaining the motivation for group and individual survival and defining the meaning of life . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5, 7)
      2. “To some degree the adequate performance of all of the preceding functional requisites depends on this last one. There is a universal human problem of finding meaning for life itself and providing people with motivation for survival. The rationale for valuing existence varies among societies, but some rationale always is provided. In one society, the purpose of life may be to provide for worship of the Almighty. In a second, the goal may be continuation of the family line. Alternative and overlapping goals in life might include the appreciation of nature, the destruction of enemies, and hedonistic enjoyment. Some combination of goals is often found. The religious institution is deeply involved in this area. One of the [10] functions of religion is to define and strengthen ultimate values and to define relationships with the supernatural.” (Leslie and Korman 10-11)

## Religion and Magic

1. “**religion**”
   1. “Sociologically viewed, . . . religion can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people interprets and responds to what they feel is supernatural and sacred.” (Johnstone 20, ital­ics eliminated)
2. **similarities** (Johnstone 23)
   1. “. . . both are serious attempts to deal with and solve the basic problems people face . . .”
   2. “. . . both are based on faith in the existence and efficacy of powers that cannot be seen and can only be inferred by results . . .”
   3. “. . . both involve ritual activity, traditionally prescribed patterns of behavior . . .”
   4. “. . . both are bona fide elements of the group’s larger culture.”
3. **differences** (Johnstone 23)
   1. “. . . religion more often centers on such overarching issues as salvation and the meaning of life and death, whereas magic is more likely to be employed in grappling with current, concrete problems (counter­acting a viper’s bite, bringing rain, defeating the enemy, for ex­ample) . . .”
   2. “. . . religion is more often future-oriented, while magic is primarily concerned with the here and now (or at least the very near future) . . .”
   3. “. . . religion’s orientation toward supernatural powers tends to be one of obeisance and supplication, involving sacrifice and prayer (such as asking the appropriate deity or spirit to act on one’s behalf), whereas magic is more manipulative, more often suggestive of pride then [*sic*] of humility (the magician seeks direct control over things and events, even at times seeking to trick the deity or de­feat him . . .)”
   4. “. . . religion is characteristically a group activity, with groups of people collectively engaged in rituals and worship, while magic is typically an individual affair . . . Of course . . ., even though the magician works alone, his work is group-sanctioned.”
4. “**magic**”
   1. Religion requests from the supernatural; magic coerces the supernatural.
   2. Phillip Sigal (*Judaism* 163): “Magic was interwoven with faith as the followers of [the medieval Jewish movement called] Hasidism moved from quiet confidence in God’s response to an effort to compel God’s response with the usage of the right choice of words, the right number of words, and the correct incantation of these words.”
   3. Since magic fulfills the definition of religion, “magic is probably best seen neither as a competitor with religion nor as an alternative to it, but as a specialized subunit of religion.” (Johnstone 24)

RELIGIOUS POPLULATIONS, 2015

“Christianity 2015: Religious Diversity and Personal Contact.” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 39.1 (Jan. 2015) 28-29. *GlobalChristianity*.*org*. N.d. 7 Jan. 2018. Web. <http://­www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/research/documents/2IBMR2015.pdf>.

religious affiliations mid-2015 2025 2050

(world population 6,493,515,000 7,249,030,000 8,738,368,000)

Christians 2,419,221,000 2,727,172,000 3,437,236,000

Roman Catholics 1,239,267,000 1,343,831,000 1,632,823,000

Protestants (including Anglicans) 543,397,000 626,591,000 883,616,000

Orthodox 283,185,000 288,898,000 293,987,000

unaffiliated Christians 110,113,000 117,012,000 126,738,000

Christian movements

Evangelicals 328,582,000 400,076,000 581,134,000

Pentecostals/charismatics 643,661,000 795,734,000 1,091,314,000

Muslims 1,703,146,000 2,010,408,000 2,678,227,000

Hindus 984,532,000 1,066,463,000 1,183,629,000

Buddhists 520,002,000 564,760,000 575,769,000

Chinese folk-religionists 453,868,000 453,325,000 410,498,000

ethnoreligionists 260,240,000 265,317,000 274,972,000

new religionists 65,057,000 64,168,000 60,368,000

Sikhs 25,208,000 29,217,000 34,375,000

Jews 14,532,000 15,000,000 15,500,000

nonreligionists 831,267,000 834,382,000 812,576,000

agnostics 694,823,000 704,143,000 686,853,000

atheists 136,444,000 130,239,000 125,723,000

## US Christian Religious Bodies over One Million

*Yearbook of American & Canadian Churches*. 1998. 31 May 1999. 20 Aug. 2004. Web. <http://­www.­infoplease.com/ipa/A0113529.html>.

*Catholics* 61 million

*Baptists* 35.4

*Methodists* 13.2

*Christian Churches* 10.3

5.5 Church of God in Christ

2.3 Churches of Christ

1.5 United Church of Christ

1 Christian Churches and Churches of Christ

*Lutherans* 7.8

5.2 Evangelical Lutheran Church

2.6 Missouri Synod

*Mormons* 4.8

*Orthodox Churches* 4

*Presbyterians* 3.6

*Episcopalians* 2.5

*Assemblies of God* 2.5

*Pentecostal Assemblies* 1

# Prehistoric and Primitive Religions

## A Chronology of Universal History

Dates are from various articles in *Encyclopædia Britannica 2002 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM*.

(b = billion, m = million, t = thousand)

14-13 b *universe* if 14b = 24 hrs, then 1 hr = 583,333,333 yrs; 1 min = 9,722,222; 1 sec = 162,037

4.6 b *solar system*

3.5 b oceans; *life*: viruses and prokaryotes (bacteria and cyanobacteria [blue-green algae])

2.1 b eukaryotes (amoebas)

700 m multicellular organisms (specialized cells): invertebrates (jellyfish, worms)

540 m Cambrian explosion: mollusks, seaweed, sponges (all life is still in ocean shallows)

420 m land plants

410 m ferns; crustaceans on land

400 m fish

380 m spiders

370 m amphibians; seed plants (360 m)

340 m reptiles; winged insects (330 m)

280 m major extinction (35% of all species, 80% of reptile species)

220 m dinosaurs

195 m birds

141 m flowering plants

66.4 m *dinosaurs die out* (80% of all species die out)

66.4 m flowering plants, birds, and mammals (e.g., mouse, tree-shrew) take over

35 m monkeys; oppositional thumb, 3-D vision

25 m apes; horse and cow

15 m orangutan splits from line that will become gorillas, chimpanzees, and humans

8 m gorilla and chimpanzee split from hominid line (biochemists say 5-4 m)

5 m *Australopithecus*: human feet (can run and carry), rough-edged pebble tools (2 m)

1.6 m *homo erectus* (to 250 t): human hands, upright, 5’, brain = 2x chimp; hand axes (two straight edges, 750 t); caves; fire (400 t)

250 t archaic homo sapiens (to 100 t): between erectus and anatomically modern humans

200 t *Neanderthals* (to 30 t): burial, bear cult

100 t *anatomically modern humans*: migrate from Africa to Europe and Asia

20-10 t *rock paintings* in France and Spain

10 t *neolithic revolution*: domestication of plants and animals; then pottery, cloth, metal

3200 bc *writing* (Sumer)

river valley civilizations:

3500 *Mesopotamia* (Tigris and Euphrates Rivers)

3100 *Egypt* (Nile River)

2500 *India* (Indus River)

1700 *China* (Yellow River)

American civilizations (none north of Mexico):

1500 bc Mayans (Yucatan, Guatemala); cities, ad 200; climax, ad 700; dying by ad 1400s

1300-400 Olmecs (Gulf of Mexico)

200 bc writing (Central America)

ad 1000 Toltecs (from Mexico, conquer Mayans)

1200-1500 Aztecs (Mexico), establish Mexico City in ad 1325

1476-1534 Incas (Peru)

ad 1750 *industrial revolution*

## Classification of Primates

Napier, J.R., and P.H. Napier. *The Natural History of the Primates*. Cambridge: MIT, 1985.

In the primate order, there are 4 suborders:

*prosimians* (tarsiers, tree shrews, and lemurs) (c 40 species)

*New World monkeys* (platyrrhines [nostril holes at sides of a low nose bump]) (c 65 species)

*Old World monkeys* (catarrhines [prominent muzzles, nostrils face downwards])

arboreal monkeys (c 70 species)

terrestrial monkeys (c 15 species): baboons, macaques

*apes and humans*. There are 3 families:

gibbons (5 species) and siamang (1 species) (Asia) (arboreal)

great apes

orangutan (Asia) (1 species, 2 subspecies: Borneo, Sumatra) (arboreal)

gorilla (Africa) (1 species, 3 subspecies: western lowland, mountain, eastern lowland) (terrestrial)

chimpanzee (Africa) (2 species: common, bonobo [pygmy]) (arboreal and terrestrial)

humans (1 species) (terrestrial)

EVOLUTION OF LIVING APES AND HUMANS

Byrne, Richard W. “The Misunderstood Ape: Cognitive Skills of the Gorilla.” In Russon, Anne E., Kim Bard, and Sue Taylor Parker, eds. *Reaching into Thought*: *The Minds of the Great Apes*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996. 111.

Hrdy, Sarah Blaffer. *The Woman That Never Evolved*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981, 37-38.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| pre-34 m (= million) | | | | | pre-34 m | | | |
|  | | | |  | | |  |
| New World monkeys | | | | | Old World monkeys | | | |
| 17 m (+ or - 2) | | | | | 5.5 m (+/- 1) | | | |
|  |  | | | |
| orangutans | | 7.5 m (+ or - 1) | | |
|  |  |  |
| gorillas | |
|  |  |  | |
| chimpanzees | |

humans

## Evolution of Hominids

Australopithecus (5-1.5 m)

*Homo habilis* (2.5-1.5 m)

*Homo erectus* (1 m-300 t)

*Homo sapiens* (250 t-present)

*Homo sapiens Neanderthalensis* (250-35 t)

*Homo sapiens sapiens* (100 t-present)

## Prehistoric Religion

1. **introduction**
   1. ethnological parallels
      1. “Prehistoric” means cultures prior to written records; “primi­tive” means present-day cultures with undeveloped technology. (Eliade 1.24)
      2. “. . . beliefs and ideas cannot be fossilized.” (Eliade 1.8)
      3. Civilizations based on gathering, hunting, and fishing (in Africa, Australia, the Arctic, the tropical forests) are like “living fossils.” (Eliade 1.24)
      4. “Since we cannot reconstruct his [prehistoric man’s] religious beliefs and practices, we must at least point out certain anal­ogies that can illuminate them . . .” (Eliade 1.8)
   2. paleolithic vs. neolithic religion: an overview
      1. Paleolithic religion “was dominated by the mysti­cal relations between man and animal . . .” [19] “To kill the hunted beast or, later, the domestic animal is equivalent to a “sacri­fice” . . .” [5] (Eliade 1.5, 19)
      2. Neolithic religion was dominated by “the mystical solidarity be­tween man and vegeta­tion.” (Eliade 1.40)
         1. Humans “shared in the cyclical destiny of vegetation: birth, life, death, rebirth.” (Eliade 1.116)
         2. “. . . woman and feminine sacrality are raised to the first rank . . .” (Eliade 1.40)
2. **Neanderthal religion** (200,000-30,000 bc)
   1. cave bear cult
      1. “Cave bear bones (mostly skulls and long bones) have been found in the Alps of Swit­zerland and Austria, grouped in natural niches in caves, often about 4.5” above the cave floor.” (Eliade 1.13)
      2. A bear cult was practiced in the Northern Hemisphere until the 1800s ad. (Eliade 1.13)
      3. interpretation
         1. Did they hope a deity would resurrect the bear and thus replenish the food supply? Or expect the bones to be covered in flesh again? [15] “. . . belief that an animal can be reborn from its bones is found in a con­siderable number of cultures.” (Eliade 1.15-16)
         2. Probably the bears were sacrifices, [14] since sacrificial bone deposits are found among con­temporary arctic hunters. (Eliade 1.14-15)
         3. Pro­b­ably the Neanderthals believed that bones contain the “soul” or “life” of an animal. [8] The skull especially (i. e., the brain) was considered the seat of the “soul.” Hence a victim’s spiritual element could be assimilated by eating his brain.” [34] (Eliade 1.8, 34)
   2. burial
      1. Burial is common everywhere by c 50,­000 bc. (Eliade 1.10)
         1. It implies belief in an afterlife: otherwise, why expend the effort? (Eliade 1.9)
         2. It also implies belief in souls.
            1. The dead appearing in dreams may have caused this belief. (Eliade 1.10)
            2. Ecstasies, too, could cause it. (Eliade 1.34)
            3. And since it was appre­hended as image, vision, appari­tion, etc.,” the soul would be thought of as spiritual, indepen­dent of the body. (Eliade 1.34)
            4. The soul would be present throughout the body and “constituted in some sort its “double.”” (Eliade 1.34)
      2. nature of burial
         1. Corpses are often in a bent position. (Eliade 1.10)
            1. To keep the dead from returning? (Eliade 1.10)
            2. Fetal position, signifying hope of a rebirth? (Eliade 1.106)
         2. Dusting corpses with red ochre (hem­a­tite, rust) was practical­ly univer­sal (Europe, Africa, Australia, America). (Eliade 1.9)
         3. Grave goods included
            1. personal adornments (shells, pendants, necklaces) (Eliade 1.10)
            2. animals (remains of ritual feasts? offerings? provisions?) (Eliade 1.10)
         4. The heads of corpses were often oriented toward the East. (Eliade 1.11)
3. **paleolithic religion** (28,000-8,000 bc) (anatomically modern humans)
   1. cave bear cult: this continues. Sometimes the bear’s incisors and canines are filed (this is still done by the Giliaks of Sakhalin and the Ainus of Japan). (Eliade 1.15)
   2. rock paintings
      1. Cave paintings are mostly found in S. France and N. Spain. (Eliade 1.16)
      2. The images change little during the 20,000 years. (Eliade 1.16)
      3. Since the paintings are usually hundreds of yards from cave en­trances and often almost inaccessible, they must be sanc­tu­aries. (Eliade 1.17)
   3. shamanism
      1. Shamans (medicine men, witch doctors) are a priori likely in paleolithic times.
         1. Humans have always entered into trances, and “such a loss of consciousness [was] interpreted as the soul’s traveling into the be­yond.” (Eliade 1.19)
         2. Shamanism “still dominates . . . hunters and pastoralists in our day.” (Eliade 1.19)
      2. But it is explicitly confirmed by cave paintings.
         1. the Trois Frères “Great Magician”
            1. This man is wearing a deerskin, with antlers, owl eyes, wolf ears, chamois (a goat­like mountain antelope) beard, bear paws, and hor­se’s tail. (Similarly, a slate slab at Lourdes shows a man dressed in a deer­skin with ant­lers and a horse’s tail.) (Eliade 1.18)
            2. The Lord of Wild Beasts? A sorcerer personifying him? (Eliade 1.18)
         2. the Lascaux “Bird Man”
            1. The Lascaux cave depicts a man with a bird beak lying on his back; his hooked pike is against the belly of a wounded bison whose horns thrust toward the man; a bird sits on a nearby perch. (Eliade 1.18)
            2. A hunting accident? More likely, a shamanic séance. And if so, then

the bison has been sacrificed,

the man is in trance,

the bird is his guardian spirit (a common motif in Si­ber­i­an shaman­ism), [18] and

his soul is traveling to the gods to ask for success in the hunt (the likeliest function of a specialist in the sacred during mankind’s hunting era). (Eliade 1.18-19)

* + - 1. dancers
         1. “. . . we know, in Paleolithic art, some fifty-five representa­tions of men dressed in skins, often in a dancing posture.” (Eliade 1.18)
         2. In the Trois Frères cave, a man in a bison mask plays an in­stru­ment, perhaps a flute, and seems to be dancing. (Eliade 1.17-18)
         3. The Trois Frères “Great Magician” seems to be dancing. (Eliade 1.18)
      2. X-ray drawings: the cave paintings sometimes depict the interior of animals and men (similar pictures are found in Siberia, Am­erica, India, Ma­lay­sia, New Guinea, and Aus­tralia). They indicate shamanism, “For it is only the shaman who, by virtue of his super­natural vision, is able to . . . penetrate even into the source of animal life, the bony ele­ment.” (Eliade 1.19)
    1. shamanic beliefs
       1. souls and spirits: “ecstasy of the shamanic type . . . implies, on the one hand, belief in a “soul,” able to leave the body and travel freely through the world, and, on the other hand, the con­viction that during such a journey, the soul can meet cer­tain super­human beings and ask them for help or a bless­ing.” (Eliade 1.24)
       2. possession: “The shamanic ecstasy also implies the possibil­ity of pos­sessing, that is, en­tering, the bodies of [24] human beings, and also of being possessed by the soul of a dead person or by a spirit or a god.” (Eliade 1.24-25)
  1. Venus statuettes (Eliade 1.20)
     1. 2-10 inches
     2. stone, bone, and ivory
     3. Rhine to Italy, France to Siberia
     4. Heads are usually without features, and the breasts and abdomen are usually exagger­ated.
  2. myths
     1. Probably paleolithic peoples had a number of myths. (Eliade 1.26)
     2. myths of origin
        1. cosmogonic myths (origin of the universe, often with a Creator vs. the pri­mor­dial Waters) (Eliade 1.26)
        2. etiological myths (origin of man, game animals, fire, death, etc.) (Eliade 1.26-27)
     3. cosmological myths (a cosmic mountain or navel of the earth as the center of the world; “para­digmatic rivers dividing the “world” in four direc­tions”) (Eliade 1.26)
     4. ancestor worship: belief in ancestors “is universally dis­semi­nated and . . . has survived in all reli­gions [except] Hina­yana Bud­dhism.” (Eliade 1.32)
     5. flight (“universally docu­mented [and] bound up with . . . shaman­ism”) (Eliade 1.26)
     6. rainbow (“Equally widespread”) (Eliade 1.26)
     7. sky
        1. The “sacrality of the sky and of celestial and atmospher­ic phenomena” is a given for humans: viewing the sky “is one of the few experiences that spon­tane­ously reveal transcendence and majesty.” (Eliade 1.27)
        2. “In addition, the ecstatic ascents of shamans . . . contribute to consecrating the celestial sphere as [the] dwelling place of superhuman beings: gods, spirits, civiliz­ing heroes.” (Eliade 1.27)
     8. Also myth-causing were “the “revelations” of night and darkness, of the killing of game and the death of a member of the family, of cos­mic catastrophes, of the occasional cris­es of enthusiasm, mad­ness, or homicidal ferocity . . .” (Eliade 1.27)
  3. rituals
     1. Cave paintings often show “bears, lions, and other wild animals riddled with arrows . . .” (Eliade 1.17)
        1. Could be a “reactualization of a . . . hunt.” (Eliade 1.17)
        2. But probably “hunting magic” rites were performed before hunt­ing expeditions. (Eliade 1.17)
        3. The pictures may also have been used for ceremonies initiating adoles­cents. (Eliade 1.17)
     2. men-only groups
        1. “Hunting determined the division of labor in accor­dance with sex . . . in the entire animal world, no such difference ex­ists.” (Eliade 1.4)
        2. Differentia­tion of gender roles “permits us to suppose the exis­tence of secret rites in which only men may take part and that are performed before hunting expedi­tions.” (Eliade 1.25)
        3. Probably, too, the secrets of these men-only groups were “re­vealed to adolescents by means of initiation rites.” (Eliade 1.25)
           1. Prints of young mens’ feet on the clay floor of the Montes­pan cave is probably evidence of the “circular dance.” (Eliade 1.25)

The circular dance “is practiced every­where by hunt­ers . . .” (Eliade 1.25)

Primitives do it “to pacify the soul of the slain animal or to insure the multiplication of the game.” (Eliade 1.25)

* + - * 1. “The analogies between a number of ceremonies documented at the farthest regions of the ecumene (Australia, South and North America) bear witness to a common tradition already devel­oped during the Paleo­lithic.” Eliade here seems to sup­pose the present ceremonies were historically dispersed. (Eliade 1.25)
    1. cosmic renewal: “The fundamen­tal idea [of] renewal of the world by repeti­tion of the cosmog­ony [is] preagricul­tural [and] is found . . . among the Austra­lians and a number of North Ameri­can tribes.” (For this ritual in neolithic culture, see p. 17.) (Eliade 1.42)
  1. time notation
     1. Modern humans analyzed the moon’s phases “some 15,000 years before the dis­covery of agri­culture.” (Eliade 1.23)
        1. “This makes more comprehensi­ble the considerable role of the moon in archaic mythologies.” (Eliade 1.23)
        2. Probably the calendars, arithmetic, and writing of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China ­­descended from the early notations. (Eliade 1.22)
     2. Notations of lunar cycles suggest that “seasonal or periodic ceremo­nies were fixed long in advance, as is the case in our day among Siberians and North American Indians.” (Eliade 1.22)

1. **mesolithic period** (c 10,000-7,000 bc)
   1. in general
      1. At the end of the ice age c 10,000 bc, “retreat of the glaciers brought on a migra­tion of the fauna toward the northern regions [and] hunters followed . . . but the diminishing stock of game animals obliged them to settle on the banks of lakes and at the seashore and to live by fishing.” (Eliade 1.29)
      2. “The new [mesolithic] cultures . . . ­were poorer than the grandiose creations of the Upper Paleo­lithic.” (Eliade 1.29)
   2. inventions: among the new inventions are
      1. the bow (Eliade 1.34)
      2. cords and nets (Eliade 1.34)
      3. hooks (Eliade 1.34)
      4. “boats able to make fairly long voyages.” (Eliade 1.34)
   3. myths and rituals
      1. The new inventions gave rise to myths and rituals because of “the imag­in­a­­tive activity inspired by familiarity with the different modalities of matter. In working with a piece of flint or a primitive needle, in joining together animal hides or wood­en planks, in preparing a fishhook or an arrowhead, in shaping a clay statuette, the imagination dis­covers unsuspect­ed analogies among the different levels of the real; tools and [34] ob­jects are laden with countless symbolisms, the world of work—­the micro­universe that ab­sorbs the artisan’s attention for long hours—becomes a mysterious and sacred center, rich in meanings. . . . unlike the man of modern so­ci­eties, the imag­ina­tive activity of prehistoric man also possessed a mytholog­ical di­men­sion.” (Eliade 1.34-35, italics omitted)
   4. Natufian culture (Palestine)
      1. dwellings
         1. Paleolithic hunters lived in caves, but Natufi­ans *settled* in them. (Eliade 1.33)
         2. They also settled in open-air villages: Einan was a village “of circu­lar huts with fire­places.” [33] So “villages preceded the discovery of agriculture.” [37] (Eliade 1.33, 37)
      2. farming
         1. The domestication of plants and animals began during the mesolithic but was not general till the neo­lith­ic. (Eliade 1.33)
         2. Natufians harvested wild cere­als “with stone sickles and ground the seeds in a mortar with the help of a pestle. It was a great step forward toward agriculture.” (Eliade 1.33)
         3. Already the Natufians show (1) population expansion and (2) com­merce, phenom­ena that will result even more from domestica­tion of plants and animals. (Eliade 1.33)
2. **mesolithic religion**
   1. burial: two types of burial (inherited from the paleo­lithic and passed on to the neo­lithic) are found in meso­lithic Palestine. (Eliade 1.33)
      1. “inhumation of the entire body in a bent position” (Eliade 1.33)
      2. “burial of skulls . . .” 33 Like the skulls buried at Offnet (Bavaria) and Höhlen­stein (Württemberg), “these skulls be­longed to individuals who had been massacred, perhaps by head­hunters or cannibals.” (Eliade 1.34)
   2. rock paintings
      1. Rock paintings of the “Spanish Levant” (Spain’s Mediterranean coast) are “a rigid and formalistic geometrical art. The rock walls of the Sierra Morena are covered with anthro­pomorphic and theriomorphic figures (principally of stags and ibexes), reduced to a few lines, and with various signs (undulating ribbons, circles, points, suns).” (Eliade 1.31)
      2. These anthropomorphic figures also appear on painted pebbles. In Bir­sek Cave, Swit­zer­­land, 133 painted pebbles were broken, by enemies or later occupants, presumably to ensure “annihilation of the magico-religious force present in these objects.” (Eliade 1.32)
   3. orgiastic behavior: “orgiastic ecstasy is able to reactualize the religious behav­ior of the earliest Paleo­hom­inians, when the game was eaten raw; this happened in Greece, among the worshipers of Dionysus . . ., or, still at the beginning of the twenti­eth century, among the Aissawa of Morocco.” (Eliade 1.36)
   4. ancestor worship: “the mythical ancestor and the cult of ancestors dominate the Euro­pe­an Mesolithic [because of] the memory of the Ice Age, when the distant ancestors lived in a sort of hun­ters’ paradise.” (Eliade 1.32)
   5. hunters as warriors
      1. “Probably a certain number of hunters who refused to take an active part in the econ­omy of the cultivators were employed as guardians of the villages,” first against ani­mals, then against men. (Eliade 1.35)
      2. “Probably, too, the first military organizations took shape from these groups . . . mili­tary aristocracies carry on the symbolism and ideology of the paradigmatic hunter.” (Eliade 1.35)
      3. Blood sacrifices continue in pastoral and agricultural soci­eties. “A type of behavior that, for one or two million years, had been inseparable from the human (or at least the mas­cu­line) mode is not easily abolished.” (Eliade 1.36)
      4. totemism (not Eliade’s word here)
         1. “. . . the pursuit and killing of a wild animal becomes the mythi­cal model for the conquest of a territory (*Landnáma*) . . .” (Eliade 1.36)
         2. “. . . the techniques of hunting and war are so much alike as to be hardly separable. . . . The members of the Indo-European military confraternities (*Män­ner­bünde*) . . . behaved toward the sedentary populations that they attacked like carni­vores hunting . . . cattle.” (Eliade 1.36)
         3. Later, “conquests of the Indo-Europeans and the Turko-Mongols will be undertak­en under the sign of the supreme hunter, the carni­vore. . . . Indo-European and Turko-Mongol tribes had eponyms of beasts of prey (primarily the wolf) and re­garded themselves as des­cen­ded from a theriomorphic ances­tor.” (Eliade 1.36)
         4. Hunting becomes “the favorite sport, of sovereigns and military aristoc­racies. In addition, the fabled pres­tige of the hunter’s existence . . . is still maintained . . .” (Eliade 1.36)
   6. tundra religion (the religion of “the hunters who had fol­lowed the reindeer herds into north­ern Europe”), as exemplified at Stellmoor Lake (near Hamburg) (Eliade 1.29)
      1. Archaeologists found “the remains of twelve entire reindeer, sub­merged with stones in their thoracic cages [29] . . . sacrifice by immersion is amply documented, and at dif­ferent periods . . .” (Eliade 1.29-30)
      2. “. . . wooden arrows, bone tools, [and] axes made from reindeer antlers [pro­bably] re­pres­ent offer­ings . . .” (Eliade 1.30)
      3. A “pinewood post with a reindeer skull set at its summit . . . probably indicates rit­ual meals . . .” (Eliade 1.30)
      4. About 10,000 bc a willow trunk was “set up in the pond . . . [It was] 3.50 meters in length [and] crude­ly sculp­­tured; it is possible to make out a head, a long neck, and deeply incised lines” representing arms. Probably it is a supernatural being. (Eliade 1.30)
3. **neolithic period**
   1. neolithic revolution
      1. The “neolithic revolution”—farming as the principal liveli­hood—oc­curred “grad­ually be­tween 9000 and 7000 b.c.” (Eliade 1.37)
   2. domestication of animals
      1. sheep: 8000 bc (Shanidar, Iraq) (Eliade 1.33)
      2. dog: 7500 bc (Stan Carr, England) (Eliade 1.33)
      3. goat: 7000 bc (Jericho) (Eliade 1.33)
      4. pig: 6500 bc (Jericho) (Eliade 1.33)
   3. domestication of plants
      1. “Agriculture,” narrowly speaking, is the cultivation of cer­eals (“cereal­iculture”) (*Gra­mina­ceae*, grass­es); it devel­oped in Southwest Asia and Central America. (Eliade 1.37)
      2. “Vege­culture,” by contrast, is the cul­ti­va­tion of tub­ers (e. g., the potato), roots, and rhizomes (strawberry-like root systems); it developed in the humid, tropical plains of Southeast Asia and the Americas. (Eliade 1.37)
      3. Vegeculture preceded agriculture. A Thailand cave contained “cultivated peas, beans, and roots of tropical plants” dating to c 9000 bc; and in Venezuela and Colombia “ves­tiges of a cultivation of cas­sava were found below the level of the cultivation of maize . . .” (Eliade 1.37)
   4. neolithic cultures
      1. Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük (cities in Turkey, fl. 7000-5000 bc) “preceded and probably influenced the preceramic culture of Jericho . . .” (Eliade 1.46)
      2. Jericho (Israel)
         1. The mesolithic Natufians built a sanctuary near the great spring of Jericho; it was burned before 7800 bc. (Eliade 1.44 n. 31)
         2. Jericho was a village by at least 7000 bc. (Can’t find the page this was on.)
         3. By “6850 [or] 6770” bc [44], Jericho was “the first city in the world . . .” (Eliade 1.44 n. 31)
         4. It had fortifications, a massive tower, and large public edi­fices. (Eliade 1.45)
      3. The Tell Halaf culture (Mesopotamia, c 5000-4400/4300 bc) knew copper “and seems to be the creation of a population coming down from the North, perhaps as refugees from Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük.” (Eliade 1.47)
      4. The Obeid culture (at Warka = Uruk = Erech, city in Mesopotamia, c 4325 bc): “No other prehistoric culture exercised a comparable influ­ence.” (Eliade 1.47)
   5. inventions soon after the neolithic revolution: pottery, cloth, metallurgy. (Eliade 1.34, 37)
   6. calendar
      1. Paleolithic peoples had dis­covered “a rudimentary lunar calen­dar [but] By becoming the *producer* of his food, [man] had to per­fect his tech­nique for calculating time . . . From now on, the cultiva­tor [had] to perform, in an exact order, a series of complex activities . . .” (Eliade 1.37)
4. **neolithic religion**
   1. myths
      1. myths of plant origins
         1. plants from an immolated divinity
            1. In many cultures a myth explains that cereals, tu­bers, and fruit trees “were born from an immo­lated divinity.” (Eliade 1.38-39)
            2. “The most famous example comes from Ceram, one of the is­lands off New Guinea: from the dismembered and buried body of a semi­divine maiden, Hainu­wele, spring plants until then un­known, especially tubers.” (Eliade 1.38)
            3. “This primordial murder radically changed the human condi­tion, for it intro­duced sexuality and death . . .” (Eliade 1.38)
            4. Also, “it permits the goddess to be continually present . . . Obtaining nour­ish­ment from plants that have sprung from her own body is, in reality, to obtain it from the actual sub­stance of the goddess.” (Eliade 1.38)
            5. The pri­mordial murder “justi­fies such sanguinary rites as human sacrifice and cannibalism . . .” (Eliade 1.38-39)
            6. “The meaning of these myths is obvious: food plants are sa­cred, since they are derived from the body of a divinity . . .” (Eliade 1.39)
         2. plants from a primordial theft: in some myths, “cereals exist, but in the sky, jeal­ously guard­ed by the gods; a civilizing hero as­cends into the sky, makes off with a few seeds, and bestows them on man­kind.” (Eliade 1.39)
      2. cosmic tree
         1. The central religious mystery becomes “*the periodical renew­al of the world*. Like human exis­tence, the cosmic rhythms are ex­pressed in terms drawn from vegeta­ble life. The mystery of cosmic sacrality is symbol­ized in the World Tree. The uni­verse is conceived as an organ­ism that must be re­newed . . . each year.” (Eliade 1.41)
         2. “The Cosmic Tree is . . . at the center of the world, and it un­ites the three cosmic regions . . .” (Eliade 1.42)
         3. “The Cosmic Tree is the most widespread expression of the *axis mundi*; but the symbolism of the cosmic axis probably precedes—­or is independent of—the agri­cultural civiliza­tions, since it is found in certain arctic cultures.” (Eliade 1.42)
      3. divinities
         1. Earth Goddess
            1. Neolithic peoples associated “woman and sexuality with the lunar rhythms, with the earth (assimilated to the womb), and with . . . *the mystery of birth*, *death*, *and rebirth* identified in the rhythm of vegetation . . .” (Eliade 1.41)
            2. With farming the principal livelihood, “the chief responsibility for assuring the means of subsistence fell upon women. [38] . . . women become respon­sible for the abundance of har­vests, for they know the “mystery” of creation.” 38, (Eliade 1.40)
            3. Therefore, “woman and feminine sac­rality are raised to the first rank . . .” (Eliade 1.40)
            4. “The fertility of the earth is bound up with feminine fecun­dity . . . The soil is assimilated to woman.” (Eliade 1.41)

There arise myths “concerning the birth of men from the Earth . . .” (Eliade 1.40)

“Mother Earth gave birth by herself, through par­theno­gen­esis.” (Eliade 1.40)

“Parthenogenesis [expresses] the religi­ous charac­ter of sexual­ity.” (Eliade 1.41)

The idea survived into later times: e. g., Hera alone con­ceived and gave birth to Hephaestus and Ares. (Eliade 1.40)

Millenia later, “after the discov­ery of the plow, agri­cul­tural work is assimi­lated to the sexual act.” But at first annual crops re­sult from par­thenogen­esis. (Eliade 1.41)

* + - * 1. the Goddess at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük (Anatolia, 7000 bc)

Among stone and clay statuettes, “The princi­pal divinity is the god­dess, pres­ented under three aspects: young wom­an, mother giving birth to a child (or to a bull), and old crone (sometimes accompa­nied by a bird of prey).” (Eliade 1.46)

Among wall paintings at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük, “Re­liefs of the goddess, sometimes 2 meters high, modeled in plas­ter, wood, or clay, . . . were fastened to the walls.” (So were bull heads, manifesting the god.) (Eliade 1.46)

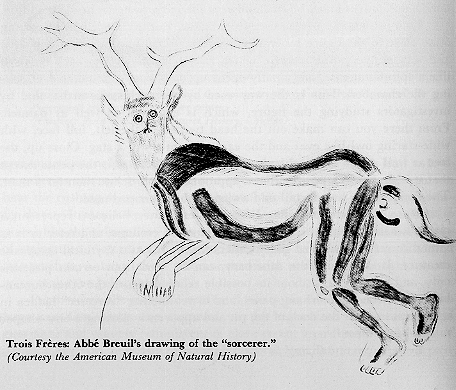
“Sexual imagery is absent, but a woman’s bust and a bull’s horn—symbols of life—are sometimes com­bined.” (Eliade 1.46)

At Hacilar c 5700 bc, “the goddess is shown seated on a leopard, or standing and holding a leop­ard cub, but also alone . . . or accompanied by a child. Some­times she is naked . . .” (Eliade 1.46)

At Hacilar c 5435-5200 bc, “the figurines of the goddess, accompanied by a child or an animal, disap­pear, as do the masculine statues.” They are replaced by cer­amics with geo­metrical designs. (Eliade 1.46)

* + - * 1. At Jericho (c. 6850 or 6770 bc), “two feminine statu­ettes and a few others representing animals indicate a fertility cult.” (Eliade 1.45)
        2. Byblos (4000s bc) has yielded clay figurines. One is hermaphrodite, ­but others (c 4500) “show the Mother Goddess in a terrifying and demonic aspect.” (Eliade 1.45)
        3. At Tell Halaf, the goddess is “often in a crouching posi­tion, accompa­nied by doves and with exaggerat­ed breasts, the paradig­ma­tic image of the Mother God­dess.” (Eliade 1.47)
      1. Goddess’s consort
         1. At Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük, “The mascu­line divinity appears in the form of a boy or youth—the goddess’s child or lover—­and of a bearded adult, occa­sionally mounted on his sacred animal, the bull.” (Eliade 1.46)
         2. At Tell Halaf, “The wild bull was venerated as an epiphany of male fertili­ty. Images of bulls, bucrania, ram’s heads, and the double ax certainly had a cult role, related to the storm god, so important in all the religions of the ancient Near East.” (Eliade 1.47)
      2. divine family
         1. Jericho has yielded “three plaster images . . . thought to rep­re­sent a bearded male, a woman, and a child. The eyes are marked by shells. . . . [They are per­haps] the earliest-known divine triad . . .” (Eliade 1.45)
  1. rituals
     1. Agriculture imposes “the idea of *circular time* and the *cosmic cycle*,” which is the repetition of birth, death, and rebirth. (Eliade 1.42)
        1. “In post-Vedic India this conception will be elab­or­ated in two inter­twined doctrines: that of cycles (*yugas*), repeated to in­finity, and that of the trans­migration of souls.” (Eliade 1.42)
     2. “Since the world must be renewed periodically, the cosmogony will be ritually reiter­ated at each New Year.” This idea was already present in paleolithic times (see p. 8 above). (Eliade 1.42)
        1. “. . . the *hieros gamos* [“sacred marriage”] and the ritual orgy express, on different planes, the religious character of sexual­ity.” (Eliade 1.41)
        2. “. . . ritual combats [43] between two opposing groups play an important part, especially in the New Year scenar­ios.” (Eliade 1.43-44)
           1. It may be “the repetition of a mythical combat, as in Meso­po­tamia . . .” (Eliade 1.44)
           2. Or it may be “simply the confronta­tion between two cos­mogonic prin­ciples (win­ter/­summer; day/night; life/death) . . .” (Eliade 1.44)
           3. At any rate, “the deep meaning is always the same: confron­tation, jousts, com­bats awaken, stimulate, or in­crease the creative forces of life.” (Eliade 1.44)
     3. “. . . to be understood, accepted, and mas­tered, the crises that threat­en the harvest (floods, droughts, etc.) will be translated into mythological dramas. These myth­ologies and ritual scenarios that depend on them will domi­nate the reli­gions of the Near East for millenia.” (Eliade 1.41)
  2. sanctuaries
     1. Possible temples have been found at Jericho. (Eliade 1.45)
     2. At Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük “A sanctuary (ca. 6200 b.c.) contained four men’s skulls depos­ited under the bulls’ heads fastened to the walls.” (Eliade 1.46)
  3. burial
     1. At Çatal Hüyük, Jericho, and Tell Halaf, “skeletons were buried under the floors of houses, accompa­nied by funeral gifts: jewels, semipre­cious stones, weapons . . . numer­ous stone and clay statu­ettes were found. The principal divinity is the goddess . . .” (Eliade 1.46)
     2. cult of skulls
        1. “The cult of skulls is well documented at Hacilar.” (Eliade 1.46)
        2. At Jericho, some skulls have “the lower parts [mold­ed] in plaster, and the eyes are repre­sent­ed by shells . . . [It was probably an attempt] to pre­serve the memory of the living individual.” (Eliade 1.45)

## Three Early Religious Illustrations



the “Great Magician”



the “Beaked Man”



“Proto-Shiva”

## Megaliths

Hadingham, Evan. *Circles and Standing Stones*: *An Illustrated Exploration of Megalith Mysteries of Early Britain*. New York: Doubleday, 1976.

Joussaume, Roger. *Dolmens for the Dead*: *Megalith Building throughout the World*. New York: Cornell, 1985.

O’Kelly, Michael J. *Newgrange*: *Arcaheology*, *Art and Legend*. New Aspects of Antiquity. Gen. ed. Colin Renfrew. London: Thames and Hudson, 1982.

1. **dolmens**
   1. The dolmens were chambers of the dead. Alignment of the barrows with the rising sun suggests belief in rebirth in another world, and perhaps belief that ancestors would be intermediaries between the two worlds. Perhaps by burying ancestors in the long mounds, the dolmen-builders believed that their an­cestors would stay close the homeland and watch over their descendants. Perhaps the burials were a way of laying claim to the surrounding land. Perhaps menhirs, too, were ancestor-worship mem­orials: perhaps, by inhabiting a menhir, an ancestor could assimilate the stone’s permanence.
   2. Dolmens were more common than menhirs or cromlechs.
   3. Some dolmens were used for longer than 1000 years.
   4. “The users had therefore to maintain a means of access to a chamber which varied in form (circular, polygonal or rectangular) according to area and period. Several means were envisaged: a movable slab on one of the sides, an easily-removed dry-stone wall, a perforated slab closed by a door of wood or stone, but most often a passage of varying length with some system of closure at one end gives access to the chamber through a mound of earth or stone. We are dealing here with a “passage-grave”, a very widespread type.” (Joussaume 17)
   5. Dolmens were covered with earth (resulting in a “barrow”) or with stones (resulting in a “cairn”).
   6. A subtype of dolmen is the “gallery grave,” with a broader and more constant width.
   7. The size of prehistoric man is roughly equivalent to modern man. He could not have moved the stones more easily because of greater physical strength, and the unusually low entrances to dolmens cannot be explained by humans’ smaller stature back then.
2. **menhirs**
   1. Menhirs average 20 feet in height. They may have been lighthouses; many show evidence of having held a lighted fire, and they are frequently near the ocean.
   2. The largest menhir is the *grand menhir brisé* in Locmariaquer, France (near the Atlantic coast in Brittany). Though now in four pieces, it was originally 68 feet in length and weighed 340 tons. John Michell (*Megalithomania* [New York: Cornell, 1982] 89) quotes Denis Roche (*Carnac* [1969]), who quotes Georges Guenin (*Pierres à Legendes de la Bretagne*), who mentions that the *grand menhir brisé* was resorted to each May 1 by infertile women, who slid their naked genitals along its fragments.
   3. The arrangement of menhirs from simple pairs to multiple rows may have had something to do with astronomy, or they may have been processional paths leading to religious sanctuaries.
3. **cromlechs**
   1. Cromlechs are primarily in the British Isles.
   2. The ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter is pi. Cromlechs may have been early attempts to derive a whole number ratio between the perimeter and the principal diameter; there may have been an obsession with trying to resolve pi by symmetrically altering the circumference of the circle to create consistent units of measurement.
   3. Cromlechs may have functioned as astronomical observatories. “If we imagine that our neolithic observer wanted to record this lunar cycle, then one method would have been to observe the full moon nearest the winter solstice each year from the centre of the enclosure, and to mark its rising point by a stake or a post some distance away, perhaps in the area of the entrance causeway of the circle. When the observer came to set up his annual marker, he would find that his position was slightly to the left or right of last year’s marker, because of the slow shift of the lmit of the moon’s orbit over the 18.61 cycle. At the end of several of these cycles, the entrance to the enclosure would consist of a maze of posts corresponding to the movement of the moon each year. This is exactly what excavations of the Stonehenge monument revealed—a regular pattern of some forty post-holes, which coincide in a remarkable way with the calculated positions for midwinter moonrise. No one has yet suggested how these posts could have served any more functional purpose, such as supporting a gateway or porch . . . “ (Hadingham 88)
4. **megaliths in general**
   1. Did the Druids construct the megaliths? That is unlikely: they lacked knowledge of architecture, and their rites were held in natural settings.
   2. The introduction of farming to neolithic man is believed to correspond to the beginning of astronomy because an understanding of the seasons is critical to the growth of crops. It has been discovered that neolithic man began noting observations of the sun as far back as 3300 bc. Many of these observations have been discovered along the entrance of the barrows, possibly signifying an annual ritual in honor of the sun to encourage its return each year.
   3. The “megalithic yard,” 2.72 feet, seems to have been a standard unit of measurement used in the construction of the megaliths. Since the measurements of the monuments throughout England are strikingly consistent, all yardsticks may have been measured against the original, to avoid gradual errors that would otherwise have seeped in.
   4. Carvings on many megaliths follows a consistent style throughout Europe. Some sites, however, (e. g., Stonehenge) show no carvings. The carvings remain indecipherable. They are mainly representa­tions of cups, rings, concentric circles, and serpen­tine lines.
   5. Perhaps they are abstractions of human faces, the faces of ances­tors. A similar practice among Australian aborigines sup­ports this theory.
   6. Perhaps the carvings have astronomical significance. For example, it has been noticed that one pattern of cups, if reversed in a mirror, exactly repro­duces the relations between the Pole Star and the circumpolar constel­lations and first magnitude stars. Perhaps the patterns were used by magicians to train apprentices when the night sky was not visible.
5. **example**: **Newgrange**
   1. Newgrange is about 14 km inland from the east coast of Ireland and about 50 km north of Dublin. “The mound of Knowth, equal in size to Newgrange and containing two passage-graves, lies upstream on another ridge about 1 km to the northwest. Clustered round this mound are seventeen smaller passage-graves. The mound of Dowth, again comparable in size, lies on high ground to the east of Newgrange and also contains two passage-graves.” (O’Kelly 13) Newgrange, Knowth, and Dowth are “the cathedrals of the megalithic religion.” (O’Kelly 122)
   2. “A kerb of massive contiguous slabs laid on their long edges surrounds the base of the mound. There are 97 in all . . . White quartz stones and round [15] granite boulders were used to build a revetment above the kerb all along the front or south side but elsewhere ordinary boulders were used. [16] . . . A large circular mound or cairn of loose stones covers the tomb. [13] . . . The cairn is made up of medium-sized water-rolled stones, 15-22 cm in average diameter, interspersed with layers of turves. [15] . . . the covering cairn contains about 200,000 tonnes of stone. [117] . . . The diameter of the cairn nw-se is 78.6 m and ne-sw 85.3 m, so it is not completely circular.” (O’Kelly 13, 15-16, 117)
   3. “A circle of standing stones surrounds the cairn . . . They are irregularly spaced . . . “ (O’Kelly 13)
   4. “The Newgrange tomb consists of a passage and chamber the walls and roof of which are built of large slabs without mortar [13] . . . The tomb passage opens in the southeast and runs se-nw. It is 18.95 m long, lined on each side with orthostats [monoliths] . . . They average 1.5 m in height . . . Those nearest the chamber are tallest . . . The chamber is cruciform, containing three recesses or side-chambers. . . . Two basin stones lie in [the ne] recess, one isde the other, and there is a single basin in each of the other recesses. The chamber is roofed with a corbelled vault which rises and narrows gradually until it is closed by a single capstone, 6 m above the floor.”“ (O’Kelly 13, 21)
   5. “The House for the Dead had to be built of great stones so that it should last for ever . . . “ (O’Kelly 126)
   6. “. . . every effort was made by the builders to keep the inside dry [126] . . . a series of grooves had been cut on the [passage-roof] slabs to enable the rain-water percolating through the cairn to be led off outside the confines of the passage beneath. The interstices of the roof were caulked with a mixture of burnt soil and sea sand to render them waterproof [23] . . . Surely this must mean that the structure was thought of, not merely as a tomb, but as a House for the Dead, in which the spirits would live in dry comfort and in an even temperature, a constant 10 C [126] . . . “ (O’Kelly 126, 23)
   7. “Bone fragments representing a small number of people, as well as grave-goods typical of Irish passage-graves, were found when the floor of the tomb was excavated.” (O’Kelly 23) “. . . five persons were represented, 2 unburnt and 3 cremated. . . . cremation seems to have been the normal rite in Irish passage-grave practice . . . “ 24 men, women, and children were buried at Fourknocks; the Mound of the Hostages at Tara had the cremated remains of a hundred or more. “However many or few were contained in these tombs they must surely have been special in some way. The number of workers who built Newgrange, and their families, must have been considerable adn yet they were not buried in or immediately around it. We have no way of knowing in what way the people who were put inso Newgrange were special; it does not necessarily follow that they were royal or priestly . . . “ (O’Kelly 126)
   8. On the grave goods: “A surprising number of finds, undoubtedly forming part of the original grave deposit, were made during the excavation, especially when one considers . . . the number of people who had visited the tomb during the previous two-and-a-half centuries. In all, the grave-finds amounted to 7 ‘marbles’, 4 pendants, 2 beads, a utilized flint flake, a bone chisel and fragments of several bone pins and points.” (O’Kelly 105)
   9. “A so-far unique structure, the roof-box . . . rests partly on the first roof-slab (RS1) of the passage and partly on RS2. It is open at the front and its roof-stone or lintel is expertly ornamented on the forward-facing edge. It was found that at the time of the winter solstice (21 December) the rays of the rising sun shine directly into the chamber through a narrow gap between RS1 and RS2.” (O’Kelly 21) “While the Newgrange roof-box is without parallel, it may be that other passage-graves were similarly equipped. [At nearby passage-grave “K,”] the closing slab . . . did not reach as far as the underside of the capstone above it. . . . at Loughcrew, Co. Meath, of the 11 tombs for which reliable plans are available, 6 are orientated within the southeast quadrant and these include the 2 principal ones [125] . . . “ The majority of passage-graves in Brittany are also oriented to the southeast. (O’Kelly 125-126)
   10. Date: two radiocarbon dates from the mixture of burnt soil and sand that was used for caulking between stones indicate 2500 bc. (O’Kelly 23) “The incomplete circle of standing stones sur­rounding the mound . . . was earlier than the [21] Beaker-period settlement, dated to *c*. 2000 bc [*sic*], and [thus] it may either be contemporary with the monument or earlier.” (O’Kelly 21-22) “. . . several of the small simple passage-graves, some of those at Knowth for instance, . . . are earlier than the great monuments and if an evolutionary sequence is present at all, it must be from the simple to the complex. Radiocarbon dates [28] . . . range from 3200 bc to 2900 bc for two of the Carrowmore tombs. . . . The latest passage-grave date that we have is that of 2100 bc for the Mound of the Hostages at Tara. By 2000 bc Newgrange was in decay and squatters were living around its collapsing edge. [With these “beaker people,”] Now it was a simple pit burial, easy to prepare and cheap . . . “ (O’Kelly 28, 145)
   11. “The time-span involved in the building of the three is not known; we can guess at a few centuries and, still guessing, but with somewhat more assurance, say that Newgrange was the earliest, followed by Dowth and Knowth.” (O’Kelly 122) But elsewhere Kelly estimates that building Newgrange would have taken only around 30 years (less if oxen were used). (O’Kelly 117-118)
   12. “The religion itself spanned a much longer period and the building of passage-graves was the work of only one of the various sects; others erected court cairns, portal dolmens and wedge galleries, and this represented only the manifestation of the religion in Ireland. It was spread throughout Britain and western Europe, each sect developing its own response to the cult of the dead. We have long argued that the megalithic religion was disseminated, not by invasions or immigrations or any other kind of mass-movement of peoples, but by a spread of ideas which took root when the time was ripe. For Ireland, this time had arrived before 3000 bc. Farming, both pastoralism and agriculture, had been developing from about 4000 bc and by 3000 bc a well-fed settled population had evolved in Ireland which now had time and reserves of wealth in food sufficient to enable them to look beyond the questions of day-to-day survival and to adopt the spreading cult of the new religion.” (O’Kelly 122)
   13. On turf stripping: “On the basis of the radiocarbon dates the Late Neolithic/Beaker-period squatting was taking place at 2000 bc and at this time the quartz revetment and some of the cairn edge behind it had collapsed. If there had been an interval of some hundreds of years between the completion of Newgrange and the collapse of the revetment, a considerable development of turf and humus would have taken place, so [probably] the turf around Newgrange was stripped . . . several times between 2500bc when it was built and 2000 bc when squatters were living around the edge of the collapsed mound. . . . it was common practice, a work readily undertaken by the people of the time. . . . This turf stripping for the building of burial mounds (Houses for the Dead) was a prodigal ex­travagance in that it destroyed the fertility of the surface soil, thus preventing tillage and at the same time destroying the grazing for the farm animals.” (O’Kelly 128)
   14. “. . . the orientation of Newgrange was deliberate.” (O’Kelly 124) “For 17 minutes, . . . at sunrise on the shortest day of the year, direct sunlight can enter Newgrange, not through the doorway, but through the specially contrived slit which lies under the roof-box . . . direct sunlight penetrates to the chamber for about a week before and a week after 21 December. . . . According to Jon Patrick (“Midwinter Sunrise at Newgrange,” *Nature* 249 [1974] 519), “some of the stones are now leaning inwards, thus trimming down the width of the beam of light. At the time of construction the beam would have been about 40 cm wide whereas now it is only 17 cm.”“ (O’Kelly 124)
   15. “What were the problems of the builders in setting up this orientation, and did they need to have abstruse knowledge to do so? It seems to us that no particularly specialized knowledge would have been required. It would have been necessary for an observer to be on the proposed site for a period before the solstice to watch for the point of sunrise on the local horizon [124] . . . Having determined the southernmost point of sunrise, the Newgrange observer of old must have put a line of pegs into the ground, aligned on that point, thus marking the axis of the proposed passage and chamber . . . He would next have to observe the particular point on the hillside, level with the local horizon, which the horizontal beam of light would strike at the first moment of sunrise. This point would be designated as the centre-point of the chamber. . . . Roof-slab 1 rests direcgtly on the passage orthostats and its back edge forms the bottom of the slit, while roof-slab 2 forms the top of the slit and is set on corbels built on the passage orthostats. Some experimentation may hve been necessary to get RS2 at the right height—the slab is 20 to 25 cm in height . . . “ (O’Kelly 124-125)
   16. What “was involved in the building of Newgrange? . . . 97 slabs, none weighing less than a tonne, and some weighing considerably more, were used in the kerb. It is possible to count a further 450 slabs in the tomb structure itself—these are the orthostats of the passage and chamber and the roof-corbels. . . . None of the structural slabs were quarried, all show geologically weathered surfaces except where slabs have been [116] deliberately pick-dressed. . . . they were collected from where they had been left lying about at the end of the Ice Age. Imagine the difficulty of finding so many suitable slabs, half-hidden as they must have been by scrub and forest, and of bringing them onto the site, mainly uphill since Newgrange is on the top of a ridge . . . Were split tree-trunks laid down as roadways along which to gtrundle them on rollers, and was this done by manpower alone or were the older oxen used for traction?” (O’Kelly 116-117)

## The Giant Sculptures of Easter Island

“Easter Island.” *Collier*’*s Encyclopedia*. Ed. Franklin J. Pegues. New York: Macmillan, 1997. 492-93.

Eckstrom, Christine K. *Mysteries of the Ancient World*. Washington DC: National Geographic Society, 1979.

Mazière, Francis. *Mysteries of Easter Island*: *With Photographs by the Author*. London: Collins; New York: Norton, 1969.

Métraux, Alfred. *Easter Island*. Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institu­tion 99 (1943-1944). Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1944. Rpt. Geneva: Ferni, 1978.

Easter Island is one of the most isolated spots in the Pacific; the eas­tern-most of all the Polynesian islands, it is 2300 miles west of Chile, to which it has belonged since 1888. The island is only 45 miles long; three volcanoes mark the corners of its tri­ang­u­lar shape. The average temperature is 72F. Once lush, its plant and animal life is now sparse.

All Polynesian culture seems to have resulted from a gradual eastward expansion that began in southeast Asia.[[1]](#footnote-1) Easter Island was settled perhaps as early as the beginning of the Christian era, certainly before ad 690. (Mazière 51-65) Its ancient inhabitants called the island “*te pito o te henva*, the navel of the world”; they also referred to it as “the eye staring toward heaven” (Mazière, 13-27).

Large stone statues can be found on other Polynesian islands, but those on Easter Island are most impressive. The statues, called *moai*, are carved from buff-colored volcanic rock; they have disdainful expressions, elongated ears, jutting and powerful chins, arms rigidly hanging, and hands extended stiffly across their bellies. Over 1000 have been found, with an average weight of 20 tons and an average height of 12-15 feet. The largest finished statue is 90 tons and 32 feet; the largest unfinished is more than twice that size. At one locale on the island—probably the most recent area of statue development—300 statues can be found, at various stages of completion; 100 are even finished, but all lack eyes (they are called the “blind giants”). Pro­bably eyes were added to the statues after their elevation onto altars. The plentiful volcanic rock, the scarcity of timber, the probable strong competition among kinship groups, and religious fervor seem to have led to the remarkable sculptures. (Mazière 51-65)

Most of the statues stood on altars, *ahu*, mainly found near the shores; more than 300 *ahu* exist. Each has “a narrow, elongated masonry platform with lateral wings—sometimes 200 yards long and more than 20 feet high—which varied in breadth from about 6 to 15 feet.” Paved ramps descended from the inland side of the altars toward plazas on which worshipers may have assembled. Some *ahu* have elevated centers, pedestals for the *moai* (Métraux 149-70). Some altars even pre-date 690, but the *moai* are a later development. Construction continued until about 1650 (*Collier*’*s Encyclopedia* 492-493).

The *moai* were probably carved by different kinship groups (Mazière 121-31). Hundreds of finished *moai* were overturned by the warring kinship groups during the 1500s-1600s; all were toppled by 1850.

The cult of the Bird Man developed in the 1400s and died out in 1867. Each September, at the southernmost tip of the island, representatives of each kinship group sponsored youths to race through shark-infested waters to retrieve an egg of a manutara bird. The winner’s sponsor became “Bird Man” for the year. The cult was related to the island god, Makemake-e, who ate the souls of the deceased; priests ate children before his altar to appease him.

Easter Island was first sighted by a European by the Dutchman Jacob Roggeveen in 1722, on Easter Sunday (hence the name). He reported that the islanders were tattooed, with pierced earlobes that stretched to their shoulders. There were 3000-4000 inhabitants; by 1877, however, only 111 were left, due to smallpox, etc. The natives were divided into warring kinship groups, and they practiced cannibalism. Roggeveen could not believe that such massive statues were stone; surely, he said, they were clay with ground stone added in.

## Australian Aborigines’ Dreamtime Religion

Lowie, Robert. *Primitive Religion*. New York: Liveright, 1952.

Most aborigines live in the Northern Territory. They dwell here because of the presence of a sacred giant rock, “Ayers Rock” or, as the aborigines call it, “Ulru.”

During the “dreamtime,” before the world had shape, the goddess War­ra­mur­run­gundji rose from the sea, created the land, gave birth to the people, and invented their lan­guage; she also caused other creators, such as Ginga, a large crocodile who created the rock country. These creators afterward entered the landscape (Ginga, for example, is now a rock outcrop); they are the ancestors of pres­ent-day clans. Such “dreaming” sites are filled with power.

One soul pervades all: the aborigines, their totem animals, the plants, the features of the earth, and aboriginal rites and myths.

A totem is an animal or natural object taken as the symbol of a family or clan. “. . . it is not the animals themselves to which the natives attach the maximum of holiness, but to their representations, the totemic symbols.” (Lowie 154)

A shaman—*ngangkari*—mediates between the ancestor beings and the aborigines and heals the people when necessary. One becomes an *ngangkari* through induction by the group’s oldest and wisest, or by an extraordinary spiritual experience. During the induction, a young man spends days in a spirit-infested location, such as a cemetery or a waterhole where a spirit that swallows souls lurks. The danger to the young man is enormous. The inductee has a dream in which the spirits kill him, then replace his internal organs with new and powerful ones. He then meets the totemic animals in the spirit world.

Examples of healing: A woman bends over a waterhole to drink, and the soul of her child is lost in the water. The *ngangkari* locates the soul and returns it to her head, so that when she breast feeds, it will re-enter the child. When someone suffers an infection, the *ngangkari* sucks on the area, pretending to draw out the infection without breaking the skin (“a symbolic enactment of what the medicine man hopes will happen to his patient”—Keneally 128).

*Corroborees* are re-enactments of the events of dreamtime, when the ancestral beings created the world. Since *corroborees* are not sacred, women and children can participate (any onlooker who utters a word, however, may never attend another *corroboree*). The aborigines put white paint on the face and body, sing, and have circular dances. Months of practice go into perfecting the dances. The ceremony begins at sunset and lasts many nights, until the body is strained to its ultimate.

In a sacred ceremony, on the other hand, no women or children can be present; men guard the site, up to a mile away. At the ceremony, youths undergo circumcision and subincision (cutting, with small flints, of the lower penis and urethra; the flints are afterward so sacred that they are wrapped in layers of hide to prevent a woman seeing them, for the sight would cause her death). The youths receive the bull-roarer, a sacred instrument which buzzes when thrown and which warns intruders to stay away or evil and sickness will befall them.

Aborigines wrap a deceased person in bark and place the body on a platform in a tree. After a year or two, the bones are painted with red ochre and the body buried. Corpses are buried in fetal position; a fire at the grave keeps the evil spirits warm so they will not visit the campsite. The grave area is afterward off limits, since the dead person’s spirit will revenge itself on an intruder. To speak of a dead person in a normal voice is bad, since the person’s spirit will presume you did not mourn its passing.

Other ceremonies exist for ensuring the food supply (e. g., cutting a vein and dripping blood on a sacred rock) and for courtship (women singing love chants to men they want, or putting spells on their possessions to win them).

The aborigines do not believe in a good creator; rather, storms, illness, and death are the works of a supreme Evil One.

Aboriginal rock paintings date back to about 20,000 bc. The earliest often portray a fish called the *barramundi*, an abundant food source; others show crocodiles, turtles, lizards, and kangaroos. Women, seemingly floating and painted in blue ochre, are usually accompanied by objects to ensure love and fertility. Rock paintings show the coming of the white man, who rides a horse and wears a hat.

# Hinduism

## Dates

2500 Indus Valley Civilization

1700 Aryan invasion

1000 Rig Veda hymns collected

800s-300s Upanishads

500s Charvaka, Jainism, Buddhism

300s bc- ad 300 *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyāṇa* composed

100s ad Patañjali’s *Yoga Sutras*

700s Vaishnavism and Shaivism/Shaktism

800s Shankara (advaita Vedanta)

1175 Muslim rule of north India (by 1335, most of India)

c. 1500 Sikhism

1803 British rule

1947 India (Hindu) and Pakistan (Muslim) gain independence from Britain

## Introduction

1. “**Hinduism**”
   1. “Hindu” and “Indian” “derived from the same word—the name of the river which the Indo-Europeans called Sindhu, the Iranians Hindu, the Greeks Indos, and the English Indus . . .” (Organ 1)
   2. “The Indo-European name for the principal river was Sindhu, which meant simply river.” (Organ 54)
   3. “Hindu” and “Hinduism” “conform to the Persian pronunciation.” (Organ 54)
2. **indications of Indian thought**
   1. Eastern religious are gnostic.
      1. “Gnostic” is from γνσις (*gnōsis*, “knowledge”). Unlike Christianity, which teaches that one is saved by faith, Gnosticism teaches that one is saved by knowledge. Salvation comes from knowing the right things.
      2. Hinduism as Gnosticism: the goal of Hinduism is “spiritual gnosis.” (Lidke 128)
      3. Buddhism as Gnosticism: “The twin causes [of rebirth] are invariably *tṛṣṇā* (“desire”) and *avidyā* (“ig­nor­ance”), and the cure is knowledge.” (Robinson and Johnson 16)
   2. Hindu philosophy is soteriology
      1. “Hinduism is *sadhana* . . . from the root *sadha* meaning to reach one’s goal, . . . to guide aright . . . to gain power over.” (Organ 14)
      2. “. . . cult and speculation [are] the religious and the philosophical aspects of *sadhana*. . . . Hindu philosophy and Hindu religion are but aspects” of the one thing, Hinduism. (Organ 15)
      3. “Whereas philosophy in the West began in wonder and seeks above all to make ideas clear, philosophy in India began as a way to elim­in­ate suf­fering . . .” (Organ 14)
      4. “Hinduism as a religion and Hinduism as a culture are so inter­twined that we can never be sure whether a certain mode of behavior is Hindu or Indian.” (Organ 10)
   3. zero
      1. “. . . the zero (*bindu*) [is] an Indian invention.” (Organ 17)
      2. “*Bindu* is not naught as in Western mathematics; instead it is an unlimit­ed entity.” (Organ 17)
      3. The term *bindu* means seed or semen. . . . It is the productive point of potentiality.” (Organ 17)
      4. “Therefore, the Hindu in thinking of the bindu continually wanders from the formality of mathematics into the enigma of a reality positioned between generation and destruction, life and death.” (Organ 17)
   4. “refusal to an either-or . . .” (Organ 18)
      1. “Although Prime Minister Nehru never stressed his nonalignment policy as rooted in Hinduism, the unwillingness to take sides in the cold war is a fitting manifestation of the religious-philosoph­ical tradition of Hinduism.” (Organ 18)
      2. “In the West we take the law of noncontradiction as fundamental because we view the objects of reality as independent in ontolo­gi­cal status.” (Organ 19)
      3. “Hindus call this the law of either . . . or, and they reject it because they tend to view reality as a unity.” (Organ 19)
      4. “For them the thesis and the antithesis are necessary correlatives of the same thing.” (Organ 19)
      5. “Andre Breton has stated it in this fashion: “Everything tends to make us believe that there exists a certain point of the mind at which life and death, the real and the imagined, past and future, the communicable and the incommu­nicable, high and low, cease to be perceived as contra­dictions.”“ (Organ 19)
   5. sameness
      1. “Progress does not involve destroying the old . . .” (Organ 16)
      2. Mukharji has written, “History is the record of men’s relation to time, but the Hindu does not believe in time . . .” (Organ 5)
      3. “We in the West . . . stress the destruction of the past; Copernicus destroys Ptolemy, . . . Einstein destroys Newton.” (Organ 16)
      4. “In India change is not a standard way to increase the good.” (Organ 18)
      5. “Value lies in sameness, in the repetition of the familiar.” (Organ 18)
      6. “A nonclimactic ongoingness is experienced in the monotony of the Indian diet, in the sleepy tending of cattle throughout the dry season, in the dreary sameness of cinema plots, in the repetition of mantras in temples, and even in the anticlimactic sexual activity recommended in Tantra.” (Organ 18)
      7. “Intellectual research in Hinduism is chiefly the explication of wisdom already possessed.” (Organ 18)
      8. “Thus Swami Dayananda Saraswate . . . contended that the Vedas con­tained all the knowledge possible to mankind. . . . He located the latest discoveries of chemistry and physics and all technological advances in the Vedas . . .” (Organ 18)
3. **definition of Hinduism**
   1. Hinduism is “a unique life-style concerned primarily with developing the . . . self-aware man . . . the liberating of dormant powers, the fulfilling of potential­ities.” (Organ 14)
   2. Hinduism “is a life-style which has been focused [on] the problem of being human.” (Organ 15)
4. **the Hindu motif**
   1. definition of “motif”
      1. “Each religion proceeds from a conceptual structure.” (Organ 20)
      2. “Each begins with assumptions about the nature of the world, of man, and of man’s place in the world . . .” (Organ 20)
      3. “This conceptual structure has two parts.” (Organ 20)
         1. “One part is the implicit, the never stated . . .” (Organ 20)
            1. “An example would be the assumption of the writers of the New Testament that the universe is stacked in three layers . . .” (Organ 20)
            2. Another NT example: “that man lives but one life on earth.” (Organ 20)
         2. “The other part is . . . stated, argued for, and defended.” (Organ 20)
            1. “For example, the New Testament argues that man is an impotent sinner . . .” (Organ 20)
            2. “For example, the New Testament argues . . . that the world process will soon end.” (Organ 20)
      4. “The fundamental conceptual structure of a religion determines and manifests itself in myths, rites, and social organization.” (Organ 20)
      5. “The priority of the conceptual structure is logical, not chrono­logi­cal.” (Organ 21)
      6. religion’s “conceptual structure [is] its pattern or motif . . .” (Organ 21)
   2. the Hindu motif: “We shall state the Hindu motif in ten points . . .” (Organ 21)
      1. world-negation
         1. “one of the first Europeans to study Hinduism was the pessimis­tic Schopenhauer who read his own philosophy of life into the Upanishads.” (Organ 21)
         2. “Albert Schweitzer picked up this theme, characterizing Hinduism as ‘world and life negation’.” (Organ 21)
         3. “. . . Schweitzer backed away from his earlier claims that in In­dian thought “world and life negation occupies a predomi­nant position” and indicated that the distinction was made because he believed the development of Indian thought was determined by the conflict between world and life negation and world and life affirmation.” (Organ 22)
         4. “This is Hegelian methodology . . .” (Organ 22)
      2. There is “a reality behind appearances.” (Organ 22)
         1. “The ‘snake’ was illusory—to appeal to an ancient Indian story—­but it was a real rope which made the traveler see the ‘snake’.” (Organ 22)
         2. “The substructure reveals itself in human experiences of the real, the good, the beautiful, and the true.” (Organ 22)
         3. “The ground of beings is also the ground of values.” (Organ 22)
      3. “The univese is orderly. . . . Even in the early centuries . . . there was the notion of cosmic order or the regularity of the cosmic processes. . . . This was known as *Rita*.” (Organ 23)
         1. “The gods conformed to this order of things . . . Miracles, i.e., violations of cosmic law, were not in their power . . . They were a class of beings within the sovereignty of *Rita*.” (Organ 23)
         2. “A corollary of this is that there have been few serious con­flicts between science and religion in India, for Hindus do not recognize two orders of explanation: the natural and the di­vine.” (Organ 23)
         3. “. . . another feature of the orderliness of the universe . . . the universe had no absolute beginning and will have no absolute ending.” (Organ 24)
            1. “The universe moves in great cycles (*kalpas*) each one of 4,320,­000 years as measured by the human calendar.” (Organ 24)
            2. “Each kalpa is divided into four ages (*yugas*) of diminishing length and of decreasing virtue.” (Organ 24)
            3. “One thousand *kalpas* constitute a ‘Brahma day’ and are followed by a ‘Brahma night’ of equal length.” (Organ 24)
            4. “However, . . . few Hindus going about their daily tasks are existen­tially oppressed by the thought of endless *kalpas*.” (Organ 24)
5. **historical study of Hinduism**
   1. “The only way to acquire a correct knowledge of Hinduism is to study it in its historical development.” (Organ 4)
   2. “. . . there is a difference in how thought moves in the West and in India. . . . Hinduism is . . . directed to the preservation of insights of the past.” (Organ 16)
   3. “Probably nowhere else do people live in so many centuries simultaneous­ly.” (Organ 8)
   4. “The Advaita Vedantists are prone to trace [the following] line of development with respect to Indian religion: from primitive polytheism to an ethical religion, from the religion of morality to monotheism, and from the worship of one personal god to the realization of one’s identity with the impersonal Abso­lute.” (Organ 7)
      1. “This must be written off as a form of special pleading of a noble and brash form of living Hinduism.” (Organ 7)
      2. “Any theory of progressive development in Hinduism must be re­strained and countered by pointing out the fundamental conservation of Hinduism.” (Organ 7)
6. **periods in Hinduism**
   1. Indus Valley period: 2500-1700 bc
   2. Vedic period: 1700-600 bc (Organ iii)
      1. “The Vedic Period begins at . . . 2000 b.c. . . . just before . . . the Indo-Europeans. . . . The end of the period is the date of the birth of the Buddha, which we shall round off at 600 b.c.” (Organ 8)
      2. “Only one date of Indian history in the years b.c. can be claimed to have become settled: the date of the death of the Buddha, 487 b.c.” (Organ 5)
   3. first period of challenge and reaction: 600 bc-ad 320 (Organ iii)
      1. challenge: Buddhism, Jainism and Charvaka. (Organ 8)
      2. reaction: the *Mahabharata* (completed c. ad 300). (Organ 8)
   4. period of reformation: ad 320-1200 (Organ iii)
      1. “The Period of Reformation runs to the time of the first Muslim emper­ors [ad 1175], and is marked by efforts to reform Hinduism from within . . .” (Organ 8)
   5. second period of challenge and reaction: ad 1200-2000 (Organ iii, 304)
      1. “The Second Period of Challenge and Reaction [includes] Islam, Chris­tianity, and Western Culture . . .” (Organ 9)
      2. four Islamic invasions
         1. ad 713 Indus Valley and Punjab 304
         2. ad 1001 upper Indus 305
         3. ad 1175 northern India (under Delhi sultans); by 1335 almost the subcontinent (Organ 305-306)
         4. ad 1398 Timur of Samarkand sacks Delhi; independent kingdoms (some Muslim, some Hindu) (Organ 306)
         5. ad 1526 Mughal empire (to 1858) (Organ 306-307)
      3. ad 1803: British rule in Delhi (but the sultan remained as a puppet until 1858) (Organ 307)
      4. ad 1947: Pakistan (Muslim) and India (Hindu) gain independence. (Organ 308)

## Prehistoric India

1. **introduction**
   1. “Man first appeared in India during the Second Interglacial Period, i.e., between 400,000 and 200,000 b.c.” (Organ 38)
   2. “These people followed the receding glaciers over the Australian land-bridge and into South Asia by way of what is now Burma.” (Organ 38)
   3. “Their numbers . . . were not many, perhaps one per ten square miles. . . . Neither a human skeleton nor a fragment of a human skeleton has been found from this period.” (Organ 38)
   4. “They were wanderers who moved about . . .” (Organ 38)
2. **technology**
   1. “These people controlled fire . . .” (Organ 38)
   2. rock paintings
      1. “A few cave paintings have been found in India . . . but most of these paintings have been painted over by much later people . . .” (Organ 38)
      2. “The same resistance to change [typical elsewhere in Hinduism] can be observed in the . . . rock paintings of central India . . . Unless told, one cannot determine which is neolithic, which contempor­ary.” (Organ 45)
   3. stone tools
      1. “Stone implements are the chief means for studying these paleo­lith­ic people . . . [They] have been found . . . throughout India . . .” (Organ 38)
      2. “Archeologists distinguish three general types of stone tools: (1) the core tools formed by chipping away from a large block until one of the chips is satisfactory; (2) the flake tools formed by working a chip into a finished tool with corrugated edges; and (3) the pol­ished tools formed by rubbing the chip against an abrasive until a smooth surface has been achieved . . . The flake tools predominate the finds in India.” (Organ 38)
      3. “The nature of these tools indicate a people who were occupied with digging for roots and tubers.” (Organ 38)

## The Indus Valley Civilization

1. **date**
   1. “. . . both Harappa and Mohenjo-daro enjoyed a four-century period of existence, from 2150 to 1750 b.c. . . .” (Organ 40)
   2. “The cities came to an end about 1500 b.c. . . .” (Organ 47)
2. **Western knowledge of Indus Valley civilization**
   1. In 1856, “. . . two brothers . . . were building the East Indian Rail­way . . . They need[ed] ballast for the railway line [so] plun­dered the ruin near Harappa . . . .Mohenjo-daro escaped intact . . .” (Organ 39)
   2. The major excavations at Harappa were 1920-1921 and 1933-1934; at Mohenjo-daro, they were 1922-1931 and 1935-1936. [40] “The Western world became apprised of [the Indus Valley civiliza­tion] in . . . 1924 . . .” (Organ 39)
   3. “. . . Pakistan has discovered a pre-Harappan culture now known as the Kot Dijian culture.” (Organ 40)
3. **Dravidians**
   1. “Scholars have recognized two strands within Hinduism, an Aryan and a non-Ar­yan commonly called Dravidian . . .” (Organ 40)
   2. “The hypothesis that the Dravidian peoples of South India today are the descendants of the Harappan peoples driven out of North India [41] by the Aryans is still not completely established, nor do experts agree to whom to relate the Harappans.” (Organ 41-42)
   3. origin of Dravidians
      1. “most scholars call attention to the similarity to Mesopo­tamia and refer to . . . Sumero-Dravidians . . .” (Organ 42)
      2. “. . . Sir John Marshall pointed to similarities of the Harappa pot­tery and that of Memphite Egypt . . .” (Organ 42)
      3. “. . . Guillarme de Hervey drew compari­sons between the ancient ci­vil­i­za­tions of Harappa and Easter Island.” (Organ 42)
4. **cities**
   1. Harappa is named “after the modern town of that name built on the site . . .” (Organ 39)
   2. Mohenjo-daro means ““The City of the Dead” . . ., a name given to the ruins in the Sind by the people living nearby.” (Organ 39)
   3. “Piggott refers to the cities as “twin capitals of an empire.”“ (Organ 40)
   4. “Each of the cities had a population of between thirty and forty thousand, and each was about one square mile in area.” (Organ 42)
   5. “The streets . . . meet at right angles.” (Organ 45)
   6. “There are more than eighty known sites along the Indus, all the others [i.e., aside from the two capitals] being village settle­ments.” (Organ 40)
5. **buildings**
   1. use of brick
      1. “The lavish use of kiln-dried brick indicates that at that time dense forest must have been near as a source of wood for char­coal for the kilns.” (Organ 42)
      2. “The bricks were standardized at three by ten by twenty inches.” (Organ 42)
      3. “. . . the size and shape of bricks was the same throughout the one-thou­sand-mile length of the civilization.” (Organ 40)
      4. “They were held in place by mud mortar in the walls and by lime and gypsum mortar in the drains.” (Organ 42)
   2. temple
      1. “Each had a “citadel” between city proper and the river built on a platform of brick about thirty feet high.” (Organ 42)
      2. “Some think that the structures between city walls and river were places of sacrifice and worship like the ziggurats of Mesopotamia.” (Organ 42)
      3. “. . . a large “city hall” . . . may have been a temple.” 43 (But later Organ explicitly asserts, “There is no temple.” 47) (Organ 43, 47)
   3. granaries: “Also near the rivers were huge granaries . . .” (Organ 42)
   4. walls: “The walls around the city were forty feet wide at the base rising to a height of thirty-five feet.” (Organ 42)
   5. sewers
      1. “One of the most remarkable features of the cities was the elabo­rate provision for sewage disposal.” (Organ 42)
      2. “There was a sewer system for the cities complete with terra cotta pipes and manholes through which a workman could enter to clean the sewer.” (Organ 42)
   6. houses
      1. “The houses were chiefly multistoried with flat roofs.” (Organ 42)
      2. “The walls were as much as seven feet thick.” (Organ 43)
      3. “Houses were equipped with rubbish shoots ending in trash bins.” (Organ 43)
      4. “Outside stairways suggest that the people may have spent hot nights on the roofs of their homes.” (Organ 43)
      5. “The houses were fitted with bathrooms and toilets.” (Organ 43)
   7. bathhouses: “A public bathhouse one hundred and eight by one hundred and eighty feet has been excavated in Mohenjo-daro.” (Organ 43)
   8. sameness
      1. “. . . dull, utilitarian people . . .” (Organ 44)
      2. “There are no . . . monuments, stones, or pillars . . .” (Organ 44)
      3. “The walls of houses are undecorated . . .” (Organ 44)
      4. “Both cities were built over and over again, probably due to the silting from flooded rivers, and . . . with no significant chan­ges.” (Organ 45)
      5. “. . . the uniformity of the pottery, the standardization of bricks, the sameness of the houses . . . in a seven-hundred-year period . . . indicates more than conservatism—it indicates stag­nation.” (Organ 45)
      6. “. . . one is tempted to relate the monotonous uniformity of the buildings to the conservatism which is a hallmark of Hinduism . . .” (Organ 47)
6. **other technology**
   1. weapons
      1. The cities “were poorly designed as fortresses . . .” (Organ 42)
      2. “The absence of weapons of war . . . indicate that they were not a military people.” (Organ 42)
      3. “Whatever authority controlled the people did so without much force.” (Organ 47)
   2. pottery
      1. “The pottery remains are of good quality but lacking in artist­ry.” (Organ 43)
      2. “The pots were mass produced, utilitarian, and poorly deco­rated.” (Organ 43)
      3. “Piggott thinks the Harappans had discovered assembly-line produc­tion.” (Organ 43)
   3. trade
      1. “They were a trading people with a sea route to Mesopotamia, where they were known as the Meluhha.” (Organ 43)
   4. agriculture
      1. “Wheat, barley, peas, and sesamum were grown along the rivers.” (Organ 43)
      2. “Cotton was grown and cotton cloth woven two thousand years before cotton appeared in the West.” (Organ 43)
      3. “The Harappans used a harrow but no plough, and from this archeolo­gists conclude they farmed by flood irrigation along the banks of the river.” (Organ 43)
      4. “No irrigation canals have been found.” (Organ 43)
   5. domestication of animals
      1. “Their domesticated animals included both the humped and flat-backed cattle, waterbuffalo, goats, sheep, dogs, camels, and asses.” (Organ 43)
      2. “They do not appear to have had horses.” (Organ 43)
7. **burial**
   1. “A few later graves show the curious cutonm of placing a slaugh­tered [43] goat limb by limb on the human corpse . . .” (Organ 43-44)
   2. “. . . the fire god will accept the body of the goat in lieu of the human body . . .” (Organ 44)
8. **art**
   1. “. . . small bronze statue of a nude dancing girl . . .” (Organ 45)
   2. “The second important artistic find is the torso of a young man . . .” (Organ 46)
   3. seals
      1. “. . . more than two thousand engraved soapstone seals of square shape ranging from three-quarters to one and one-quarter inches . . . seem to have been used to mark property . . .” (Organ 44)
      2. “The scenes carved . . . are frequently of animals . . .” (Organ 44)
      3. “. . . each seal also has on it a script which has no direct af­fin­ity to any known ancient script.” (Organ 44)
   4. writing (on the seals)
      1. “. . . the script is read from right to left if there is but one line; but if there is a second line, it is read from left to right.” (Organ 44)
      2. “. . . the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies . . . assumes that the language is Proto-Dravidian.” (Organ 44)
      3. “Other scholars assume . . . it is merely a series of signs . . . indicating ownership of property.” (Organ 44)
9. **religion**
   1. “Seals which portray bulls . . . rhinoceros, elephants, and above all a one-horned beast which has been called a “unicorn” might be indications of a variegated animal worship.” (Organ 46)
   2. There is some evidence for “veneration of trees . . .” (Organ 46)
   3. “. . . cobras are depicted with worshipers kneeling before them.” (Organ 46)
   4. “Terra cotta female figures, often shown pregnant or with small chil­dren, might link the Harappa culture with the Great Mother . . .” (Organ 46)
   5. “. . . most striking [is] the frontal view of a male figure seated on a low stool in a half-lotus position with hands resting on his ex­tended knees.” (Organ 46)
      1. “His headdress ahs been fashioned of buffalo horns.” (Organ 46)
      2. “Three faces are visible, the front and one on each side.” (Organ 46)
      3. “The front face is animal in appearance, perhaps a bit like that of a hound dog.” (Organ 46)
      4. “His erect penis indicates fertility.” (Organ 46)
      5. “The figure is usually shown surrounded by animals.” (Organ 46)
      6. He is a ““Lord of the Animals” or “Lord of the Creatures” . . .” (Organ 46)
10. **decline**
    1. “There are evidences of decline . . .” (Organ 47)
    2. “The houses built in the last of the rebuildings were inferior . . .” (Organ 47)
    3. “Wood and reed displaced brick and mortar, thus giving archeolo­gists a blank period . . .” (Organ 47)
    4. Fortunately, literary sources—the Vedas—refer to the period. (Organ 47)
    5. “The cities were burned and destroyed, and the villages which rose on their ruins were markedly different.” (Organ 40)

## The Indo-Europeans

1. **culture**
   1. language (Lincoln 198)
      1. That many modern languages derive from Indo-European was first recog­nized in 1786. (Lincoln 198)
      2. “All European languages are Indo-European save the Finnish, the Hungari­an, and the Basque. [48] . . . Moreover Sanskrit and Lithua­nian share many common words.” (Organ 48-49)
      3. example: words for “god” or “deity” (Lincoln 198) (Organ 65)
         1. Indo-European *\*deywo-s*
         2. Latin *deus*; *Ju*(*piter*)
         3. Greek *dios*; *Zeus Pater*
         4. Hittite *dŠiuš*
         5. Sanskrit *deva*; *Dyaus Pitar*
         6. Iranian *daēva*
         7. Lithuanian *diēvas*
   2. origin
      1. The Indo-Europeans “followed the melting glaciers northward after the Ice Ages until they ran out of pasture for their flocks and herds. . . . Then they changed their migra­tions, returning to the lands of greater fertili­ty, bringing with them the vigor associated with northern climates. [48] . . . references to heavenly bodies in the *Rig Veda* suggest that the Aryans once lived north of the Arctic Circle.” (Organ 49)
      2. “The northern home of the Aryans is indicated by the Sanskrit words for common objects; e.g., the Sanskrit word for tree seems to have been the birch tree, and the word for fish was the word for salmon.” (Organ 49)
      3. Marija Gimbutas’ theory is most widely accepted:
         1. The Indo-Europeans lived in “the southern Russian steppes, in the area that stretches from the Urals to the land north of” the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. (Lincoln 199)
         2. At that locale, they can be dated back to c. 5000 BC. (Lincoln 199)
   3. technology (Lincoln 199)
      1. They were semisettled pastoralists. (Lincoln 199) “In gypsy fashion they followed their herds . . .” (Organ 49)
      2. They had large herds of domesticated sheep, pigs, goats, and cattle. (Lincoln 199)
      3. “Horses were used to pull chariots, but for heavier cargoes oxcarts were used.” (Organ 49) (Lincoln 199)
      4. In addition to being draft animals, cattle were “the source of most foods, and the fundamen­tal measure of wealth.” (Lincoln 199) (Organ 49)
      5. “When the Aryans stayed in one spot long enough to grow crops, barley was the favored crop. . . . But meat was the principal food in their diet.” (Organ 49) There was some agriculture, but herding and war were more pres­ti­gious. (Lincoln 199)
      6. “They did not fish, and they never learned to navigate rivers.” (Organ 49)
      7. “They produced no distinctive pottery nor tools, and their crafts­manship was limited largely to weapons of war or imple­ments needed for herding and agricul­ture . . .” (Organ 49)
         1. “. . . they did bring iron to India.” (Organ 49)
         2. Weapons were made of a single metal, probably copper or bronze. (Lincoln 199)
   4. society
      1. The tribes were strongly patriarchal. (Organ 49)
      2. There were three hierarchical classes, and these continued in Indian, Iranian, and Celtic societies, as well as in Plato’s ideal republic. (Lincoln 199)
         1. priests and kings (Lincoln 199)
         2. warriors (Lincoln 199)
         3. commoners (Lincoln 199)
      3. Sometimes a fourth class (Lincoln outsiders, servants) was added. (200)
2. **religion**
   1. reconstructing a non-existent religion (Lincoln 199)
      1. Notice correspondences among words, myths, rituals, laws, cosmologies, and eschatologies (Lincoln such parallel phenomena are usually called “re­flexes”). (199)
      2. Study each reflex in its own culture. (Lincoln 199)
      3. Isolate the features that the scattered reflexes have in common. (Lincoln 199)
      4. Explain why those features have diverged (Lincoln often called “transforma­tion”). (199)
      5. Posit a hypothetical prototype that will explain the similarities. (Lincoln 199)
      6. Posit a train of historical development explaining the forces that produced each transformation. (Lincoln 199)
      7. The prototype and development should fit into the culture at its appropriate stages. (Lincoln 199)
   2. the creation myth (Lincoln 199)
      1. The creation myth legitimated the social classes. (Lincoln 199)
         1. It “told how the world was created when the first priest (often bearing the name Man, \*Manu) offered his twin brother, the first king (often named Twin, \*Yemo), in sacrifice, along with the first ox. From Twin’s body, the world was made, in both its material and social components.” (Lincoln 199)
         2. The intellectuals, who direct society by thought and speech, derive from Twin’s head. (Lincoln 200)
            1. “The priest, following the model of Man, has as his prime responsi­bility the performance of sacrifice, sacrifice being the creative act *par excellence*.” (Lincoln 200)
            2. “The king, following the model of Twin, combines within himself the essence of all social classes and is expected to sacrifice himself for the good of the whole.” (Lincoln 200)
         3. The warriors, who defend with prowess, derive from his chest and arms. (Lincoln 200)
         4. The commoners come from his lower body: his belly (Lincoln they provide food), genitals (they reproduce), and legs and feet (they support the upper classes). (200)
      2. The creation myth “established a series of homologic relations between parts of the human body and parts of the physical uni­verse—that is to say, an extended parallelism and consubstanti­ality was posited between the microcosm and the macrocosm.” (Lincoln 201)
      3. “In truth, cosmogony [a story of the creation of the universe] and anthropogony [a story of the creation of the man] were regarded as separate moments in one continuous process of creation, in which physical matter eternally alternates between microcosmic and mac­ro­cosmic modes of existence. Bones thus become stones and stones become bones over and over again, matter and change both being eternal, while the body and the universe are only transient forms, alternate shapes of one ano­ther.” (Lincoln 201)
      4. The creation myth was later reproduced in the “Song of Purusha,” *Rig Veda* 10.90.11-14 (c. 900 bc). (Lincoln 199)
   3. the first-warrior myth
      1. The first-warrior myth legitimated the Indo-Europeans’ raiding economy. (Lincoln 199)
      2. The first warrior’s name was Third (*\*Trito*). (Lincoln 200)
      3. A three-headed serpent, a non-Indo-European, stole the Indo-Europeans’ cattle. (Lincoln 200)
      4. Third poured out intoxicating drinks to a warrior deity; aided by the god and fortified by the intoxicants, he slew the serpent and recovered the cattle. (Lincoln 200)
      5. “This myth . . . is attested in more reflexes than any other . . .” (Lincoln 200)
      6. its meaning
         1. It asserts that cattle belong exclusively to Indo-Europeans. (Lincoln 200)
         2. Theft is condemned: it relies on stealth and treachery. Raiding is exalted: it is “a sacred and rightful activity.” (Lincoln 200)
      7. “Throughout Indo-European history, [warriors] cast themselves in his [Third’s] image—raiding, plundering, and killing their non-Indo-European neighbors . . .” (Lincoln 200)
   4. the class-conflict myths
      1. Another myth described a struggle between the upper classes and the commoners. The struggle was a draw, they recognized their need for one another, and thereafter they lived harmoniously. (Lincoln 200)
      2. In another myth, a commoner woman (mother of twins, signifying reproduc­tive power) struggled with a king’s horses (signifying the royal and martial classes); the common woman won. This myth “assured [commoners] of their superiority to even the most privileged members of society . . .” (Lincoln 200)
   5. deities (Lincoln 200)
      1. “. . . gods are celestial beings, characterized by light . . .” (Lincoln 198)
      2. Reconstructed names for gods who were personified natural phenomena are celestial: “Shining Sky (\*Dyeus), Sun (\*Swel), Dawn (\*Ausos), and so forth . . .” (Lincoln 200)
      3. But “there was another class of divinities associated with the waters beneath the earth’s surface and [200] with darkness. These deities . . . names were regularly formed with the preposition signifying downward motion (*\*ne-*,as in Latin *Neptunus*,Greek *N\_reus*,Germanic *Nerthus*,Sanskrit *Nir*.*rti* . . .” (Lincoln 200-201)
      4. “. . . the gods seem to have been of much less concern than mythic ancestors such as Man, Twin, and Third.” (Lincoln 203)
      5. Though Man, Twin, and Third were the first “king, priest, and warrior respectively, . . . they were merely the first of the current world age . . .” (Lincoln 203) (See below.)
   6. rituals
      1. The myths were regularly re-presented in rituals. (Lincoln 201)
      2. the creation myth in ritual (Lincoln 201)
         1. “. . . as the first priest created the world [by sacrificing] a man and an ox . . ., so each subsequent priest re-created the cosmos by sacrificing men or cattle.” (Lincoln 201)
            1. “. . . when the victim was dismembered, its material substance was transformed into the corresponding parts of the universe.” (Lincoln 201)
            2. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.6 describes the dismemberment of an animal:

“Lay his feet down to the north. Cause his eye to go to the sun. Send forth his breath to the wind, his life-force to the atmo­sphere, his ears to the cardinal points, his flesh to the earth. Thus, the priest places the victim in these worlds.” (Lincoln 201)

* + - 1. If sacrifice did not replenish the material objects of the world, the cosmos would cease to exist. (Lincoln 201)
      2. Just as “in sacrifice the priest shifted matter from the body to the universe . . ., [so in healing he] took matter from the universe and restored it to a broken body, creating new flesh, bones, blood, and the like out of earth, stones, and water.” (Lincoln 201)
    1. the first-warrior myth in ritual
       1. Before embarking on cattle raids, “warriors invoked the as­sis­tance of martial deities, poured libations, partook of in­tox­i­cating drinks, and aspired to states of ecstatic [201] frenzy.” (Lincoln 201-202)
       2. intoxicants
          1. The oldest Indo-European intoxicant was mead (fermented honey and water), “followed by beer, wine, and a pressed drink known as *soma* to the Indians and *haoma* to the Iranians . . .” (Lincoln 202)
          2. “In all instances, the drink appears as a heightener of abil­i­ties and activities. When consumed by a priest, it increases his powers of vision and insight. Similarly, it makes a poet more elo­quent, a warrior more powerful, a king more generous and just.” (Lincoln 202)
       3. The men would construct a monstrous three-headed serpent, then urge a young warrior to attack it. “. . . he discovered that his seem­ingly awesome opponent was only a joke, with the implicit lesson that all of his future enemies . . . would be . . .” (Lincoln 202)
       4. A youth’s first cattle raid was also a rite of passage. (Lincoln 202)
       5. Warriors liked to call themselves wolf-like; hence such names as “Wolfram, Wolfhart, Wolfgang . . .” (Lincoln 202)
    2. Lack of literacy led to a high development of epic poetry and mnemonic techniques. Even after writing was introduced, “pre­fer­ence for the oral transmission of religious lore remained . . .” (Lincoln 202)
  1. afterlife
     1. “. . . there was a goddess \*Kolyo (“the coverer”) whose physical form incarnated the mixture of fascination and horror evoked by death, for she was seductively beautiful when seen from the front, while hiding a back that was repulsive—moldy and worm-eaten . . .” (Lincoln 202)
     2. Death was “a reunion with departed ancestors . . .” (Lincoln 202)
     3. In Ireland and India both, “it was the first mortal (\*Yemo, the twin) who founded the otherworld.” (Lincoln 202)
     4. Death is “the last sacrifice that an individual can offer, in which his or her own body is itself the offering.” (Lincoln 203)
        1. The “body is transformed into the elements of the physical uni­verse, . . . each death being not only a sacrifice but a re-pres­entation of the cosmogonic sacrifice.” (Lincoln 203)
        2. See *Rig Veda* 10.16.3, a funeral hymn: “Your eye must go to the sun. Your soul must go to the wind. You must go to the sky and the earth, according to what is right. Go to the waters, if you are placed there. You must establish the plants with your flesh.” (Lincoln 203)
     5. “Just as cosmogony was seen to alternate with anthropogony, so also death and resurrection. That matter that assumes its cosmic form when one specific human body dies will once again assume bodily form when that specific cosmos itself dies . . .” (Lincoln 203)
        1. “Greek, Germanic, and Indo-Iranian evidence permits re­con­struc­tion of a temporal scheme involving four world ages . . . [The first] is most pure and stable . . . [then] human virtue and the very order of the cosmos gradually break down.” (Lincoln 203)
        2. “Behind these formulations stand several very simple, yet very profound, principles:
           1. matter is indestructible;
           2. matter is infinitely transmutable;
           3. living organisms and the physical universe are composed of one and the same material substance;
           4. time is eternal.

While change is thus constant, it is also meaningless, for nothing that is essentially real is ever created or destroyed.” (Lincoln 203)

## The Aryans

1. “**Aryan**”
   1. They [the Indo-Europeans] called themselves Aryans, the people of noble birth, the free born.” (Organ 48)
   2. ““*Arya*” comes from the root *ar* (earth); hence they thought of them­selves as autochthon­ous.” (Organ 48)
   3. “The word survives in *Iran* and *Eire*. . . . Eire or Ireland is the western­most land reached by the Indo-European peoples in ancient times.” (Organ 48)
   4. Organ uses “Aryan” as a synonym for “Indo-European”; but I will restrict the word to mean the Indo-Europeans who invaded India.
2. **Aryans on the way to India**
   1. “. . . Mitannians [were] the first Indo-European people in the Near East . . . [They had] fair skin and pointed noses . . .” (Organ 48)
   2. “The eastern Aryan tribes settled in Anatolia . . . befor split­ting again . . .” (Organ 50)
   3. “Those that stayed in Anatolia were . . . the Khatti (Hittite), a term believed to be related to *Kshatriya* (warrior).” (Organ 50)
   4. “On the way to India they probable paused for centuries in the area of modern Iran, as is indicated by the sharing of many of the same gods . . .” (Organ 50)
3. **the Aryans and the Indus Valley civilization**
   1. It was the Aryans “who pre­sumably put Mohenjo-daro and Harappa to the torch . . .” (Organ 48)
   2. “. . . the Harappans were familiar with the elephant, but the Aryans re­vealed their unfamiliarity by calling the elphant “the animal with the hand” . . .” (Organ 50)
   3. “. . . again while the Harappans did excellent work in silver, the Aryans simply referred to the metal as “white gold.”“ (Organ 50-51)
   4. “. . . derogatory epithets [were] employed by the Aryans to charac­terize the people they found in the river valleys, such terms as asuras (demons), dasas (blacks), krishna tvachah (black people), anaschs (people with no noses), anasa (without speech), akarmanah (without ceremonies), avratah (without purpose in life), ayajvah (without sacrifices), adeva (god­less), anindra (without Indra), and pashus (two-footed beasts).” (Organ 41)
4. **Aryan religion**
   1. Iran shares many of the same gods, “e.g., Indra, Varuna, Agni, and Mitra—gods that remained among the Medes and Persians [i.e., the Iranians] until the reforma­tion of Zoroas­ter [ad 500s].” (Organ 50)
   2. The Aryans were patriarchal, “and the gods were over­whelm­ingly male.” (Organ 48)
   3. “Yet the cow, rather than the bull, was the favored animal . . .” (Organ 49)
   4. “One remarkable difference between the Persian gods and the Aryan gods, however, is that whereas deva meant gods and asuras meant demons for the Aryans, the meanings were reversed by the Persians. . . . This may be an ancestral memory of serious social conflicts between the two peoples.” (Organ 50)
   5. Aryan gods (in general)
      1. “Two phenomena with respect to Hindu gods are puzzling [for] Wes­tern­ers.” (Organ 23)
         1. “. . . the universe could function quite well without them.” (Organ 23)
            1. “The gods conformed to this order of things . . . Mira­cles, i.e., viola­tions of cosmic law, were not in their power . . . They were a class of beings within the sovereignty of *Rita*.” (Organ 23)
            2. “A corollary of this is that there have been few serious con­flicts between science and religion in India, for Hindus do not recognize two orders of explanation: the natural and the di­vine.” (Organ 23)
            3. “One by one they slipped into limbo as they were perceived to be rooted in human subjectivity.” (Organ 23)
            4. “. . . the gods are part of the phenomenal manifold manifested by Totality in categories less than real.” (Organ 23)
         2. “The second phenomenon puzzling to Westerners is a tendency of Hinduism to deify almost anything: a stone, a tree, a river, a human, a cow, etc.” (Organ 23)
            1. “. . . “god” in Hinduism obviously does not mean what “god” means in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.” (Organ 24)
            2. “To describe something as a god in Hinduism means that it is worthy or respect, honor, even veneration, not that it is an agent who can willfully violate natural law.” (Organ 24)
         3. “Hinduism is not a god-oriented religion, at least not in any Western sense of God.” (Organ 24)
   6. Aryan gods: Varuna and Indra
      1. “Whereas Varuna ruled by law (*Rita*), Indra ruled because he had subdued his enemies by daring and physical strength.” (Organ 51)
      2. “. . . their favorite god [was] Indra . . . a paradigm of the human qualities the Aryan most admired: vigor, enthusiasm, strength, courage, success in battle, gluttony, and drunkenness.” (Organ 51)
      3. “When at last the Aryan catalyst lost its strength, Indra vanished into nothingness and Varuna was assimilated into his own law.” (Organ 51)
      4. “But before the demise of Indra over two hundred and fifty hymns were composed to him.” (Organ 51)

## Vedism

1. **vedism in general**
   1. “The first form of Hinduism we shall call “Vedism” . . .” (Organ 55)
   2. “. . . Hinduism today has only remote relations with Vedism. . . . [Yet] Not only are portions of the ancient scriptures used at weddings and funerals, but also millions of Hindus begin each day with an ancient Vedic prayer to the sun: ‘Let us meditate on the excellent glory of Savitar. May he stimulate our prayers.’” (Organ 55)
   3. “. . . the pottery and tools which have survived [from the vedic period] are mediocre . . .” (Organ 55)
   4. “The early part of the Vedic period was a time of conflict between the invading Aryans and the peoples of the Indus valley . . .” (Organ 126)
   5. “the latter part was a time of accommodation, assimilation, and adjust­ment.” (Organ 126)
      1. “The Aryans ceased to be nomads.” (Organ 126)
      2. “The village displaced the tribe as the unit of society . . .” [126] “Indians still feel stronger ties to their village than to the nation.” (Organ 126)
2. “**veda**”
   1. “The word *veda* means wisdom, and is related to the English “wit” and the German *wissen*.” (Organ 56)
   2. “Wisdom in this instance means absolute, intuitive, and esoteric wisdom as distinguished from discursive knowledge, either rational or empiri­cal. . . . The wisdom presented in the *suktas* is implicit rather than argued or de­fended.” (Organ 56)
   3. “*Veda* is used either to designate the entire early literature of the Hindus or only the earliest collections of hymns, sacrifices, and prayers.” (Organ 56)
      1. “We shall use the term only in the latter sense.” (Organ 56)
      2. “When we refer to the entire early literature, the “Vedic scrip­tures” or “Vedic writings” will be used.” (Organ 56)
3. **vedic literature in general**
   1. “Like all nomadic pastoral peoples, they [the Aryans] loved storytelling and sing­ing.” (Organ 56)
   2. “They sang their ancient hymns in a poetic-priestly language . . . in which verbs are derived from nouns, e. g., “give battle” rather than “fight” . . .” (Organ 56)
   3. “Some of them may have been composed during the European stage of their migrations, e. g., hymns to the sky (Dyaus) and to the dawn (Ushas); others may have been composed while they were living in Iran where they shared such gods as Indra, Varuna, Agni, and Mitra . . .” (Organ 56)
   4. “The canon of Vedic *suktas* was fixed by the end of the third century b.c., but oral transmission was so highly prized that as late as the eighth century a.d. writing down the Vedas was regarded as sacrilege.” (Organ 56)
   5. “The Vedic writings are said to be *shruti*.” (Organ 56)
      1. “This technical term is often translated “revealed” . . .” (Organ 56)
         1. “Revelation in Judaism and Christianity assumes that [56] a divinity has conveyed truths to man which transcend truths man can discover for himself.” (Organ 56-57)
         2. “But *shruti* does not imply a conveyer of truths.” (Organ 57)
      2. “The word literally means that which is heard, but this must not be inter­preted to mean that which was spoken by someone.” (Organ 57)
         1. “The *rishis* (seers) were believed to have heard the eternal truths in states of ecstasy. . . . Perhaps “become aware of” would be better than “heard”.” (Organ 57)
         2. “. . . the Vedic scriptures . . . were before the world came into being . . .” (Organ 57)
      3. “The Hindu lawbooks enjoin Vedic study on all males of the twice-born classes, although this study is usually limited to *Brahmins*.” (Organ 62)
      4. “. . . a Hindu not of the twice-born classes who hears the reading of a *Veda* suffers the penalty of having hot wax poured into his ears!” (Organ 62)
4. **divisions of vedic literature**
   1. Vedic literature has four divisions: the four Vedas themselves (*Samhi­tas*, “collections”), the *Brahmanas*,the *Aranyakas*, and the *Upanishads*. (Organ 60)
   2. The Four Vedas: “The *Vedas* consist of four colletions (*Samhitas*) known as the *Rig*, the *Sama*, the *Yajur*, and the *Atharva*.” (Organ 57)
      1. The Rig Veda
         1. “The first is the oldest, largest, and most important; indeed, it is . . . known simply as *The Veda*.” (Organ 57)
         2. “It contains 1017 original *suktas* . . .” (Organ 57)
         3. “. . . some are magical poems, riddles, and legends.” (Organ 57)
         4. “They are the work of sophisticated priests seeking riches, success, long life . . . for their patrons.” (Organ 58)
         5. “The formula is quite simple: praise the god, and then petition the god for benefits.” (Organ 58)
         6. “. . . the god is praised for his heroic virtues and then peti­tioned for destruction of enemies and wealth for the patron.” (Organ 58)
         7. “Many of the prayers to Varuna, the god of cosmic and moral order, ask for forgiveness of wrongs . . .” 59 Other seek “to aid in recovering lost cattle . . . to improve begging (10.117), to get rid of a rival wife . . .” (Organ 59)
         8. “The *Rig* is divided into ten books called *mandalas* (circles).” (Organ 59)
            1. “The first eight contain . . . hymns of praise . . . the ninth is . . . *suktas* celebrating Soma, the god of drink . . .” (Organ 59)
            2. “. . . in the tenth *mandala* . . . much of the material is late: here are found many *suktas* used as *mantras*, i. e., as word magic to make things happen.” (Organ 59)
      2. The Sama Veda: “Its [59] *suktas* are largely selected from the *Rig* and are arranged according to their use in the sacrificial ceremo­nies.” (Organ 59-60)
      3. The Yajur Veda “is a priestly handbook . . . for . . . sacri­fices.” (Organ 60)
      4. The Atharva Veda
         1. The *Atharva Veda* is late. (Organ 60)
         2. “It is . . . spells . . . for people possessed with anxious dread of evil spir­its.” (Organ 60)
         3. The spells are “used with magical plants, potions, lotions, and drugs.” (Organ 60)
      5. “The *Rig* and the *Atharva* are the two most important Vedic *Samhi­tas*.” (Organ 82)
         1. “The former is the product of the religion of the upper classes . . .” (Organ 82)
         2. “The latter is the product of the religion of superstitious peasants . . .” (Organ 82)
      6. In addition to the four main *Vedas*, “there are auxiliary *Vedas*, the *Upavedas*.” (Organ 87)
         1. “The *Upavedas* attached to the *Samhitas* are on topics such as music, architec­ture, erotics, medicine, and alchemy.” (Organ 87)
         2. E. g.: the *Upaveda* “of the *Atharva* is the *Ayurveda*.” [87] (Even to­day, “The classic book of medicine and health is . . . the *Ayur­veda*, and it is added as a supplement to the *Atharva*.” 60) (Organ 87, 60)
   3. “. . . three other types of religious-philosophical-poetic materials were composed . . .” (Organ 60)
      1. Brahmanas: “The *Brahmanas* are directions for the performances of sacrifices . . .” (Organ 60)
      2. Aranyakas: “the *Aranya­kas* are interpretations of the sacrifices, usually analogical and allegorical . . .” (Organ 60)
      3. Upanishads: “the *Upanishads* are meta­physical speculations . . .” (Organ 60)
5. **the vedic gods**
   1. in general
      1. “The gods were not postulated as explanatory devices to account for the world of human experience. . . . [The Aryans] were merely stating the way things behave: the sun shines, the storm howls, fire burns, etc.” (Organ 63)
      2. “The gods were conceived anthropomorphically, theriomorphically, and therian­thropically, i. e., in human form, in animal form, and in part human and part animal form.” (Organ 63)
      3. “The common practice was to [63] indicate the god’s special powers by means of extra appendages. . . . Multiple arms, heads, and eyes were common.” (Organ 63-64)
      4. “The personalities of the gods were not as sharply conceived as were those of the Olympians. . . . They were cases of arrested de­vel­opment.” (Organ 64)
   2. devas
      1. “deva”
         1. “The term used in the Vedas for a god is *deva* . . .” (Organ 63)
         2. *Deva* means “a shining one”; it also means “one who gives.” (Organ 63)
      2. devas vs. asuras
         1. “A second but ill-defined group of gods were known as the *asuras*.” (Organ 63)
            1. “. . . the *asuras* were not devils or demons but rival gods who at one time had challenged the sovereignty of the *devas*.” (Organ 63)

“The absence of gods of an underworld ought not to go unnoticed.” (Organ 63)

“. . . there were remnants of an older cult of underworld demons.” (Organ 63)

* + - * 1. “In ancient Iran the superior gods were the *asuras* and the demons were the *devas*.” (Organ 63)
        2. “This may indicate that a conflict between *deva*-worshipers and *asura*-worship­ers was instrumental in the separation of the Indo-Iranians who stayed and the Indo-Aryans who moved on to India.” (Organ 63)
      1. “In Vedism the *asuras* are the anti-gods, the polar opposites of the *devas*.” (Organ 63)
      2. “*Devas* were gods who ruled by reason of conquest—as did the Aryans; *asuras* were gods who ruled by reason of inheritance.” (Organ 63)
      3. “Indra was the chief of the *devas*; Varuna may at one time have been the chief of the *asuras*.” (Organ 63)
      4. “By the time of the development of Vedism, the *asuras* had ceased to be worshiped.” (Organ 63)
  1. devas: characteristics
     1. The *devas* are “the source of the goods of life . . .” (Organ 63)
     2. functional gods
        1. “The most distinguishing feature of a *deva* was power. . . . *Devas* were krato­phanies, i. e., manifestations of power.” (Organ 64)
        2. “The powers were conceived functionally rather than substanti­al­ly. . . . Thus there was not a god of the sun *per se*,but a god of the sun as illumina­tor, of the sun as stimulator, of the sun as bringer of warmth, of the sun as causer of drought, etc.” (Organ 64)
     3. “Most of the gods were masculine, and most had a feminine consort who was known as the god’s energy (*shakti*).” (Organ 64)
        1. “The *shakti* was a sort of emanation of the god.” (Organ 64)
        2. “She brought the power of the god to man, and she was in most instances more approachable than the god himself.” (Organ 64)
        3. “Few of the *shaktis* were more than shadowy counterparts of the god; their names were usually nothing more than “*Shakti* of . . .”.” (Organ 64)
  2. three groups of gods
     1. “The priestly classification of the gods was into celestial, at­mos­pher­ic, and terrestrial gods.” (Organ 66)
     2. “Eleven gods were assigned to each sphere.” (Organ 66)
     3. celestial gods
        1. Dyaus Pitar “was listed among the celestials” and was identi­fied with the sun. (Organ 66)
           1. He “was repre­sented as a black bull or steed decked with pearls, i. e., the dark sky set with stars.” (Organ 66)
           2. “The two daughters of Dyaus were Ratri and Ushas; the former was the goddess of the dark night, the protector from night thieves; the latter was the ever young and colorful goddess of the dawn.” (Organ 66)
        2. Varuna was “the second greatest of the gods in the *Rig*.” (Organ 67)
           1. He was “closely identified with Dyaus Pitar . . .” (Organ 67)
           2. “He was the *deva* of physical order.” (Organ 67)
           3. “He was the one who kept rivers within their banks, the sea­sons in proper rotation, and the stars in their courses.” (Organ 67)
           4. “He became the god of moral [67] order [and hence] the third party in all contracts.” (Organ 67-68)
           5. “Moral wrongs were violations of Varuna’s law; hence most of the prayers to Varuna end with a petition for forgiveness: . . .” (Organ 68)
           6. “He was . . . the god of the three strides because he was thought to traverse the regions of earth, air, and heaven . . . because he could take messages to and from the de­par­ted.” (Organ 69)
        3. “The other celestial gods were functional powers of sunlight”: Mitra, Surya, Savitar, Pushan, Vishnu, etc. [68] (Vishnu later becomes “the most beloved of all the gods . . .” 69) (Organ 68-69)
        4. “The Ashvins and the Adityas were two important clusters of celestials.” (Organ 69)
     4. atmospheric gods
        1. Indra
           1. “The chief myth about Indra”:

A *brahmin*, who disliked Indra, had a son who was stronger and more cunning than all men. (Organ 69)

“Indra fought the son, killing him with a thunderbolt (*vajra*).” (Organ 69)

“To avenge the death the *brahmin* created the demon Vritra, a demon so huge that his head [69] reached the sky.” (Organ 69-70)

“Indra and Vritra fought long and hard, but neither won.” (Organ 70)

“At last a truce was made in which Indra and Vritra promised that they would not attack by day or by night, they would use no weapon of wood, iron, or stone, and they would not strike with any object wet or dry.” (Organ 70)

“Under the protection of the truce Vritra continued in his demonic ways. . . . But when he penned up the heavenly waters so that plants and animals began to die, Indra decided to act.” (Organ 70)

“One evening at dusk when it was neither day nor night Indra saw Vritra by the ocean.” (Organ 70)

“He seized a column of foam which was not wood, iron or stone, and which was neither wet nor dry, and with this weapon he slew the demon, split him, and released the waters.” (Organ 70)

“The myth, we suspect, is an account of a long drought broken by a fearful storm.” (Organ 70)

* + - * 1. “There are two hundred and fifty *suktas* addressed to Indra in the *Rig*,” but “before the period of *Rig Vedic sukta* composing ended, Indra worship had diminished . . .” (Organ 70)
      1. Rudra
         1. “*rudra* means taboo.” (Organ 71)
         2. “If Indra was the Aryan god of monsoons, Rudra may be re­gar­ded as the Dravi­dian god of monsoons.” (Organ 71)
         3. Rudra is “fierce and destructive, the personification of the danger­ous elements of nature.” (Organ 71)
         4. He is “a prototype of Shiva.” (Organ 71)
         5. “Rudra is the one god among the thirty-three who makes it impossible to say that all the Vedic gods were benevolent.” (Organ 72)
      2. “. . . other atmospheric gods were of minor significance.” (Organ 72)
         1. E. g.: “The Maruts . . . were the noisy wind gods who accompa­nied Indra.” (Organ 72)
    1. terrestrial gods
       1. river gods: “Sindhu, Vipas, Shutrudri, and Saraswati.” (Organ 72)
          1. “The latter god became important in post-Vedic times as the goddess of music, scholarship, and speech.” (Organ 72)
          2. “She is the wife of Brahma, and remains one of the loveliest of the gods.” (Organ 72)
       2. Agni
          1. “But in Vedic times the two chief terrestrial gods were Agni the fire god and Soma the god of drink.” (Organ 72)
          2. “Agni was fire in many aspects: the sun, lightning, the sacrifice, and the family hearth.” (Organ 72)
          3. “Agni was the god who took the petitions of the devotees to the gods.” (Organ 72)
          4. “As hearth deity Agni was protector of the home, the lord of the house.” (Organ 72)
          5. “As the devourer of corpses he was a purifier and dispeller of evil spirits.” (Organ 72)
          6. “He is described in the *Rig* as butter-backed, flame-haired, with sharp jaws and golden teeth, and with seven tongues designed for licking *ghee* (clarified butter).” (Organ 72)
          7. “The nearness of Agni is indicated in the following *sukta*: . . .” (Organ 72)
       3. Soma
          1. “Soma, the Vedic Bacchus, is addressed in over two hundred *suktas* of the *Rig*.” (Organ 73)
          2. “He is a god with few anthropomorphic aspects.” (Organ 73)
          3. “. . . a stimulator of the voice . . . the lord of plants, and a conveyer of immortality.” (Organ 73)
          4. “The descriptions of the effects of *soma* suggest that it was a halluci­no­gen rather than an intoxicant.” (Organ 73)
          5. “It was made from the juice attained by crushing a plant which had been gathered on mountain sides by moonlight.” (Organ 73)
          6. “The juice was mixed with milk.” (Organ 73)
          7. “Speculation as to what the plant was varies from a mountain rhubarb (*Asclepi­as Acida*) to the common poisonous mushroom *Amanita* [73] *Muscar­ia*.” (Organ 73-74)
          8. the Vedic soma ceremony

“. . . ceremonies required no temples and images.” (Organ 74)

“The place of worship was any spot of ground which the patriarch of the clan selected.” (Organ 74)

“The boundaries of the place of worship were indicated by freshly cut grass, and when the sacrifice was over the spot was no [74] longer regarded as sacred.” (Organ 74-75)

“*Ghee* [clarified butter] was poured on the wood to increase the flames of Agni as he carried the praises and petitions to the *devas*.” (Organ 75)

“*Soma* was poured into a hole in the ground to insure the immortali­ty of the gods, and some was consumed by the worshipers in order to share in the feelings of immor­tality.” (Organ 75)

“The fathers of the clan were the priests in these simple rites . . .” (Organ 75)

“. . . in addition to the recitation of the *suktas* there must have been special and specific prayers to the gods.” (Organ 75)

“The separation between gods and men was not definite since both gods and men drank the *soma*.” (Organ 75)

“The gods were asked to come near, to enjoy *ghee* and *soma*, and sit beside men on the grass . . .” (Organ 75)

* 1. four generations of Hindu divinities
     1. “Four chronological layers of gods can be identified.” (Organ 65)
     2. “The oldest [are] Father Sky and Mother Earth. . . . [They] come from Indo-European times . . .” (Organ 65)
        1. “Six *suktas* of the *Rig* are addressed to Dyaus Pitar and Prithivi Matar . . .” (Organ 66)
     3. “The second layer of the gods are those of the Indo-Iranian per­iod.” (Organ 66)
        1. “By the time of . . . the *Rig Veda* the descendants of the primor­dial couple had taken over . . .” (Organ 65)
        2. “Gods such as Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Agni, and Soma were wor­shiped by the ancient Iranians.” (Organ 66)
        3. As Dyaus and Prithivi are like the Greeks’ Uranos and Gaia, so Indra, Varuna, et al. are like the Olympians. (Organ 66)
     4. “The third chronological layer of the gods are the gods created on Indian soil.” (Organ 66)
        1. “Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva are examples.” (Organ 66)
        2. “They are not Vedic, although they are descendants or outgrowths of the Vedic *devas*.” (Organ 66)
     5. “The fourth layer consists of a number of abstract *devas* indicated by such impersonal identifications as Eka Deva (One God), Tat Ekam (That One), Ka (Who), and Prajapati (Father of Creation).” (Organ 66)
        1. “They represent a movement away from theistic entities to an Absolute behind the gods.” (Organ 66)

1. **the movement toward a** “**one**” **behind the gods**
   1. in general
      1. “If there is any one intellectual tenet which, explicitly or im­pli­citly, is held by the people of India, furnishing a fundamen­tal presupposition of all their thinking, it is this doctrine of uni­versal immanence, of an intelligent monism.” (Quote from Robert Ernest Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* [London: Oxford, 1954] 2.) (Organ 103)
      2. “Why this movement has been such a central feature of Indian life, we cannot say.” (Organ 103)
   2. devas
      1. First, there is the “effort of the Vedic peoples to consolidate the *devas* into groups.” (Organ 103)
      2. vasus
         1. “One early grouping was known as the Vasus.” (Organ 103) E. g., *Rig* 1.143.7; 10.125.1.
         2. “They were the personifications of the powers inherent in eight natural phenomena: water, the pole-star, the moon, earth, wind, fire, dawn, and light.” (Organ 103)
      3. vishva-
         1. “References can also be found in the *Rig Veda* to collections of gods identi­fied with the use of *vishva* (universal) as a prefix, e. g., Vishvam­itras (all the gods of light) and Vishvadevas (all the gods).” (Organ 103)
         2. “In the *Bhagavad Gita* the latter are identified as the Vishvas.” (Organ 103)
   3. “Henotheism was a second way in which integration proceeded.” (Organ 103)
      1. Because Hindu gods were functions of natural objects, rather than the objects themselves (see “functional gods” above, p. 4), the *devas* “did not retain their identity as distinct and differ­ent individual *devas*, nor did they preserve their proper places in the divine hierarchy.” (Organ 64)
      2. “There was . . . a tendency to assume while worshiping one god that he was supreme, or even unique, among the gods . . .” (Organ 64)
      3. “This tendency was noticed by Max Müller and was given the identi­fying name kathenotheism (one-by-one theism), which has since been shortened to henothe­ism . . .” (Organ 64)
      4. *Henotheism* may mean either “worshiping one god while recog­nizing the propriety of other persons or tribes worshiping another god or . . . the god that is being adored is regarded either as [64] the only god or as the supreme of all gods.” (Organ 64-65)
      5. “The henotheistic movement, contrary to what might have been ex­pected, did not end in monotheism.” (Organ 103)
   4. creator
      1. “A third monistic movement was the identifying of a first cause of the universe, or creation itself reified as a god.” (Organ 104)
      2. “There are many names in early Vedic literature of the Creator.” (Organ 104)
      3. Vishvakarman (World Maker): e. g., *Rig Veda* 10. 82:
         1. Vishvakarman is “the germ prime­val,” and “that One wherein abide all things existing.”“ (Organ 104)
         2. “He is “earlier than this earth and heaven, before even the Asuras and gods had being.”“ (Organ 104)
      4. Hiranyagarbha
         1. “In *Rig Veda* 10.121 the first cause is Hiranyagarbha (Golden Egg) . . .” (Organ 104)
         2. “. . . in the *Laws of Manu* the creator Brahma after living for a year in the Golden Egg split it and from the two shells formed the heaven and the earth.” (Organ 104)
      5. Brahmanaspati: *Rig* 10.72.2: he produced the world “with blast and smelting, like a smith.” (Organ 104)
      6. Prajapati
         1. *Rig* 10.121: Prajapati (Lord of Creation) is “king of the world,” “generator of the earth,” and “arose in the begin­ning.” (Organ 104)
      7. Aditi
         1. “Sometimes a *deva* named Aditi (Free or Boundless), signifying the unlimited sky as contrasted to the limited earth, was singled out as [104] the one above all others.” (Organ 104-105)
         2. “Aditi was regarded as the *deva-matri* (mother of gods).” (Organ 105)
         3. “In the *Rig* she is the mother of the Adityas, a collection of celestial deities whose number varies from six to seven to twelve.” (Organ 105)
         4. “In the *Yajur Veda* she is addressed as “supporter of the heav­ens, sustainer of the earth, sovereign of this world, swife of Vishnu.” (Organ 105)
         5. “In the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* she is the mother of Vishnu.” (Organ 105)
   5. rita
      1. “A fourth movement to oneness was in the conception of *Rita*, which meant literally the regular course of things.” (Organ 105)
      2. “At first *Rita* meant the correct order of the performance of the sacrifice; then it meant the order of the natural world; and later it was expanded to include the moral order, i. e., cause and effect in the realm of good and evil.” (Organ 105)
      3. “*Rita* was sometimes personalized as “the father of all.”“ (Organ 105)
      4. “As cosmic order *Rita* was a principle which even the gods could not trans­gress . . .” (Organ 105)
   6. the one
      1. “The fifth movement . . . was a variety of names used to designate an impersonal reality from which experi­enced plurality has come.” (Organ 105)
      2. “Beings such as Tat (That), Tat Ekam (That One), Eka Deva (The One God), Vac (The Word), Sat (Being), and Ka (Who) are found in Vedic literature.” (Organ 105)
      3. “*Rig Veda* 10. 121 is perhaps the most remarkable of all the hymns which contain monistic tendencies. Max Müller called it “The Hymn to the Unknown God.”“ (Organ 105)
2. **the fire sacrifice**
   1. “. . . the rites were . . . to secure happiness, success, health, offspring, long life, and other good things of this world and to continue such blessings into the afterlife.” (Organ 75)
   2. “The Vedic Indians believed that the world of their experience was also the world of the *devas*.” (Organ 75)
   3. “There was a growing conviction that the sacrifice was more than a form of persuasion; it was a form of compulsion.” (Organ 76)
   4. “The next step was the belief tha the sacrifice itself accomplished the end.” (Organ 76)
   5. “The gods became supernumeraries—but not at the time of the formation of the *Rig*, the *Sama*, and the *Yajur*.” (Organ 76)
3. **cosmology**
   1. “The elements of the world were earth, air, fire, and water. . . . Water seems to have had priority, for it was from water that the others were thought to have evolved.” (Organ 76)
   2. “Although Vedic man divided the world into earth, atmosphere, and sky . . . there is a reference to “the two worlds” . . .” (Organ 76)
      1. “The universe was imaged as two sacrificial bowls positioned facing each other, one above the other. . . . The upper bowl was at least partially hollow; the nether bowl was filled. . . . The earth is the upper surface of the nether bowl.” (Organ 76)
      2. “Atmosphere was thought to be between the bowls, and it was believed to extend partly into the upper bowl.” (Organ 76)
   3. “The upper bowl, the space between the bowls, and the surface of the lower bowl was called *Sat* (The Real).” (Organ 76)
      1. “This was the region inhabited by men and gods.” (Organ 76)
      2. “*Sat* is an ordered realm.” [76] “The Sanskrit word *sat* means exis­ting, existent, present, being real, and actual, but the word blends into the value spectrum, for *sat* also means genuine, right, good, and virtuous.” (Organ 76, 22)
      3. “*Rita*, the course of things, is directed by Varuna in *Sat*.” (Organ 76)
      4. “This is the area in which *shrauta* (sacred) rites are applicable . . .” (Organ 76)
   4. Asat
      1. “. . . below *Sat* is the nether bowl . . .” (Organ 76)
      2. “*Asat* [is] the realm of the Unreal, an unorganized, chaotic chasm.” (Organ 76)
      3. “It is inhabited by demons (*asuras*), of which the chief is Vritra.” (Organ 76)
   5. “Sacrifice Of Primal Man” (*Rig Veda* 10.90.11-16) (i.e., *mandala* 10, *sukta* 90)
      1. This is a less advanced theory of cosmogony.
      2. the hymn: [Translation: Zaehner, R. C., ed. and trans. *Hindu Scriptures*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966, 19922, 11.]

11. When they divided [primal] Man,

Into how many parts did they divide him?

What was his mouth? What his arms?

What are his thighs called? What his feet?

12. The Brāhman was his mouth,

the arms were made the Prince,

His thighs the common people,

And from his feet the serf was born.

13. From his mind the moon was born,

And from his eye the sun,

From his mouth Indra and the fire,

From his breath the wind was born.

14. From his navel arose the atmosphere,

From his head the sky evolved,

From his feet the earth, and from his ear

The cardinal points of the compass:

So did they fashion forth these worlds.”

* 1. “Hymn of Creation” (*Rig Veda* 10.129)
     1. “The most advanced theory of cosmogony in the *Rig* is the “Hymn of Cre­ation” . . . (10.129).” (Organ 77)
        1. This hymn is “the apex of the philosophizing in the *Rig*. . . . This tendency reached its Vedic fulfillment in the *Upanishads*.” (Organ 80)
     2. The hymn: [Translation: Organ 77-78.]

“Non-being then existed not nor being:

There was no air, nor sky that is beyond it.

What was concealed? Wherein? In whose protection?

And was there deep unfathomable water?

Death then existed not nor life immortal;

Of neither night nor day was any token.

By its inherent force the One breathed windless:

No other thing than that beyond existed.

Darkness there was at first by darkness hidden;

without distinctive marks, this all was water.

That which, becoming, by the void was covered,

That One by force of heat came into being.

Desire entered the One in the beginning:

It was the earliest seed, of thought the product.

The sages searching in their hearts with wisdom,

Found out the bond of being in non-being. [77]

Their ray extended light across the darkness:

But was the One above or was it under?

Creative force was there, and fertile power:

Below was energy, above was impulse.

Who knows for certain? Who shall here declare it?

Whence was it born, and whence came this creation?

The gods were born after this world’s creation:

Then who can know from whence it has arisen?

None knoweth whence creation has arisen;

And whether he has or has not produced it:

He who surveys it in the highest heaven,

He only knows, or haply he may know not.”

## Brahminism: The *Atharva Veda*

1. **introduction**
   1. definition: Brahminism “is the religion of magical ritualism found in India located chronologically between the theological ritualism of Vedism and the intellec­tual speculations of the Upanishadic seers.” (Organ 82)
   2. “The previous chapter dealt with theological ritualism; this chapter considers magical ritualism; and the next will examine the intellectual tendency as it appears in the *Upanishads*.” (Organ 81)
   3. “The literary sources for the study of [Brahminism] are two: the *Atharva Veda Samhita*, the repository of the magical animism of the masses of people, and the *Brahmanas*, the handbook for priests.” (Organ 81)
   4. *Rig Veda* and theological ritualism
      1. “The ritualistic . . . tendency had two sides: the theological and the magical.” (Organ 80)
      2. “The theological is manifest in the hundreds of hymns . . . in the *Rig* . . .” (Organ 80)
      3. “. . . the magical is not the central theme of the *Rig*. . . . It sneaks in . . . around the edges . . .” (Organ 80)
2. ***Atharva Veda* and magical ritualism**
   1. *Atharva Veda* in general
      1. “The *Atharva Veda* is a *Samhita* of 730 *suktas*.” (Organ 84)
      2. “About one-sixth of it is prose, and about one-fifth is borrowed from the *Rig*, although the borrowed elements have usually been worked over for sorcerous purposes.” (Organ 84)
      3. “The oldest name for the book is *Atharvangirasah*. . . . Atharva and Angirasa appear to have been two priestly families. . . . Since the Atharva family specialized in medical charms and the Angirasa in witchcraft, the book was the volume of “Blessings and Curses”.” (Organ 84)
      4. In addition to the *Vedas*,there developed auxiliary *Vedas*,or *Upavedas*. The *Upaveda* “of the *Atharva* is the *Ayurveda*.” (Organ 87)
   2. contents
      1. “The world view of the *Atharva* is animistic.” (Organ 81)
      2. “Its world is filled with evil spirits, witches, goblins, and imps.” (Organ 81)
      3. “The *Atharva* speaks of incantations, spells, charms, and chants.” (Organ 81)
      4. “When the Vedic gods appearCoften with altered namesCthey are approached as magical powers rather than as the powers of natural phenomena.” (Organ 81)
   3. “It represents beliefs and practices which antedate the composition of the *suktas* of the *Trayi Vidya*, although its composition as a Veda is much later than that of the other three.” (Organ 81)
   4. addition of the *Atharva* as a *Veda*
      1. “The admission of the *Atharva* to Vedic status was not without a struggle . . . [It] was not well received by the established priests.” (Organ 81)
      2. In deciding to include or exclude the *Atharva*, the issue was in a sense “whether Tantrism is to be regarded as integral to Hinduism [since] the *Atharva Veda* represents a current of Indian culture that . . . is the earlier stage of . . . the Agama and Tantra litera­ture.” (Organ 81)
      3. “. . . primitive tribal practices . . . are preserved in the *Atharva Veda*, the Mimamsa philosophical system, and Tantrism.” (Organ 82)
3. **cultural source of the *Atharva***’**s magical ritualism**
   1. “The culture which produced the charms, chants, and incantations of the *Atharva* has not been identified.” (Organ 84)
   2. “. . . there are also many with unfamiliar names: Kala (Time), Kama (De­sire), Pashupata (Lord of Cattle) . . .” (Organ 85)
   3. Indo-European?
      1. Were “the charms . . . brought into India by the Aryans from their original home”? (Organ 84)
      2. “Some of the spells for curing ailments of the body are similar to certain German, Lettic, and Russian magical remedies.” (Organ 84)
   4. Persian?
      1. There was “a wizard named Atharvan of Persian an­ces­try . . .” (Organ 84)
      2. “Some relate the charms to the work of the ancient Magi . . .” (Organ 84)
   5. Dravidian?
      1. Radhakrishnan thought so. (Organ 84)
      2. But “The charms seem far too primitive to be associated with the Harappan cul­ture.” (Organ 84)
      3. “Or do we underestimate the ability of people to hold to the pre-rational and the nonrational? . . . The London editors of *The Times* report that one day a few years ago when the astrology column was inadvertently omitted over fifty thousand telephone calls were received from anxious people who wanted to know what the stars advised for that day.” (Organ 84)
4. **goddesses rather than gods**
   1. “Whereas in the *Rig* most of the gods were male, the gods of the *Atharva* are predominantly female.” (Organ 85)
   2. The *Atharva* contains a “hymn of praise to Mother Earth”:

Let your hills, your snowy mountains, your jungleland be pleasant, O earth. The brown, dark, red, many-coloured, firm, broad earth, guarded by Indra, upon this earth I have settled, unconquered, unsmit­ten, unwounded. Your middle, earth, and your navel, and the nourish­ments that have sprung up from your body, in them set us; purify yourself for us; earth is my mother, I am earth’s son.” (Organ 87)

* 1. Yet the status of women declined: “Women began to lose their place of equality with men.” (Organ 90)
     1. “Prohibitions against husband and wife dining together appeared . . .” (Organ 90)
     2. “. . . the importance of a son is celebrated . . .” (Organ 90)

1. **healing**
   1. “The origins of Indian medicine are both empirical and magical.” (Organ 87)
   2. “Many of the cures operated on the notion of the polarity of hot and cold, wet and dry.” (Organ 87)
   3. “*Ayurvedic* healing was a householder rite . . .” (Organ 88)
      1. It “required only one fire and one priest, rather than the three of each for a *shrauta* rite.” (Organ 88)
      2. “The priest was of a new order: the domestic priest (*purchita*).” (Organ 88)
      3. “The priest becomes a medicine man.” (Organ 81)
   4. “The cure for a form of jaundice will sufficiently convey the nature of the ancient Hindu art of healing.” (Organ 88)
      1. “After the priest had recited selected *mantras* from the *Atharva*, he gave the patient water which had been poured over the back of a red bull.” (Organ 88)
      2. “When this had been drunk, an amulet steeped in cow’s milk anointed with *ghee* was tied on the patient while sitting on the skin of a bull.” (Organ 88)
      3. “Then the patient took milk and porridge made of the plant *harid­ra*.” (Organ 88)
      4. “Some of the porridge was left to anoint the patient.” (Organ 88)
      5. “Three yellow birds were then tied to the foot of the bed by their left legs.” (Organ 88)
      6. “The patient was bathed, and the bath water was poured over the birds.” (Organ 88)
      7. “After another drink of the water, the patient addressed the birds asking them to take his yellowness upon themselves.” (Organ 88)
      8. “Finally, an amulet of hairs from the belly of the red bull was covered with gold and tied on the patient.” (Organ 88)
   5. “The *Ayurvedic* priest was able . . . both to cure and to cause disease; [88] . . . therefore . . . physicians were for centuries not well received in Hindu society.” (Organ 88-89)
2. **astrology**
   1. “Curses, however, were the specialty of another group, the astrologers.” (Organ 89)
   2. “. . . astrologers . . . were even less well received than were the physi­cians . . .” (Organ 89)
   3. “The word A*jyotisha*” meant both astronomy and astrology . . .” (Organ 89)
   4. “Astronomy did not attain full respectability in India until the third century a.d., when Greek astronomy entered India and was accepted so complete­ly that even the Greek terms for the zodiac were adopted.” (Organ 89)
3. **love**
   1. “Some of the charms were intended to assist Kama, the god of love with his bow and arrow, in weakening feminine resistance:

‘Tis winged with longing, barbed with love,

Its shaft is formed of fixed desire:

With this his arrow levelled well

Shall Kama pierce thee to the heart?” (Organ 83)

1. **beginnings of later developments**
   1. cow: “Among other “firsts” the cow is for the first time declared sacred.” (Organ 86)
   2. monism: the *Atharva* contains the “beginning of a movement to monism.” (Organ 85)
      1. “The sun, water, earth, wind, time, and desire are all said to have been the one thing out of which everything has come.” (Organ 85)
      2. Skambha
         1. “Monism is anticipated in the *Atharva* in an abstract entity called *Skambha* (Support).” (Organ 85)
         2. “In which the Adityas and the Rudras and the Vasus are fixed together, in which what has been and what is to be, and all the worlds, are established; declare that *Skambha*: which one of all, pray, is he?” (Organ 86)
         3. “The meaning is that *Skambha* is not a god among gods . . .” (Organ 86)
         4. “Rather *Skambha* is the support of being, the ground of exis­tence.” (Organ 86)
      3. Atman
         1. “. . . *Atman* appears for the first time in Hindu literature as the universal Self: “Desireless, wise, immortal, self-existent, satia­ted with enjoyment, not deficient in any respectChe fears not death, who knows this *Atman*, which is wise, ageless, eter­nally young.”“ (Organ 86)
   3. “Brahman”
      1. *Brahma* or *brahman* “means the productive power in a magical spell.” (Organ 82)
      2. “It also means the power in a prayer to accomplish its intent.” (Organ 82)
      3. “From this root the following words have been developed: *brahmin* (the profes­sional priest), *Brahmin* (the class of priests and scholars), *Brahma* or *Brahman* (the Absolute Reality), *Brahma* (the creator god), and *Brahmanas* (the exposito­ry liturgical books of the priests).” (Organ 82)

## Brahminism: The *Brahmanas*

1. ***Brahmanas***
   1. in general
      1. “After the completion of the Vedic *Samhitas* a new form of litera­ture appeared—the *Brahmanas*.” (Organ 89)
      2. “These were priestly handbooks . . .” (Organ 89)
      3. “The word A*brahmana*” means holy practice as contrasted to *mantra* (holy ut­terance).” (Organ 90)
      4. One translator has said of them, “For wearisome prolexity of exposition, characterized by dogmatic assertion and flimsy sym­bolism rather than by serious reasoning, these works are perhaps not equalled anywhere.” (Organ 89)
   2. The *Brahmanas* “present the first myths in Indian literature of the Deluge and of the original human couple.” (Organ 90)
      1. “Adam and Eve”: “The myth of the first couple is translated by Bloom­field as follows:

Yama and Yami are the first man and woman. Yama died. The gods sought to console Yami for the death of Yama. When they asked her she said, “Today he hath died.” They said, “In this way she will never forget him. Let us create night!” Day only at that time existed, not night. The gods created night. Then morrow came into being. Then she forgot him. Hence, they say, “Days and nights make men forget sorrow.”“ (Organ 90)

* + 1. Noah
       1. “The “Noah” is Manu Vaivasvata, the son of the sun-god Vivas­vat.” (Organ 90)
       2. “Manu captured a small fish which promised to save him from the coming flood if he would rear it.” (Organ 90)
       3. “When the flood came, the fish guided Manu to the Northern Moun­tain.” (Organ 90)
       4. “After the flood Manu became the progenitor of mankind through his own daughter.” (Organ 90)

1. **gods**
   1. “The gods were still thirty-three in number, but they were not the thirty-three of the *Rig*, and they were classified as Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas rather than the gods of earth, atmosphere, and sky.” (Organ 91)
   2. “In *Shatapatha Brahmana* 4. 5. 7. 2 the gods are listed as follows . . .” (Organ 91)
      1. “Dyu (Sky) [and] Prithivi (Earth) . . .” (Organ 91)
      2. “the eight Vasus (Dhava, Dhruva, Soma, Apa, Anila, Anala, Pratyu­sha, and Prabhasa) . . .” (Organ 91)
      3. “the twelve Adityas (Dhatri, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Varuna, Surya, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Pushan, Savitri, Tvashtri, and Vishnu) . . .” (Organ 91)
      4. “and the eleven Rudras.” 91 “The names of the Rudras are not given in the *Brahmanas*, but in the *Mahabhar­ata* they appear as Mrigavya­dha, Sarpa, Nirriti, Ajaikapada, Ahirbudh­nya, Pinakin, Dahana, Tryambaka, Kapalin, Sthanu, and Bhaga.” (Organ 91)
   3. “. . . a new kind of god had appeared . . . *deva-manus* (human gods): “Veri­ly, there are two kinds of gods: for, indeed the gods are the gods, and the *brahmins* who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods.”“ (Organ 91)
   4. increased status of Vishnu
      1. “. . . Vishnu . . . was the Vedic god associated with grace, love, tender­ness, and forgiveness.” (Organ 95)
      2. “As the god of the three steps, he could take man’s petitions, and finally man himself, to the highest heaven “where even birds dare not fly,” the safe refuge from the sorrows of life and death.” (Organ 95)
2. **ritual in general**
   1. “. . . no temples were a part of Hinduism at this time.” (Organ 92)
   2. “Deviation from any part of the ritual not only would invalidate the ceremony but also would require a purification for the offender more elaborate than the ceremony itself.” (Organ 92)
   3. “The sun did not rise because of Ushas; the sun rose because the sacri­fice made it rise, and the priest controlled the sacrifice.” (Organ 91)
3. **increased complexity of rituals**
   1. “What caused the ceremonies to become so complicated at this time? . . . What was the rationale for the sacrifices?” (Organ 94)
      1. “. . . the rites in the *Brahmanas* were too complicated for laymen.” (Organ 92)
      2. “The power of the sacrifice was believed to be turned against the one who performed improperly, even though the impropriety was only a misused or mispronounced word.” (Organ 94)
   2. “The first expression of ritual is found in *Rig Veda* 10. 90, the *Purusha Sukta*, in which “the gods of old” sacrificed *Purusha*, the prototypical man, to form the world.” (Organ 94)
      1. “*Purusha* was “all that yet hath been and all that is to be.”“ (Organ 94)
      2. “From him was born the World-Egg, “the creatures of the air, and animals both wild and tame,” the *Vedas*, the four classes of man, the moon, the sun, sky, earth, atmosphere, and the gods of the three regions.” (Organ 94)
   3. “Since the entire cosmic order came into being as the result of a great sacrifice, the conviction grew that sacrifice was the way of renewal, of power, and of strengthening.” (Organ 94)
   4. “The operative cause in the sacrifice was *tapas*, a term which originally meant the heating of gold in order to test it.” (Organ 95)
      1. “*Tapas* came to mean heat, pain, torment, and burning.” (Organ 95)
      2. “*Tapas* meant the conserving of power in order that it might be expended in desired channels.” (Organ 95)
      3. “No doubt one of the resons why the fire ceremonies displaced the *soma* cere­monies was the association of the heat of the fire with power of the fire to destroy.” (Organ 95)
      4. “*Tapas* also came at this time to be identified with the heat of sexual de­sire.” (Organ 95)
      5. “Asceticism . . . and torment were means for the conservation of the ener­gies . . .” (Organ 95)
      6. “There was much . . . exposing of the body to extreme heat and cold . . . assuming painful postures, and inflicting harm upon the body.” (Organ 95)
   5. “The *Atharva* and the *Brahmanas* . . . show that Vedic religion was “first and foremost a liturgy, and only secondarily a mythological or specula­tive sys­tem.”“ (Organ 96)
4. **example ritual 1**: **fire sacrifice**
   1. “The *soma* rituals were at this time giving way to fire rituals which required three altars to represent the three regions of Agni: the hearth fire on earth, lightning in the atmosphere, and the sun in the sky.” (Organ 92)
   2. “The altars were known as the *Garhapatya* (fire of the home), *Ahavaniya* (fire of offering), and *Dakshina* (southern fire).” (Organ 92)
      1. “The *Garhapatya* was used chiefly to prepare the food for the sacrifice . . .” (Organ 92)
      2. “the *Ahavaniya* was the main altar of offering located east of the prepa­ration altar . . .” (Organ 92)
      3. “the *Dakshina* was the altar used for appeas­ing avenging spirits.” (Organ 92)
   3. brahmin
      1. “At first there were three classes of priests: . . . to tend the sacrifi­cial fire . . . to handle the sacrificial instruments . . . and . . . to sing the chants.” (Organ 93)
      2. “But now a fourth priest appeared. . . . This was the *brahmin*, whose responsibility was to act as general supervisor . . .” (Organ 93)
5. **example ritual 2**: **horse sacrifice** (*ashvamedha*)
   1. “At the opening of the *ashvamedha* a young white horse was bathed, fed wheat cakes for three days, consecrated with fire, and then released.” (Organ 93)
   2. “For one year it was allowed to wander in complete freedom.” (Organ 93)
      1. “An escort of princes and an army followed the horse.” (Organ 93)
      2. “The territory into which it wandered was claimed as the king’s, and it was to be taken by force, if necessary.” (Organ 93)
      3. “At the end of the year the horse was returned as the central object in the concluding ceremonies.” (Organ 93)
   3. “The king at new moon shaved his head and beard, sat on the lap of the first queen, while the priests chanted *mantras*.” (Organ 93)
   4. “After an all-night vigil by the sacred fire, the queens anointed the horse at dawn, decorating it with pearls.” (Organ 93)
   5. “Then began an amazing sacrifice of six hundred and nine selected animals, ranging “from the elphant to the bee,” including a human being.” [93] (“By the time of the *Shatapatha Brahmana* the sacrifice of a human was a rare event, a rite reserved for making impregnable a for­tress or city gate, or making secure a bridge or dam.” [94]) (Organ 93-94)
   6. “The horse was then slaughtered, and the first queen lay beside the dead horse.” (Organ 93)
   7. “A blanket was thrown over the queen and the horse, and the queen enacted sexual union with the horse accompanied by obscene en­courage­ments from the other queens and the priests.” (Organ 93)
   8. “The ceremony ended with the eating of the horse.” (Organ 93)
   9. “The *ashvamedha* was [93] reputed to accomplish almost anything the king desired . . .” (Organ 93-94)

## The Upanishads

1. **Aranyakas**
   1. “The collection of ancient books known as the *Aranyakas* and the *Upani­shads* . . .” (Organ 99)
   2. “The *Aranyakas* retain some respect for the ancient ceremonies and pro­vide interpretations of the sacrfices, often of an allegorical nature for those unable or unwilling to perform the rites.” (Organ 99)
   3. “They teach that meditation upon the symbolic aspects of the sacrifice is as efficacious as the actual performance. . . . For example, meditation on the dawn as “the head of the horse” and on the sun “as the eye of the horse” was deemed a fitting substitute for the perform­ance of the horse sacrifice.” (Organ 99)
2. **“Upanishad” and “Vedanta”**
   1. *Upanishad* “is composed of *upa* (near), *ni* (down), and *shad* (to sit).” (Organ 99)
   2. “When the teachings of the *Upanishads* are systematized, the result is called the Vedanta, i.e., the end of the Vedas.” (Organ 101)
3. **date, locale, and extent**
   1. “The term “*Upanishads*” denotes the more than two hundred books of specula­tion . . .” (Organ 99)
   2. They were “composed between 800 and 300 b.c. . . . Many are pre-Buddhistic . . .” (Organ 99)
   3. “The place of these developments was the valleys of the Indus and its tribu­taries and the headwaters of the Ganges and the Jumna.” (Organ 125)
   4. “. . . only a dozen are of lasting significance.” (Organ 99)
      1. “The two most important, the earliest, and the longest of the *Upanishads* are the *Brihad-Aranyaka* and the *Chandogya*.” (Organ 100)
         1. “The most important *rishi* in the *Brihad-Aranyaka* is Yajña­val­kya.” (Organ 100)
      2. The thirteen principal Upanishads include: *Brihad-Aranyaka*, *Chan­dogya*, *Isha*, *Mundaka*, *Maitri*, *Taittiriya*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Shve­tash­vatara* (+ 4 more). (Organ 381 etc.)
4. **literary form**
   1. “. . . the development of Hinduism from the Vedas through the *Brah­manas* and the *Upanishads* . . . can be described as one from poets to priests to philoso­phers.” (Organ 125)
   2. “Much of the material is in the form of dialogues . . .” (Organ 100)
   3. “An *Upanishad* is a secret teaching given bt the teacher (*rishi*) to the pupil (*shishya*) when the pupil sits so near that the teaching will not be over­heard.” (Organ 99)
   4. “The *Upanishads* are the last of the *shruti* literature. . . . Hindu scrip­tures composed after the *Upanishads* are known as *smriti* (remem­bered) rather than *shruti* (revealed).” (Organ 100)
   5. “The *Upanishads* . . . ridicule . . . Vedic rituals.” (Organ 98)
5. t**he One (esp. as “Brahman”)**
   1. “The speculations as to the nature of the One in the *Upanishads* are of three orders: (1) those which make the One personal, (2) those which make the One impersonal but not abstract, and (3) those which make the One impersonal and abstract.” (Organ 106)
   2. personal
      1. “A good example of the One as personal is given in *Brihad-Aranyaka* 1. 4. 1 . . .” (Organ 106)
         1. “In the beginning this world was *Atman* alone in the form of a Person. Looking around, he saw nothing else than himself. He said first, >I am.’” (Organ 106)
         2. “. . . being lonely, [he] divided himself into male and female frag­ments.” (Organ 106)
         3. “The male and female parts of the One then sexually brought into being the entire living creation . . .” (Organ 106)
      2. See also under “Brahman” below.
   3. impersonal but not abstract
      1. water (Organ 107)
         1. *Brihad-Ar­anyaka* 5.5.1: “In the beginning this world was Water. That water produced the real.” (Organ 107)
         2. *Chandogya* 7.10.1: “It is just water solidified that is this earth, that is the atmosphere, . . . that is gods and men . . . So reverence water.” (Organ 107)
      2. fire (Organ 107)
         1. *Maitri Upanishad* 2.6 (Organ 381 n. 20)
         2. *Brihad-Aranyaka* 5.5.3 (Organ 381 n. 20)
      3. air
         1. “But the element which is most often defended as the one cre­ative principle is breath (wind or air).” (Organ 107)
         2. “In four *Upanishads* . . . a contest is reported between various bodily fun­ctions—speech, sight, hearing, reasoning, reproducing, and breath­ing—and breathing is declared superior.” (Organ 107)
   4. impersonal and abstract (Organ 108)
      1. “Brahman”
         1. *Brahma* or *brahman* “means the productive power in a magical spell [or] the power in a prayer to accomplish its intent.” (Organ 82)
         2. “From this root [developed] *Brahma* or *Brahman* (the Absolute Reali­ty) [and] *Brahma* (the creator god) . . .” (Organ 82)
         3. ““Brahman” originally meant the power of the prayer to accom­plish the intent of the worshiper, but by this time the word had been expanded to mean the power inherent in and supportive of the cosmos.” (Organ 108)
      2. what Brahman is
         1. “In the words of *Rig Veda* 10. 129. 1 Brahman is that which is behind, before, and beyond *Sat* and *Asat*.” (Organ 110) (For *sat* and *asat*, see above.)
         2. “The panentheistic Brahman is an all-pervading, inscrutable, integrative principle . . .” (Organ 109)
         3. “Brahman is One without limit.” (Organ 108)
         4. “Brahman as the unity of existence includes all objects—men, gods, the physical universe, space, everything.” (Organ 108)
         5. “Brahman is not a being but the ground of being—and also the ground of nonbeing.” (Organ 110)
         6. “In other words, Brahman as the all-encompassing foundation of existence must possess all qualities, and must, there­fore, em­brace all contra­dictions.” (Organ 110)
      3. what Brahman is not
         1. “The only way to think and to speak of the formless Brahman is the way of negativity (*neti*, *neti*), the way of denial of affir­mations, of denial of negations, of denial of both af­fir­ma­tions and negations, and of denial of neither af­fir­ma­tions nor nega­tions.” (Organ 110) [*Neti*, *neti* means “that the *Atman* is not this and not that (*neti*, *neti*) . . .” (Organ 118)]
         2. “Brahman, therefore, is not a god, not even the God of gods.” (Organ 108)
         3. “Brahman is One, but not a numerical one, not one in contrast to two but one as opposed to plurality.” (Organ 108)
         4. “Brahman is not a this one as contrasted to that one, but a Unity such that all pluralities are inherent in the One.” (Organ 108)
         5. “Brahman is not an object of worship, for that would require the existence of a non-Brahman as worshiper.” (Organ 108)
         6. “Brahman cannot be an object of knowledge as that would require a non-Brahman to be the knower; and Brahman cannot be the know­ing subject as that would require an [108] epistemo­log­ical ob­ject in order for there to be a knowing subject.” (Organ 108-109)
         7. *Kena* 11: “He who does not conceive of It, conceives It. He who conceives of It, knows It not. It is not understood by those who say they under­stand It. It is understood by [109] those who say they do not under­stand It.” (Organ 109-110)
6. **jiva and Atman**
   1. “The words “*jiva*” and “*Atman*” have many denotations and connota­tions in Indian thought.” (Organ 112)
   2. jiva
      1. “*Jiva* is the principle of life; but when applied to man, it includes sensing and thinking as well as living.” (Organ 112)
      2. “The *jiva* is the individual and mortal self; the *Atman* is the universal and immortal Self.” (Organ 112)
   3. Atman
      1. “*Atman* originally meant breath, but it became extended to denote the soul or self.” (Organ 112)
      2. “In the *Upanishads* and in *astika* writings in general “*atman*” with lower case “a” denotes the undying soul in the individual, and “*Atman*” with upper case “A” denotes the Universal Soul, the Brahman conceived subjectively. The *atman* is the miniature of the *Atman*.” (Organ 112)
   4. *Chandogya* 5.18: “He who meditates on the Universal Self as of the measure of the span or as identical with the self, eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all selves.” [113] “To eat means to identify one’s self with.” (Organ 113)
7. “**Atman is Brahman**”
   1. development of introspection
      1. From earlier to later Vedic literature, there is a shift “from objectivity to subjec­tiv­ity, from the reification of natural pow­ers of the external world to the discov­ery and cultivation of the powers within the human being.” (Organ 111)
      2. In effect, “Psychology replaced cosmology.” (Organ 111)
      3. “. . . the quest for the nature of the self turned out to be an extension and a clarification of the quest for the unifying prin­ciple of the universe, for the conclusion was that the Self is Brahman.” (Organ 111)
   2. early identification of Atman and Brahman
      1. “The identification of the human self and the cosmos began early [e.g.,] the *Purusha* Hymn (*Rig* 10. 90) . . .” (Organ 111)
      2. “*Brihad-Aranyaka* 2. 1 is the earliest passage in the *Upanishads* which teaches the subjectivity of the Brahman.” (Organ 111)
         1. “The point of the story is that Brahman is to be found both in the external world of natural objects and also in the inner world of the self. The reality of cosmic phenomena and the reality of the mental phenomena of the human being is the same Reality. The individual human self (*jiva*) is a microcosm of the macro­cosm. From this analogy the next step in the speculation seems to have been to consider the macrocosm itself a macro-*jiva*, and as such it was called “*At­man*.”“ (Organ 112)
   3. later identification of Atman and Brahman: *tat tvam asi*
      1. “The final development in the movement to subjectivity is the iden­tifi­cation of the *Atman* and the Brahman, the two world-grounds, the two aspects of Total Reality.” (Organ 113)
         1. “The best example is *Chandogya Upanishad* 6.1.3. (Organ 113)
            1. Uddalaka says that “just as clay is the first principle of all that is made of clay, so there is a first principle of the entire world.” (Organ 113)
            2. “. . . all classes of objects in the phenomenal world have [113] as their soul that which is the finest essence: “That is Real­ity. That is *Atman*.” . . . And [it] adds, “*Tat tvam asi*” (that you are). (Organ 113-114)
         2. “The first principle of all that is external is exactly the same as the first principle of all that is internal.” (Organ 114)
8. **philosophical analysis of** “**Atman is Brahman**”
   1. “*Atman* is Brahman” appears to be a statement describing the nature of the world. If it is, then it can be examined as can any state­ment of fact.” (Organ 114)
   2. “Is” “has at least five logically discernible meanings . . .” (Organ 114)
      1. “predica­tion, e.g., “This apple is green”;
      2. class inclu­sion, e.g., “Fido is a dog”;
      3. class member­ship, e.g., “Brown pelicans are vanishing”;
      4. equality, e.g., “Two and two is four”;
      5. identity, e.g., “IV is [equivalent to] 4.”“ (Organ 114, brack­ets in original)
      6. ““*Atman* is Brahman” seems to be a form of identity or equiva­lence.” (Organ 114)
   3. “There are many classes of identity:
      1. absolute physical identi­ty, e.g., “A is identical with A”;
      2. relative physical identity, e.g., identical twins;
      3. same entity at various stages of development, e.g., Joe Doakes as boy and J.D. as man;
      4. same species, e.g., Harry Truman as man and Herbert Hoover as man;
      5. same being in different contexts, e.g., Jane as mother and Jane as wife;
      6. whole and part, e.g., a cup of water dipped from the At­lan­tic Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean;
      7. appearance and reality, e.g., a photograph and the person of whom it is a photograph;
      8. the same object considered from different perspec­tives, e.g., the duck-rabbit example of percep­tion.” (Organ 114)
      9. “Probably the last subclass of identity is the identity of *Atman* and Brahman: *Atman* is Totality viewed internally; Brahman is Totality viewed externally.” (Organ 114)
   4. “Another possibility is that “*Atman* is Brahman” is not a metaphysi­cal state­ment but a soteriological statement. . . . [In that case,] It is not intended to state anything about the nature of *Atman* or Brahman, but rather it states the experience of the man who is lib­er­ated.” (Organ 114)
   5. philosophical deficiencies
      1. “Now we can identify their [the *Upani­shads*’] striking philoso­phi­cal deficiency: they contend that the world is pluralistic, objective, and material in its appearance whereas it is unity, subjectivity, and spiritu­al­ity in its Reality, but they do not argue why the world appears to man in this manner nor why it is other than the way it appears.” (Organ 118)
      2. “Although Hindu philosophy is based upon the *Upanishads*, the *Upa­ni­shads* themselves are not philosophy since they offer specula­tions rather than arguments for positions.” (Organ 102)
         1. “. . . the Upanishads and the Gita are more speculation than philosophical argument . . .” (Organ 13)
         2. “. . . they are instruc­tions rather than defenses, records of visions rather than efforts to convince others, professions of believers rather than appeals to nonbelievers.” (Organ 102)
         3. The *Upanishads* were “a miscellany of *rishi* spec­u­lations with no editor to establish consistency and system. They were a potpourri of metaphysical suggestions collected over a period of about five hundred years.” (Organ 224)
9. **Maya**
   1. development of pessimism
      1. “The *Rig* was the product of a period of well-being. . . . Life was good. . . . The earth was home. . . . Man desired to live upon the earth for one hundred years, and then to live an afterlife where the joys and satisfactions of earthly life would continue endless­ly.” (Organ 115)
      2. “The *Upanishads* mark the end of this period . . .” (Organ 115)
      3. “This movement from materiality to spirituality, from optimism to pessimism, can be traced within the *Upanishads* themselves. . . . Whereas in the early *Upanishads* Brahman was said to be the same as physical space . . ., in the later *Upanishads* Brahman became the maker of illusions . . .” (Organ 115)
   2. the term “maya”
      1. In the early *Upanishads* “*maya* was the magical power of the gods to create the physical world man enjoyed . . .” (Organ 115)
      2. Hence the meaning of *maya* was associated with “a distinction be­tween the manifested and the manifesting.” (Organ 115)
      3. But “That which is manifested does not exhaust the manifesting . . .,” so “the next step would be to believe that the manifested misrep­resents the manifesting.” (Organ 115)
      4. “In *Prashna Upanishad* 1. 16 *maya* is associated with crookedness and false­hood.” (Organ 115)
      5. Thus, in the later *Upanishads* “*maya* was the power to conceal rather than the power to create . . .” (Organ 115)
      6. “The earliest and one of the clearest teachings of subjectivity is found in . . . *Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad* . . . 2. 4 and 4. 5.” (Organ 116)
         1. “Lo, verily, not for love of the beings are beings dear, but for love of the *Atman* beings are dear.” (Organ 117)
         2. “A wife is dear not because the husband loves his wife; rather a wife is dear because of the prior value the husband places on *Atman*—and the same is true for all that one holds dear: husband, sons, wealth, cattle, social class, worlds, gods, and even the Vedas. Only the *Atman* has intrinsic value.” (Organ 117)
   3. the concept
      1. “There were two sides to the growing sense of unreality of the world in the *Upanishads*.” (Organ 116)
         1. “One was a loss of confidence in man as knower.” (Organ 116)
            1. “Reality is hidden and . . . everything man experiences by means of his unaided faculties is unreal . . .” (Organ 116)
            2. “The *Upanishads* grant that men may be, and often are, deceived, but they do not declare the world to be only a play of shadows, an illusion, an unreality; rather it is an unreliable manifesta­tion of Reality.” (Organ 116)
         2. “The other [was] rooted in the nature of things.” (Organ 116)
            1. “The word “*iva*” [meaning “as it were”] was used over and over again when referring to the world of common experi­ence.” (Organ 116)
            2. “Shankara . . . seized upon . . . “*iva*” to develop a full doctrine of *maya* . . .” (Organ 116)
            3. “. . . but in the *Upanishads* only the germ of the idea of the unreality of the phenomenal world is found. . . . The conclu­sion of the *Upanishads* is [only] that if one is to get to the Real, he must turn from the external to the inter­nal. Objectivity is the way of *maya*; subjec­tivity is the way of Re­al­ity.” (Organ 116)
      2. manifesting vs. manifested
         1. “The *Atman* is the manifesting Reality; all else [*maya*] is mani­fested.” (Organ 118)
         2. “The relationship of manifesting-manifested must not be confused with two beings in the same order of reality”: the *Atman* is more real. (Organ 118)
         3. One who is confused “is misled into the error of assign­ing to all “realities” equal ontological status”—whereas all “reali­ties” are less real than that which manifests them. (Organ 118)
         4. “But for the one who has the secret knowledge (*upanishad*) . . . “everything has become just one’s own self.”“ (Organ 118)
10. **karma and samsara**
    1. karma
       1. origin
          1. “*Karma* may have developed out of the magical efficacy of the sacri­fi­ces. The belief that the sacrifices were [a] reliable means for securing what an individual wanted was a primitive form of the cause-effect relationship.” (Organ 118)
          2. *Karma* as a ubiquitous principle of moral cause and effect “first appears in *Shata­pa­tha Brahmana* 6. 2. 2. 27: “Every man is born in the world fashioned by himself.” . . . There are many refer­en­ces to *karma* in the *Upanishads* . . .” (Organ 119)
       2. content
          1. According to the doctrine of *karma*, “Every act is both the result of forces set in operation by previous acts and the cause of forces which will come to fruition in future acts.” (Organ 119)
          2. “*Karma* may be thought of as *Rita* operative in the moral realm.” *Brihad-Aranyaka Upani­shad* 3.2.14: “One becomes good by good action, bad by bad action.” (Organ 119)
          3. “Had the Upanishadic *rishis* been philosophers, they would have argued over the problem of freedom in a deterministic world; but they were not philosophers, and therefore, while believing in *karma*, they also believed in a less than completely karmic world, for they asked their pupils . . . to engage in volun­tary acts . . .” (Organ 119)
    2. reincarnation
       1. origin
          1. from second-death concept
             1. “In the *Brahmanas* are found references to the fear of what is called “re-death” or “death beyond death” (*punarmrityu*). This was the fear that as life ends so the afterlife may end. “Death of death” could only mean the thrusting of the in­di­vidual into the opposite of death which is life.” (Organ 120)
             2. “The resulting cycle was not greeted with enthusiasm: “In this sort of cycle of existence what is the good of enjoy­ment of desires, when after a man has fed on them there is seen repeat­edly his return here to earth? . . . In this cycle of existence I am like a frog in a waterless well.” *Maitri Upanishad* 1.4. (Organ 120)
          2. to explain karma
             1. “. . . reincarnation helped solve some of the difficulties inher­ent in the doctrine of *karma*. The *rishis* recognized that some of the fruits of a life did not appear . . . within a particular incarnation . . .” (Organ 120)
          3. “In the *Upanishads* the two conceptions—*karma* and *punarmrit­yu*—were brought together to form the full notion of reincar­nation.” (Organ 120)
          4. Reincarnation was already stated in *Brihad-Aran­yaka* 4.4.4: “As a gold­smith, taking a piece of gold, reduces it to ano­ther newer and more beautiful form, just so this soul, striking down this body and dispelling its ignorance, makes for itself another newer and more beautiful form.”“ (Organ 120)
       2. “samsara”
          1. *Samsara* originally meant “the impermanent and changing aspects of the physical universe.” (Organ 119)
          2. But, “Since *samsara* is most obvious to man in his own experience of birth and death, the term came to stand for the theory of reincar­nation . . .” (Organ 119)
          3. “*Samsara*” first appears in the *Upanishads* in *Katha Upanishad* 3.7, where already it means “reincarnation.” (Organ 119)
11. **jñana marga**
    1. vidya vs. jñana
       1. “*Vidya* is knowledge which can be capsuled in books and jour­nals.” (Organ 122)
       2. But “*Jñana* is liberating “knowledge”,” the enlightenment that results when one recognizes that “the external Brahman and the internal *Atman* are one and the same.” (Organ 122)
       3. *Mundaka Upanishad* 3.2.9: “The *Atman* is not to be obtained by instruction, nor by intel­lect, nor by much learning.” (Organ 122)
       4. “. . . *jñana* is not knowing but being.” (Organ 122)
    2. “According to [*Mandukya Upanishad* 7] the self has four states:
       1. the waking state is the state of outward cognition, of separa­tion between knower and known;
       2. the dreaming state is one of inward cognition, i.e., one in which the dreamer is both the fashioner and the knower of the objects in his dream;
       3. the dreamless or deep-sleep state is the fully unified state, i.e., the state of knowing nothing within nor without; and
       4. a state which has no name. It has no name because to name it would objectify it. The *rishi* very wisely shifted at this point to the negative, [122] and wrote what the state is not: “Not inwardly cognitive, not outwardly cognitive, not both-wise cognitive, not a cognitive-mass, not cogni­tive, not non-cogni­tive . . .” (Organ 122-123)
    3. “The *Atman* is the nonsymbolizable Totality “known” . . . from no point of view, which, of course, is nonknow­ing since all knowing is from a point of view.” (Organ 123)
12. **reaction against Brahman**
    1. “The Brahman concept was far too obtuse for even the forest *rishis*.” (Organ 109)
    2. “Therefore, they fell back upon the distinction [in *Mundaka Upanishad* 1.1.4] between the lower knowledge (*apara vidya*) and higher knowledge (*para vidya*) . . .” (Organ 109)
       1. “The lower knowledge is the knowledge of the gods and rituals as well as the knowledge of the phenomenal, perishable world gained through sense impressions and reasonings upon these data. . . . one *rishi* named the sources of this kind of knowledge: the *Rig*, the *Yajur*, the *Sama*, and the *Atharva*; and, in order to clarify still more, he mentioned six secondary subject matters, the so-called “Limbs of the Vedas”: Phonetics, Ritual, Grammar, Etymology, Metrics, and Astrology.” (Organ 101)
       2. The higher knowledge regards [all] such knowledge as but symbols of . . . the Absolute which . . . can be adumbrated [give a faint shadow of] in *para vidya*.” (Organ 101)
    3. “The distinction [demarcates] the point of view of meta­phys­ical specula­tion and the point of view of religious wor­ship.” (Organ 109)
13. **synthesis**
    1. “*Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad* 2.3 refers to two forms of Brah­man: the formed and the formless.” (Organ 109)
       1. “The former . . . is theistic, and the latter is pantheis­tic (or better, panentheistic) . . .” (Organ 109)
       2. “. . . in philosophical categories the former is transcen­dent, the latter is in part immanent.” (Organ 109)
       3. “Whereas the formless Brahman is designated as It, the formed Brahman is He.” (Organ 110)
    2. “. . . the passages on the formed Brahman are found largely in the later *Upanishads* . . .” (Organ 110)
       1. This “may indicate the *rishis* withdrew from [110] their earlier abstractions regarding the nature of Brahman as the primary ontologi­cal principle to Brahman as an ob­ject of worship because of their realization that the heart has reasons the mind knows not of . . .” (Organ 110-111)
       2. “. . . or it may have been an effort to offer a viable alternative to Bud­dhism.” (Organ 111)

## The Fourteen Principal Upanishads

Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, and Charles A. Moore, eds. *A Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957. 37.

There are over 200 Upaniṣads, though the traditional number is 108.

The ten principal Upaniṣads are:

*Īśā*,

*Kena*,

*Kaṭha*,

*Praśna*,

*Muṇḍaka*,

*Māṇḍūkya*,

*Taittirīya*,

*Aitareya*,

*Chāndogya*,

*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.

Shankara (ad 800s) wrote commentaries on these ten and the *Śvetāśvatara*, and he referred to the *Kauṣītaki* and *Mahānārāyaṇa*. These, with the *Maitrī*, form the fourteen principal Up­aniṣads.

## On Idealism

1. **remarks on idealism**
   1. For a description of an idealist philosophical system of Western origin, see the account of F.H. Bradley’s philosophy in Copleston *A History of Philosophy* 8.201-18.
   2. “Most of the Western scholars who studied Indian thought were of the idealis­tic schools of Western philosophy . . . in the 1920’s Indian intel­lectu­als like S. Radhakrishnan . . . S.N. Dasgupta, M. Hiriyanna . . . and K.C. Bhattacharya . . . made Indian philosophy look as if it might have come from the pens of men like Kant, Hegel, Fichte . . .” (Organ 3)
2. **objections to idealism**
   1. According to idealism, metaphysical statements themselves are appear­ance (see, e.g., F.H. Bradley in Copleston 8.201, 202). So why bother making metaphysi­cal statements (statements, for example, that everything is appearance)?
   2. How can Brahman be the ground of (i. e., be logically prior to) being and non-being? That which is prior to being has no being; if it has not being, it is not. Even the *rishis* recognized that. For example, “The One as impersonal and abstract is expressed in such specu­la­tions as: “In the begin­ning this world was merely non-being.” [107] [But] In *Chan­dogya* 6.3.2 the *rishi* Uddalaka . . . asks, “How from non-being could being be produced? On the contrary, in the be­gin­ning this world was just being, one only, without a sec­ond.”“ (Organ 107-08)
   3. Does the universe only exist during my lifetime? Are historical events prior to my direct memories like the dinosaur record to a scientific creation­ist? Will the universe wink out existence the moment I die?
   4. The difference between real and cognitional being is a true distinction. (See Owens 29-32.) Yet idealism seems to apply cognitional being, by analogy, to real being. Here is an example: “According to [*Mandukya Upanishad* 7,] the self has four states:
      1. the waking state is the state of outward cognition, of separa­tion between knower and known;
      2. the dreaming state is one of inward cognition, i.e., one in which the dreamer is both the fashioner and the knower of the objects in his dream;
      3. the dreamless or deep-sleep state is the fully unified state, i. e., the state of knowing nothing within nor without; and
      4. a state which has no name. It has no name because to name it would objectify it. The *rishi* very wisely shifted at this point to the negative, [122] and wrote what the state is not: “Not inwardly cognitive, not outwardly cognitive, not both-wise cogni­tive, not a cognitive-mass, not cogni­tive, not non-cogni­tive . . .” Organ adds, “The *Atman* is the nonsymboliz­able Totality “known” . . . from no point of view, which, of course, is nonknow­ing since all knowing is from a point of view.” (Organ 122-23)
   5. Finally, consider reflexes: in practice, we are all realists.
   6. “. . . one may legitimately ask oneself today to what extent idealism is compatible with Christianity. If idealism consists in denying, as Fichte did, the creation of beings and the radical, ontological distinc­tion between the divine ego and the human ego, if idealism identifies itself with pantheism, [32] then certainly idealism is incompatible with Chris­tianity. But if idealism consists simply in denying the existence of a material thing existing outside the mind, while maintaining the real creation of thinking subjects, then one does not see—for the moment at least—any fundamental and essential incompatibili­ties with Christian­ity. In place of a monadology of a pantheistic type, in which the thinking substances are eternal sparks and fulgurations born of the divine source and consubstantial with this source of original *focus*, we are dealing with a Christian monad­ology, in which the objectivity of material substance is regarded as superfluous. It is possible to debate from a philosophical point of view the merits of such a philosophy. One cannot, it seems, accuse it of heresy. All things happen as if material substance comprised an objective existence, independent of the think­ing, human mind. This existence, in the idealist hypothesis, is only a representation. Practically, nothing is changed. The discussion re­mains open on the philosophical plane, and the philosopher will ask himself what, in these conditions, the existence of the universe and of life several milliards [billions] of years before man can mean.” (Tresmontant 32-33)

Copleston on Aquinas on being vs. essence, vol. 2.

## 500s-400s bc: Challenges to Hinduism

1. **introduction**
   1. from Indus to Ganges
      1. Vedic culture originally developed in “the land of the seven rivers” (the Indus and its tributaries). (Organ 127)
      2. “But slowly “The focal point of develop­ing Hinduism moved out of the Indus valley perma­nently. [It shifted southeast] down the wide valley of the Ganges.” (Organ 127)
   2. Upanishads
      1. “The sacerdotal system had been challenged by the Upanishadic seers, but [the *Upani­shads*] failed to appeal to the masses.” 125
   3. three challenges
      1. “By the sixth century three types of challenges were being made against the *Upanishads*.” (Organ 126)
      2. “. . . two challenges originated at the east end of the Gangetic water­shed.” (Organ 126)
         1. “The first was the materialistic challenge.” (Organ 126)
         2. “The second challenge was that of the Jains and the Buddhists who, accepting the doctrines of *karma* and *samsara*, offered ethical and psychologi­cal means of liberation rather than appeals to the real­i­zation of the identity of the self and the Absolute.” (Organ 126)
         3. In the 500s BC, north Indian religion contained “organized nonorthodox groups of ascetic religious seekers called *\_ramaṇa* (literally, “striver”). These groups generally denied the authority of [the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*].” (Rich­ard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion*: *An Histor­i­cal Introduction*, 3rd ed., Religious Life of Man [Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982] 7.)
         4. “Both Jainism and Buddhism offer an innovation in Hindu tradi­tion: a reli­gious movement inaugurated by a historical person.” (Organ 135)
         5. “The materialistic challenge was a revolt; the Jaina and the Buddhistic bordered on revolt.” (Organ 126)
      3. “Meanwhile the third challenge [*Bhagavata*] was developing at the west end of the water­shed.” (Organ 126)
         1. “This protest . . . was centered in . . . Mathura . . .” (Organ 126)
         2. “It grew out of the needs of common people for a religion of love and devotion . . .” (Organ 126)
2. **politics in the 500s-400s bc**
   1. development of private property
      1. “The early part of the Vedic period was a time of conflict between the invading Aryans and the peoples of the Indus valley, but the latter part was a time of accommodation, assimilation, and adjust­ment.” (Organ 126)
         1. “The Aryans ceased to be nomads.” (Organ 126)
         2. “The village displaced the tribe as the unit of society . . . Indians still feel stronger ties to their village than to the nation.” (Organ 126)
      2. “By the sixth century b.c. a new class of people had appeared: the class of free peasants and land-owning farmers. . . . Property ceased to be owned solely by the tribe.” (Organ 127)
   2. far northwest India: Persians and Greeks
      1. In the 500s bc “A Persian explorer sailed down the Indus River and returned along the coast. Afterwards the Persians seized the Punjab and made it a province of the Achaemenian empire. This province, known as Gandhara, survived for centuries . . .” (Organ 128)
      2. In 326 bc, Alexander the Great moved “against the [128] kingdoms of the Ganges, but in 324 b.c. after three years of fighting in India, his army was unwilling to advance farther into India, and Alexander returned to Babylon, where he died the following year.” (Organ 129)
      3. Chandragupta Maurya
         1. Alexander “left only a few Macedonians to rule the . . . Indus val­ley.” (Organ 129)
         2. Chandragupta Maurya “drove the Macedonians back across the Indus. He then proceeded to conquer all northern India . . .” (Organ 129)
         3. Seleucus Nikator (successor to Alexander in Persia) “withdrew west of the Hindu Kush, thus giving Chandragupta a natural boundary.” (Organ 129)
         4. “Nikator sent an ambassador named Megasthenes to the royal court at Patali­putra. This proved to be a happy choice, for Megas­thenes compiled an elaborate [129] account of his life in court . . .” (Organ 129-130)
         5. “The Maurya empire was extended southward by Bindusara, the son and successor of Chandragupta.” (Organ 130)
   3. northwest India
      1. “Northern India at this time was divided into sixteen kingdoms.” (Organ 127)
      2. “The Kurus of Kurukshetra near the present city of Delhi with their capital city of Asandivat (the Hastinapura of the epics) and the Panchalas close by were the “first families.”“ (Organ 127)
         1. “They displaced the Bharatas, the prominent tribe in the *Rig*, the tribe from which the ancient name for India—Bharata—is derived.” (Organ 127)
         2. “. . . King Parikshit [of the Kurus was] the founder of the first strong dynasty in India . . .” (Organ 127)
            1. “His accession marks the beginning of the Kali Yuga.” (Organ 127)
            2. “During his reign he extended the kingdom as far north as Taxila.” (Organ 127)
            3. During his reign “the entire text of the *Mahabharata* is reputed to have been recited for the first time.” (Organ 128)
         3. “The dynasty collapsed, but the fame of Kurukshetra lives on because there was fought the battle which is the framework of the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavad Gita*.” (Organ 128)
      3. “In the west in the Kuru and Panchala kingdoms conservative priests were in control, the ancient fire and blood sacrifices and adora­tion of gods remained as the dominant forms of reli­gions, and the language was Sanskrit . . .” (Organ 129)
         1. “. . . the west end of the Gangetic watershed had remained through­out the Vedic period completely orthodox.” (Organ 131)
         2. “The Sanskirt word is “*astika*” (yes-sayer); i. e., they accepted the Vedas as the supreme authority, which meant also that they acknowl­edged a Reality higher than the realities of the sensed-perceived world.” (Organ 131)
         3. “For them the Vedas were *shruti*.” (Organ 131)
   4. northeast India
      1. “Magadha, in the fifth century . . ., was able to claim suzerainty over northern India as far west as Mathura . . . Magadha united the many kingdoms of the Ganges and founded the city of Pataliputra . . .” (Organ 128)
      2. “in the east in the kingdoms of Kashi, Kosala, Videha, and Magadha the ruling and warring class was strong, animal sacrifices were discouraged, and the lan­guages were the Prakrits, i. e., the popularized forms of Sanskrit.” (Organ 129)
         1. “Vedic sacerdotalism and Upanishadic speculation had not been firmly estab­lished in the east.” (Organ 129)
         2. “The east was a *Kshatriya* stronghold . . . because wealth rather than scholar­ship was the determiner of social status . . .” (Organ 129)
      3. “At the eastern end of the Ganges heterodoxy had developed.” (Organ 131)
         1. “Some of the intellectuals were radically anti-Vedic.” (Organ 131)
         2. “*Nastika* (no-sayer) was the term used to identify them.” (Organ 131)
3. **Charvaka** (**materialism**)
   1. “The materialistic philosophies . . . were called . . . Charvaka [from] *charu* (sweet) and *vac* (word).” (Organ 132)
   2. “Their [the Charvaka philosophers] favorite weapon of destruction was ridicule. If the sacrificial animals ascend to heaven as the *brahmins* say, they asked, then why do not sacrificers offer their own parents and children?” (Organ 133)
   3. early Charvaka
      1. “. . . all their [the materialists’] early works were destroyed by their Vedic opponents.” (Organ 131)
      2. “The traditional founder of the movement was a man named Brihaspati who is thought to have composed his *sutras* (aphorisms) in the sixth century. But we know no more about him.” (Organ 132)
      3. “We know a bit more about a materialist named Ajita.” (Organ 132)
         1. “Ajita lived in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C.” (Organ 132)
         2. “His materialism was thoroughgoing.” (Organ 132)
         3. “Everything in the universe, including man himself, he said, is composed of the four primary elements: earth, air, fire, and water.” (Organ 132)
         4. “There is no afterlife and no reincarnation.” (Organ 132)
         5. ““Soul” and “god” are words—and only words.” (Organ 132)
         6. “Sacrifices and good works confer no merit; sins and evil works bring no punishment.” (Organ 132)
   4. epistemology
      1. “Knowledge was believed by Ajita to be only sensation, and any reasoning beyond sense experience was declared invalid.” (Organ 132)
      2. “They rejected the Vedas and all teaching which suggested that there might be a reality other than that discovered by the senses.” (Organ 131)
      3. “. . . other philosophers recognized five primary elements—earth, air, fire, water, and ether . . .” (Organ 133)
      4. “From such a simple physicalism they concluded that all infer­ence is impossi­ble for the obvious reason that all inferences must include at least one universal, and universals are not physical—­e. g., “This is B, because this is A, and all cases of A are cases of B (the universal).”“ (Organ 133)
      5. “Somehow they did not note that their argument against inference was itself an inference involving a universal.” (Organ 133)
   5. causality
      1. “The Charvaka philosophers rejected the concept of causality, and in its place introduced the concept of *svabhava* (ownness).” (Organ 133)
      2. “According to this subtle theory the determining factor in the produc­tion of anything is not a cluster of causes but its own unique matter.” (Organ 133)
      3. “There are no ultimate causes, no natural law, no uniformity which makes prediction possible.” (Organ 133)
      4. “For example, a particular egg develops into a duck or into a chicken depend­ing upon its *svabhava*, and one cannot predict which with any degree of certainty because the egg in question may be a chicken egg which happens to look like a duck [133] egg.” (Organ 133-134)
   6. ethics
      1. “. . . *svabhava* . . . when applied to humans . . . means that each is a law unto himself . . . Values [are] relative to each individual.” (Organ 134)
      2. “This notion has had an interesting history in India in such doc­trines as Jaina relativism, the religious notion of the right of chosen deity, and even Gandhi’s opinions about self-rule and self-sufficiency.” (Organ 134)
   7. theology
      1. “The Charvakas rejected . . . also the concept of first cause.” (Organ 134)
      2. “Religion . . . is foolishness [and] all the promises of *brahmins* are lies.” 134 “. . . the value of the ceremonies is a means of self-support—the ceremo­nies have no other fruit.” (Organ 134, 133)
      3. “Hell is physical pain, e. g., stepping on a thorn, and heaven is” eating delicious food and being with young women. (Organ 134)
      4. “The evils of the world must be accepted in their reality and avoided as far as possible . . .” (Organ 134)
   8. The materialists “must have had a following which endangered the *shruti* tradi­tion, for otherwise, why would their writings have been destroyed?” (Organ 134)
   9. “The Charvakas [offered] an optimistic alternative to the life-style of the *Upanishads*, but it was a life-style without hope . . .” (Organ 135)
4. **Jainism**
   1. introduction
      1. “Jainism . . . is a non-Vedic offshoot of Vedism . . .” (Organ 135)
      2. “It originated among the warring class . . .” (Organ 135)
      3. “The term “Jainism” comes from *ji* (to conquer).” (Organ 136)
   2. founder: Vardhamana
      1. Vardhamana was “given the education appropriate for a prince . . . [but he] turned to the most vigorous asceticism.” (Organ 135)
      2. “He was thereafter known as Mahavira (The Great Souled One).” (Organ 135)
      3. “His organization at the time of his death was reputed to consist of 14,000 monks, 36,000 nuns, 159,000 laymen, and 358,000 laywom­en.” (Organ 136)
   3. jinas and tirthankaras
      1. “The *jina* ideal is one who has controlled his emotional and volitional life so he is indifferent to pain or pleasure.” (Organ 136)
      2. “*Tirthankara*” “means a ford-crosser, i. e., one who has success­fully crossed the river of life.” (Organ 136)
      3. “Mahavira was believed to be the twenty-fourth and last of the *tirthan­karas* who have appeared in the present world period of evolution and growth before the coming world period of decay and dissolution, the two great divisions of each complete cosmic cycle of time.” (Organ 136)
      4. “Whereas a *jina* represents the self-salvation aspect of Jaina soterio­logy, a *tirthankara* is concerned for the salvation of others.” (Organ 136)
   4. cosmology
      1. “. . . all entities (*dravyas*) in the universe are either conscious (*chetana*) or unconscious (*achetana*).” (Organ 137)
      2. “The *chetana dravyas* are known as *jivas*, the *achetana dravyas* as *ajivas*.” (Organ 137)
      3. ajivas
         1. “The *ajivas* are *pudgala* (the material principle which makes it possible for anything to be perceptible to touch), *dharma* (the principle of resistance which makes motion possible), *adharma* (the principle of rest), *akasha* (the principle of space), and *kala* (the principle of time).” (Organ 137)
         2. “*Pudgala* differs from the other *ajivas* in being *rupi* (with form) rather than *arupi* (formless).” (Organ 137)
         3. “The form which *pudgala* takes is that of the atom (*paramanu*).” (Organ 137)
         4. “Atoms are the basic realities, the fundamental building blocks of the physical universe.” (Organ 137)
         5. “Jainism thus repudiated the fundamental monism of the *Upani­shads* in its affirmation of both dualism and pluralism.” (Organ 137)
      4. jivas
         1. touch: “*Jivas* possessing only the sense of touch are . . . e. g., stone, . . . water . . . breezes, . . . grass, and trees. . . . one can say either “I touched the tree” or “The tree touched me.”“ (Organ 137)
         2. touch and taste: “Two-sensed *jivas* have the senses of touch and taste. . . . These include the simpler insects.” (Organ 137)
         3. touch, taste, and smell: “The *jivas* of three senses . . . are the more complex insects such as ants and moths.” (Organ 137)
         4. touch, taste, smell, and sight: “The four-sensed *jivas* . . . lack only hearing [e. g.,] Gnats, flies, and mosquitoes . . .” (Organ 137)
         5. “And the five-sensed *jivas* include animals, man, *devas* (divine [137] be­ings), and *narakas* (hellish beings).” (Organ 137-138)
         6. “All *jivas* are living beings . . . Each *jiva* determines its own destiny.” (Organ 137)
   5. ethics
      1. “. . . the destruction of life is always unquali­fiedly wrong. The taking of life is the act which builds *karma* and makes incarnations necessary; the refraining from taking life . . . is therefore the way of liberation . . .” [137] “*Karma*, according to the Jains, is a sticky stuff which clings to the *jiva* . . .” [139] (Organ 137, 139)
      2. But “There seems to be no way in which he can avoid eating plants, stepping on insects, and injuring air and stones. . . . complete noninjury (*ahimsa*) is impossible.” (Organ 138)
      3. “Therefore, compensation by a starvation death has been recom­mended, and is frequently practiced.” (Organ 138)
      4. Also, “acts resulting in merit (*punya*) . . . can be accomplished by giving food to the hungry, by providing shelter for travelers, by speaking without hurting another’s feelings, and even by thinking well of others.” (Organ 138)
      5. vows
         1. “Mahavira made [twelve] vows for the laity . . .” (Organ 138)
            1. “Never intentionally to destroy a *jiva* of more than one sense.” (Organ 138)
            2. “Never to speak great falsehoods.” (Organ 138)
            3. “Never to steal.” (Organ 138)
            4. “Never to be unfaithful in marriage nor unchaste outside marriage.” (Organ 138)
            5. “Never to possess more than a specified amount of money—the amount to be agreed upon by the individ­ual.” (Organ 138)
            6. “Never to travel beyond geographical limits set by the individ­ual.” (Organ 138)
            7. “Never to possess more than what one needs.” (Organ 138)
            8. “Never to think evil of others.” (Organ 138)
            9. “A vow to sit in meditation a certain number of times.” (Organ 138)
            10. “A vow to limit activities to certain agreed-upon areas.” (Organ 138)
            11. “A vow to spend some time as a temporary monk or nun.” (Organ 139)
            12. “A vow to support the communi­ty of ascetics.” (Organ 139)
         2. “The vows of monks and nuns were similar, although more rigorous [e. g., a vow of chastity] . . . “ (Organ 139)
      6. “Jainism tends to become a form of keeping accounts, of insuring that one’s merits exceed one’s sins (*papas*).” (Organ 138)
         1. “The sins are catalogued with *himsa* (injury) at the top of the list.” (Organ 138)
         2. “The most revealing of the sins is the sin of becoming overfond of anything or any person. One Jaina scripture advises, “Man! You are your only friend! Why wish for any friend other than yourself?” (Organ 138)
         3. “The overriding concern of Jainism is . . . setting . . . limits on the life of the individual, . . . limitation for limitation’s sake rather than a concern for just what those limits are.” (Organ 139)
         4. “. . . the balancing of merits and sins opened the door to extreme forms of bodily punishment (*tapas*).” (Organ 139)
            1. “It was this in part which split Jainism about five hundred years after Mahavira into *two sects*, *viz*., *the Digambaras*,who held that the monks could not wear any clothes but must become indifferent to the cold of winter and the heat of summer, *and the Shvetambaras*,who held that monks could wear clothes.” (Organ 139) (Tradition says the split was in ad 79.)
            2. “The Digambaras also countermanded Mahavira’s original liberal attitude toward women by decreeing no woman can attain libera­tion.” (Organ 139)
   6. Jainism today
      1. Jainism “has about two million adherents . . .” (Organ 140)
      2. “. . . the Jains are the wealthiest people in India.” (Organ 135)
5. **Ajivika** (“the living”) (Organ 139)
   1. “Its founder was Makkhali Goshala, . . . a disciple of Mahavira.” (Organ 139)
   2. “He left Mahavira, abandoned all speech, engaged in the most rigor­ous *tapas*, and practiced black magic. He is reputed to have attained such magical powers as a result of sitting for six months facing the sun with his arms over his head that he was able to burn down whole villages with his curses.” (Organ 140)
   3. “The asceticism of the Ajivikas was extreme.” (Organ 140)
      1. “The monks went completely nude throughout the year.” (Organ 140)
      2. “They begged for their food, and were not allowed to carry even a begging bowl.” (Organ 140)
      3. “The drinking of cow urine was obligatory.” (Organ 140)
      4. “Initiation rites included the plucking of the hairs of the head one by one by the members of the order while the initiate stood in a pit, the holding of hot metal in the hands, and the break­ing of a bone or the cutting of a muscle. Consequently, many of the Ajivika monks were cripples.” (Organ 140)
      5. “One ceremony required the severing of a finger in order to attain flowing blood for the increase of psychic power.” (Organ 140)
      6. “Lying on beds of thorns, living in earthen vessels, and swing­ing upside down from trees were other methods for augmenting magical powers.” (Organ 140)
      7. “A natural death was disparaged; suicide was a requirement.” (Organ 140)
   4. “As roving bards they used to dance and sing on special occa­sions.” (Organ 140)
   5. “Ajivika died out in the fourteenth century . . .” (Organ 140)
6. **Buddhism**
   1. “. . . “The Buddha” . . . was born Siddhartha Gautama . . . in now southern Nepal . . . “ (Organ 141)
   2. “His father was a rajah.” (Organ 141)
   3. “. . . he was a precocious child . . .” (Organ 142)
   4. “. . . his father . . . ensuring that the young prince never see an aged person, an ill person, a corpse, or a monk, on the hypothesis that if he never saw these limitations of human joy he would be unaware of the conditions of mortal existence.” (Organ 142)
   5. “Of course the plot failed, and at age twenty-eight or twenty-nine Siddhartha broke from the householder life, assumed the life of a homeless wanderer, and began a six-year quest for the meaning of human existence.” (Organ 142)
   6. “He tried the way of *Brahmin* knowledge and the way of *tapas*.” (Organ 142)
   7. “When he realized he was making no progress in either method, he took food and quietly thought his way through to a solution.” (Organ 142)
   8. “The solution . . . was a revelation, an enlightenment, a *bodhi* [hence,] Enlightened One, . . . Buddha.” (Organ 142)
   9. “The pattern of the presentation of the Four-fold Truth took the form of the Indian medical diagnosis which we have already noted.” (Organ 142)
   10. “The First Noble Truth is the sickness of the human life . . .” (Organ 142)
   11. “Although “*duhkha*” is often translated as “suffering,” words like [142] “impermanence,” “transitoriness,” and “incompleteness” express more of its flavor.” (Organ 142-143)
   12. “*Duhkha* is the frustration rooted in the existential awareness of the tempo­ral, unfinished, and imperfect nature of all human experiences.” (Organ 143)
   13. “It is not wrong to desire good food and drink, fine clothes, pleasant stimulation of the senses, human companionship, and sex, but it is morally wrong and psychologically destructive to cling to these satisfactions of normal desire.” (Organ 143)
   14. “This clinging or grasping is the meaning of *upandana*.” (Organ 143)
   15. “This is the Second Noble Truth.” (Organ 143)
   16. “The Third Noble Truth is that since *upadana* is a natural cause and *duhkha* a natural effect, there must be a natural way of dealing with the cause and thus eliminating the effect.” (Organ 143)
   17. “The Fourth Noble Truth outlines the practical method of dealing with the *upadana* . . .” (Organ 143)
   18. In original Buddhism “There were no gods or transhuman agents to help.” (Organ 143)
   19. Chandragupta’s grandson, Ashoka, “made animal sacrifices illegal in the empire, promoted vegetarianism by forbidding the serving of meat at the royal table, propagandized peace and nonviolence on memorial columns erected throughout his empire, became a Bud­dhist, and finally, according to some accounts, took the vows of a Buddhist monk. He may have been the savior of Buddhism, for it was he who turned Buddhism into a worldwide religion by sending missionaries of Buddhism outside the Indian mainland.” (Organ 130)

## Samkhya

1. i**ntroduction**
   1. “*Samkhya*” means “discriminative knowledge.” (Organ 218)
   2. *Samkhya* is a dualistic philosophy in which “The two primal causes are *prakriti* and *purusha*. The former is the principle of matter [and] the latter is the principle of con­sciousness . . .” (Organ 218)
   3. origin
      1. dualism in the *Upanishads*
         1. “As early as the seventh or sixth centuries b.c. some Indian in­tel­lec­tuals be­gan to suspect that the *Upanishads* might be interpreted non­mon­is­tically. Even in the earliest *Upani­shads* there are passages which suggest a latent dualism. For example, in [216] *Chandogya Upanishad* 6. 2 the original Being created the world of things and then entered into them . . .” (Organ 216-217)
            1. “Such passages do not constitute a sufficient basis for con­cluding that a dualistic conception of reality was being fashioned [in the *Upani­shads*] alongside the mon­istic, but they do indicate tha the concept of dualism was not foreign to the thinking of the *rishis*.” (Organ 217)
            2. A. Berriedale Keith has written (*The Samkhya System* [Calcut­ta: YMCA, 1949] 7): “The *Upanishads* are essentially devoted to the discovery of an absolute . . . elements here and there . . . mark the growth of ideas which later were thrown into systematic form in the Samkhya, but it is impossi­ble to see in these fragmentary hints any indication that the Samkhya philoso­phy was then in process of formation.” (Organ 217)
         2. “. . . the philosophical system which developed first, the Samk­hya, selected the dualistic passages of the *Upanishads*. . . . there are passages in the *Upanishads* which suggest a dualism of *purusha* (passive spirit) and *prakriti* (active mat­ter).” (Organ 106)
         3. “In spite of its dualistic interpretation, Samkhya was re­garded as a reforming orthodoxy rather than a revolting her­esy.” [217] To avoid the charge of hetero­doxy, the Samkhya philosophers “attempted to show that their views were at least not in­con­sistent with some of the views expressed in the *Upanishads*. This was not too difficult as the *Upani­shads* had always been a miscellany . . .” (Organ 217, 224)
      2. date of origin
         1. “The first Samkhya philosophers may have been pre-Bud­dhistic, and Bud­dhism may have borrowed its emphasis on *duh­kha* from an early form of Samkhya.” (Organ 217)
         2. “The legendary founder of Samkhya is [217] Kapila, a half-mythic figure located in the seventh century b.c. He is re­puted to have spent the latter part of his life at the mouth of the Ganges.” (Organ 217-218)
      3. earliest extant work: “The earliest surviving work . . . is the *Sam­khya Karika* of Ishvarakrishna, a work of the third century a.d.” (Organ 218)
2. ***prakriti***
   1. “*Prakriti*” comes from “*pra* (before) and *kriti* (creation). *Pra­kriti* is not a being but a force, not a thing but a principle . . .” (Organ 218)
      1. *Prakriti* is, so to speak, the material cause of creation, but quite different from Aristotle’s. (Organ 219)
      2. *Prakriti* is better translated “cosmic energy” than the usual “na­ture” or “matter.” (Organ 219)
   2. “The argument for *prakriti* is cosmological: effects presuppose a material first cause in which the effect is immanent; the physical world is an effect; so there must be a mate­rial first cause from which all . . . has come . . .” (Organ 218)
   3. “Nothing new comes into being in this world, for all things exist potentially in *pra­kriti*. This theory, known as *satkaryavada* (pre-existent effect) is a distinguishing feature of the [218] Samkhya philosophy.” *Prakriti* is “universal potency.” It contains all things immanently. (Organ 218-219)
   4. “*Prakriti*, though one, is internally complex. It is constituted of three factors called *gunas*. These are strands or constituents, not qualities nor attributes. The *gunas* are sub-principles of the principle of materiality. They are mutually dependent. As a unity in trinity they can be separated only in thought for analytic pur­poses.” The *gunas* are:
      1. *rajas*, the sub-principle of activity;
      2. *tamas*, the sub-principle of resistance; and
      3. *sattva*, the sub-principle of order. (Organ 219)
   5. Harmonious opposition among the *gunas* causes events in the world to occur. (Organ 219)
      1. “The *gunas* are ever in a state of change with reference to each other. This per­petual change is movement balanced by coun­ter­move­ments, and the result is that *prakriti* remains in a state of inte­rior balance or equilibrium. All is flux within *prakriti*,and in this state of equilibrial flux *prakriti* causes nothing, produces nothing, evolves nothing.” (Organ 219)
      2. “A common analogy is that of a swimmer who moves through the water because the water offers resistance to his movements, because the water also allows pas­sage, and because there is an orderly sequence of the swimmer’s movements of legs and arms.” (Organ 219)
3. ***purusha***
   1. “*Purusha* as the principle of subjective reality corresponds to *pra­kriti* as the principle of objective reality.” (Organ 219)
   2. “*Purusha*,unlike *prakriti*,is many. Samkhya dualism is unusual in that one of the two realities is a unity-in-trinity, and the other is a plurality of units . . . The *purushas* were numberless, and they were egal­i­tarian . . .” (Organ 220)
   3. “it is *purusha*’*s* presence which disturbs the constant internal coun­ter­balancing of the *gunas*,and by creating a disequilibrium among the *gunas* alters the functioning from a homogeneous mode of action to a he­ter­o­geneous one.” (Organ 219)
   4. “But *purusha* does not act, is not aware, and does not function as a subject.” (Organ 220)
      1. “Each *purusha* is simple, static, and passive . . .” (Organ 220)
      2. “The notion of unconscious consciousness, of that which makes things happen without acting, may seem a bit strange . . .” [220] An analogy might be a catalyst in a chemical reaction: *purusha* “is the catalyst that triggers the evolutionary processes of *prakriti* so the latent causes will have their fruition.” [224] (Organ 220, 224)
4. **bondage**
   1. “. . . evolution proceeds for dual purposes: in order that *pu­ru­sha* become aware of *pra­kriti* as other than itself, and secondly, in order that, having made this discrimination, *purusha* withdraw and isolate itself from *prakriti*.” (Organ 221)
   2. “The first [thing] to emerge from *prakriti* is *mahat* (the cosmic prin­ciple of knowing) and *buddhi* (its psychological counterpart in the life of the individual).” (Organ 221)
   3. “From *mahat* evolves the principle of individuation known as *aham-kara*. This is the functioning of ego identification, i.e., the discriminating between the ego of you and me, between thine and mine. *Mahat* and *aham-kara* are thought to emerge due to the prepon­derance of *rajas* among the *gunas*.” (Organ 222)
   4. “At this point in the evolution a distinction is made between the further evolution which is the result of the preponderance of *sat­tva* and the further evolution which is the result of the preonder­ance of *tamas*.” (Organ 222)
      1. “The former results in the appearance of *manas* (the principle of arranging per­ceptions into percepts and concepts), the five sensory organs (sight, sound, touch, taste, and odor), and the five motor organs (speaking, handling, walking, excret­ing, and reproducing).” (Organ 222)
      2. “The latter results in the five *tanmatras* (subtle elements) which are the physical coutnerparts of the objects of the sensory organs, and from the *tanmatras* evolve the five *bhutas* (gross elements), i.e., (1) space from elemental sound; (2) air from elemental sound and touch; (3) fire from elemental sound, touch, and color; (4) water from elemental sound, touch, color, and taste; (5) earth from elemental sound, touch, color, taste, and odor.” (Organ 222)
   5. “All of this evolution is known as primary evolution. It is the ap­pearance of princi­ples or categories (*tattvas*) . . . there is a secondary evolution by which the common things of the world come to be, e.g., trees, mountains . . .” (Organ 222)
      1. “Secondary evolution can be reversed, but primary evolution cannot; i.e., a tree can be reduced into its gross elements, [222] but fire cannot be reduced into its subtle elements.” (Organ 222-223)
      2. Moreover, “Secondary evolution takes place in time, but primary evolution does not.” (Organ 223)
   6. “. . . in the condition of bondage [each *purusha*] considers itself to be actor or agent. It becomes ignorant of its true selfhood and becomes involved in the evolutionary pro­cesses of *prakriti*.” Its bondage consists of “identifying itself with the evolvents of *pra­kriti*.” (Organ 220)
5. **liberation**
   1. *Moksha* (“liberation”) happens only to each individual *purusha*. (Organ 220)
   2. The author of the *Samkhya Karika* 59 provides an analogy for the process of *moksha*: “As a dancer desists from dancing, having exhib­ited herself to the audience, so does *prakriti* desist, having ex­hibited herself to *purusha*.”“ [223] (“. . . unconscious *prakriti* is thought to act *as if* [Sanscrit *iva*] it were acting for its own sake.” [222]) (Organ 222, 223)
      1. “This important *sutra* . . . does not mean that *prakriti* ceases to exist after liberat­ing a *purusha*,for after all *prakriti* is one and *purushas* are many.” (Organ 223)
      2. “It cannot mean that *prakriti* ceases to act in time, for *prakriti*’*s* evolution is not a temporal process.” (Organ 223)
      3. “What it must mean is that *prakriti* and *prakriti*’*s* evolution vanish from the point of view of each *purusha* upon its liberation. The “dance” of *prakriti* is solely for the liberation of the *purushas*. When a *purusha*,because of the func­tioning of *prakriti*,dis­crim­i­nates its true nature as *purusha* (pure consciousness) . . ., then the bondage of ignorance is broken and for liberated *purusha*, *pra­kriti* ceases to “dance.”“ (Organ 223)
         1. The *purusha* distinguishes itself
            1. “from the *antah-karana* (internal organ)—i.e., the collection of *buddhi*, *aham-kara*,and *manas* . . .” (Organ 223)
            2. “and also from the *linga-sharira* (subtle body)—i.e., the entity which mig­rates consisting of internal organs, sensory organs, motor organs, and subtle elements . . .” (Organ 223)
   3. “Both bondage and liberation from the point of view of *purushas* are phenomenal . . . The “change” which appears in *purusha* is unreal and fictitious; and the change which takes place in *prakriti* is the cause of both “bondage” and “liberation” of *purushas*.” (Organ 223)
   4. “The general tone of liberation in the [223] *Upanishads* is one of joy, but the Sam­khya denies that there is any bliss in the liberat­ed state. All that can be said about it is that it is an end of suffering.” (Organ 223-224)
6. **influence**
   1. “The Samkhya philosophy . . . became the foundation of Indian psych­ology, of much of the asceticism which pervades Hinduism, and of *yoga* theory and techniques.” (Organ 225)
   2. “Although their philosophy was godless (*nirishvara*), its dualistic metaphysics was soon made adaptative to and supportive of theism.” (Organ 218)
7. **philosophical criticisms**: “. . . throughout the speculations of the Samkhya philosophers, problems bristle. [221] . . . [It] was an amazing labyrinth of con­fusions and contradictions . . .” [225] (Organ 221, 225)
   1. According to Samkhya, “*prakriti* and *purusha* are not aware of each other.” (Organ 221)
      1. Keith writes [*Samkhya System* 93]: “the spirit which is removed from all action [*purusha*] . . . cannot act, and on the other hand, nature [*prakriti*], being uncon­scious, is not capable of receiving direc­tions from the conscious spirit.” (Organ 221)
      2. “. . . just how insentient *prakriti* and a *purusha* which can have no objects of awareness can establish a relationship is a mystery.” (Organ 221)
      3. “The Samkhya philosophers . . . affirmed that *purushas* as pure con­sciousness cannot be conscious of *prakriti* and *prakriti* as uncon­scious matter cannot be aware of *purushas*, yet it is the presence of *purusha* . . . that triggers the evolu­tionary process­es of *prakriti* so the latent causes will have their fruition.” (Organ 224)
   2. “*Purusha*, as a metaphysical principle, was no more established by em­pirical evidence than was *prakriti*. The argument for *purusha* was tele­ological: the world is a kingdom of ends, and “*purusha*” is the name given to the end or goal of the cosmic process. This argument rests on the assumption that things which exhibit design always have a trans­cen­dent reference to an extraneous end. Hence, *prak­riti*’*s* evolving must be for the sake of some end outside its own nature, and that end is the liberation of *purusha* . . .” (Organ 220)
   3. “In the state of liberation . . . *purushas* recognize themselves as pure subject. What that can mean is very difficult to grasp. Rad­hakrishnan says they are “mirrors with noth­ing to reflect.” [*Indian Philosophy*, 2. 313.] . . . According to *Pravacaya Sutra* 6. 59 the liberated *purushas* have knowledge of the whole universe—but there is nothing to know when *prakriti* vanishes!” (Organ 223)
   4. The result of liberation is not bliss but the cessation of the *pur­u­shas*’ suffering. But “If they cannot experience suffering, how can they experience liberation as the cessa­tion of suffering? . . . Thus the Sam­khya separation of *purushas*’ bondage to *prakriti* turns out to be an illusory separation from an illusory bondage.” (Organ 224)
   5. summary: “The Samkhya philosophers . . . wanted *prakriti* to be an object without a subject and *purusha* to be a subject without an object. . . . Somehow the whole process works for the *kaivalya* (inde­pendence) of the *purushas* who are [224] always indepen­dent save for the fiction of bondage which they cannot entertain since they are not conscious beings.” (Organ 224-225)

## Yoga

1. **introduction**
   1. “yoga”
      1. “Yoga” comes from the root *yug*, meaning to unite or join. The Eng­lish “yoke” is from the same Indo-European root. (Organ 226)
      2. “It appears to have been used originally for the breaking and training of horses. Al­though in time it shifted, at least in popu­lar usage, to denote the uniting of man and god, or man and his world, or man and his true Self, the original con­notation of con­trol or disciple has remained and ought to be stressed. . . . *Yoga* connotes rigorous control of one’s being; the oppo­site of “doing *yoga*” is drift­ing, showing no enthusiasm . . .” (Organ 226)
      3. Yoga is “any ascetic technique and any method of meditation.” (Eliade, Mircea. *Yoga*: *Immortality and Freedom*. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen series 56. New York: 1958, 519.)
      4. A male practitioner is a *yogi*; a female practitioner is a *yogini*.
   2. origin
      1. Yoga “may be pre-Aryan. One of the seals from the Indus valley civiliza­tion is a figure in a yogic posture. *Yoga* may have devel­oped out of forms of primitive magical ritual­ism, for to this day yogic disciplines are so cluttered with occult­ism and sorcery that authentic yogis are constantly warding off gullible people who want them to do magical wonders.” (Organ 227)
      2. “The word “*yoga*” is almost unknown in the early *Upanishads*,but it does ap­pear in the two latest, the *Shvetashvatara* and the *Maitri*.” (Organ 226)
         1. “In *Maitri* 6. 10 the term “*yogi*” first appears, where it is treated as almost identical with *sannyasi* [a grandparent who retires from the world] . . .” (Organ 226)
         2. “ . . . but in *Shvetashvatara* 2.8-15 is found a remarkably system­atic descrip­tion of the practices and results of *yo­ga*.” (Organ 226)

8. Holding his body steady with the three [upper parts, i. e., head, neck, and chest] erect,

And causing the senses with the mind to enter into the heart,

A wise man with the Brahma-boat should cross over

All the fear-bringing streams.

9. Having repressed his breathings here in the body, and hav­ing his move­ments checked,

One should breathe through his nostrils with diminished breath.

Like the chariot yoked with vicious horses,

His mind the wise man should restrain undistractedly.

10. In a clean level spot, free from pebbles, fire, and gravel,

By the sound of water and other propinquities

Favorable to thought, not offensive to the eye,

In a hidden retreat protected from the wind, one should practice Yoga.

11. Fog, smoke, sun, fire, wind,

Fire-flies, lightning, a crystal, a moon—

These are the preliminary appearances,

Which produce the manifestation of Brahma in Yoga.

12. When the fivefold quality of Yoga has been produced,

Arising from earth, water, fire, air, and space,

No sickness, no old age, no death has he

Who has obtained a body made out of the fire of Yoga.

13. Lightness, healthiness, steadiness [or: “freedom from de­sires”],

Clearness of countenance and pleasantness of voice,

Sweetness of odor, and scanty excretions—

These, they say, are the first stage in the progress of Yo­ga. (Translation by Robert Ernest Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* [Lon­don: Oxford University, 1921] 398.)

* 1. Patañjali
     1. Patañjali “was not an originator of *yoga*. His work was that of an editor.” (Organ 227)
     2. He lived during the 100s bc. (Organ 225)
     3. He “was familiar with the Samkhya philosophy and . . . accepted its gen­er­al po­si­tion,” but he “decided that discriminating knowledge was not sufficient as a means by which individual selves could de­tach themselves from the existential conviction they were identical with the trans­mi­grating agent.” (Organ 225)
     4. “In order to determine what more was needed, he studied the *shruti* litera­ture available to him and found references to the use of physical and sensual means to assist the individual in his attain­ment of indepen­dence (*kaivalya*) from *prak­riti*.” (Organ 225)
        1. For example, *Chandogya Upani­shad* 8.4.2 “describes the essen­tial mystical experi­ence in terms of . . . light and form . . .” (Organ 225)
        2. *Shvetashvatara Upanishad* 4.18 says, “When there is no dark­ness, then there is neither day nor night, neither being nor non-being, only the auspicious one alone. That is the im­perishable, the ador­able light of [225] Savitri the ancient wisdom proceeded from that.” (Organ 225-226)
        3. *Shvetashvatara Upanishad* 2.11 says, “Fog, smoke, sun, wind, fire, fireflies, light­ning, a crystal, a mon—these are the preliminary forms which produce the manifes­tation of Brahman in *yoga*.” (Organ 226)
     5. Patañjali’s work, the *Yoga Sutras*, “is probably an emendation of Patañ­jali’s original work. The first three chapters are thought to be from the second century a.d. and the fourth is from the fifth century a.d. The first chapter is on the theory of *yoga*,the second is on technique, the third is on the *siddhis* which may result from the physical and spiritual exercises, and the final is on *kaivalya*,the desired result.” (Organ 227)

1. **description**
   1. “Whereas the typical Westerner tends to account life good despite occasional miseries, the *yoga* philosopher discerns life to be evil despite occasional joys. But the pain-of-living is not without remedy.” (Organ 229)
   2. “*Yoga*,according to the *Yoga Sutras*,is the voluntary restraint of mental states so the ego may separate itself from the nonego, and thus may discover its true identity. Not all types of minds (*chit­tas*) are able to make this discovery.” (Organ 227)
   3. “. . . there are obstacles or hindrances (*kleshas*) . . . The *kleshas*,according to *Yoga Su­tras* 2. 5-9, are *avidya* (ignorance), *asmita* (ego­ism), *raga* (emotional attachment to pleasure), *dvesha* (aversion to pain), and *adhinivesha* (attachment to life). The first two and the second two are pairs: *avidya* and *asmita* are wrong notions about things objec­tive and things subjective; *raga* and *dvesha* are wrong notions about things pleas­ant and painful. The meaning is that there is nothing wrong in having these emotion­ally toned notions . . . e. g., the fifth *klesha* is a reflection of the drive to self-preserva­tion, [but] the error is in failure to compre­hend the true nature of facts and values.” (Organ 228)
   4. “The heart of the *Yoga Sutras* is 2. 28 to 3. 54 which contains the techniques of self-awareness, the means by which a *purusha* can de­tach itself from the ignorance which binds it to *prakriti* and thus learn to discriminate its *purusha* nature and attain *kai­valya*. The *angas* (limbs or parts) are the practical and necessary steps lead­ing to the goal.” (Organ 229)
   5. “There are eight *angas*.
      1. “The first *anga* is *yama*,the moral restraints: “. . . abstinence from injury to oth­ers, abstinence from lies, abstinence from theft, ab­stinence from sexuality, and absti­nence from avarice.” [*Yoga Su­tras* 2.30.] These are almost the same as lists for similar purpos­es in Buddhism.
      2. “The second *anga* is *niyama*,the positive moral requirements which balance the negativity of the *yama* list: cleanliness of body and mind, contentment, practice of asceticism and silence, study of philosophy, the reading of sacred books, and meditation upon Ish­vara. [*Yoga Sutras* 2.32.]
      3. “The third *anga* (*asana*) denotes the bodily postures and positions, Patañjali se­lected no specific *asana* for approval; his only sugges­tion was that the posture be steady and easy. Later yogis . . . lis­ted as many as eighty-four ways of sitting on the ground.
      4. “The fourth *anga* has to do with the regulation of the breath. The term “*prana­yama*” literally means the pause after an exhalation. Regular slow breathing is the aim. Again yogis after Patañjali worked out elaborate schemes for proper breathing with various ra­tios of inhalation, exhalation, and pause, and with vari­ous pat­terns of breathing in one nostril and out the other.
      5. “The last four *angas* involve the intellectual and spiritual aspects of [229] the technique. The fifth *anga* is *pratyahara* . . . “that by which the senses do not come into contact with their objects and follow as it were the nature of the mind.” [*Yoga Sutras* 2.54] . . . To describe *pratyahara* as “with­drawal of the sens­es” is not quite correct since what is meant is that one can will to hear and not to see, to see and not to hear, etc. . . .
      6. “*Anga* number six applies the same discipline to the mind. *Dharana* or stead­fastness of mind is the development of the ability to hold the mind to one idea . . . [The yogi] enters into each experience as a fully awakened person. He is to be completely aware of the real­ity and value of what he is doing, whether it be eating, reading, walking, talking, making love, etc.
      7. “The seventh *anga* is *dhyana* (meditation). By *dhyana* the *sutras* mean the con­tinuous and complete flow of thought with reference to the object of concentra­tion. The difference between *dharana* and *dhyana* is that where­as the former is concen­tration on the object of concentration, the latter is expansion on the object of concentra­tion. . . .
      8. “Finally, the last *anga* is . . . *samadhi*. . . . *Samadhi* denotes a unity of contem­plator and contemplated which might be called intuitive.” (Organ 229-230)
   6. *kaivalya*
      1. *Samadhi* “is only an *anga*,i. e., part of the means for the realiza­tion of the goal. [230] . . . The yogi must go beyond *samadhi*,as he must go beyond all the *angas*,to that to which they lead: *kaivalya* (absolute independence, absolute, freedom, absolute isola­tion). The yogi is to desire desirelessness­—and then to cease even the desire for desirelessness! “The seed of bondage having been des­troyed by desire­lessness even for that, comes absolute indepen­dence.” [*Yoga Sutras* 3.49]” (Organ 230-231)
      2. “*Kaivalya* is the state of the *purusha* freed from *prakriti*.” (Organ 231)
      3. beyond good and evil
         1. *Yoga Sutras* 4.7 says that the *karma* of the yogi who has at­tained *kaivalya* is “neither white nor black.” “White means good, black means evil. There are four types of *karma*: (1) black, the *karma* of the *asuras*; (2) white, the *karma* of the completely righteous (*devas*?); (3) both white and black, the *karma* of most people; and (4) neither white nor black, the *karma* of the perfected yogi. The yogi’s actions are beyond good and evil. He is not subject to the moral evalua­tions placed upon the actions of ordinary men.” (Organ 231)

Begin 231 bot, “The sanctions . . .”

## Post-Upanishadic Hinduism

1. **reaction against Brahman**
   1. “The Brahman concept was far too obtuse for even the forest *rish­is*,” so they proposed a compromise: “two forms of Brah­man: the formed and the formless.” (Organ 109) In *Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad* 2.3:
      1. “The former [is] theistic, and the latter is pantheis­tic . . .” (Organ 109)
      2. “. . . the former is transcen­dent, the latter is in part imma­nent.” (Organ 109)
      3. “. . . the formless Brahman is designated as It, the formed Brahman is He.” (Organ 110)
   2. “. . . the passages on the formed Brahman are found largely in the later *Upanishads* . . .” (Organ 110)
      1. This “may indicate the *rishis* withdrew from [110] their earlier abstractions regarding the nature of Brahman as the primary onto­logi­cal principle to Brahman as an ob­ject of worship because of their realization that the heart has reasons the mind knows not of . . .” (Organ 110-111)
      2. “. . . or it may have been an effort to offer a viable alterna­tive to Bud­dhism.” (Organ 111)
2. **from *shruti* to *smriti***
   1. The Hindu scriptures have two major divisions: *shruti* (“heard”) wisdom and *smriti* (“re­membered”) traditions. *Smriti* literature is not revealed and is not considered sacred (though it is to some degree authorita­tive). *Smriti* literature includes:
      1. the law codes (*Dharma Shas­tras*) of Manu and Yajñaval­kya
      2. the two epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*
      3. the writings of Shankara and other philoso­phers
      4. the *Puranas*, eighteen collections of legends, often aboriginal
      5. the writings of the major sects of Hinduism (Vaish­navism, Shaivism, and Shak­tism—see below)
      6. and an enormous number of other writings.
   2. Vedism used the *sukta* form (“hymn”; sometimes also “riddle” or “leg­end”); the *Rig Veda*, for example, contains 1017 *suktas*. From Buddhism on, however, one finds mostly the *sutra* form (“thread,” a pithy aphorism meant to call to mind a larger body of thought).
3. ***Vedanta***
   1. “*Vedanta*” means “end of the Vedas,” a systematization of the teachings of the Vedas. The term was used in the late *Upanishads*, but it usually refers to one of its forms, the *advaita Vedanta* (“non-dualistic Ve­danta”) of Shankara.
   2. Shankara was Hinduism’s greatest intellectual, the “Aquinas” of India, c. ad 800s. He develop­ed *advaita Vedanta* (absolute monism) and foun­ded cel­i­bate monasticism within Hinduism (modeled, no doubt, on Buddhism).
4. **bhaktism**
   1. definition: “Bhaktism” means devotion to a god.
   2. Krishna
      1. Krishna in the Indian epics (the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*) is a black-skinned youth, sometimes called the Indian “Heracles.”
      2. Krishna and Shiva were largely Dravidian in origin (*krishna* means “black”).
   3. Vishnu and Vaishnavism
      1. Vaishnavism is the largest sect within Hinduism. It gained momentum c. ad 700.
      2. Its principal god is Vishnu (from *vish*, “to pervade”).
         1. In Vedic times, Vishnu was merely one of a number of minor sun gods.
         2. Vishnu is a god of grace, tenderness, and forgiveness; he is closest of all Indian gods to the God of Chris­tianity.
   4. Shiva and Shaivism
      1. Shaivism is the second-largest sect within Hinduism. It gained momentum c. ad 700.
      2. Its principal god is Shiva.
         1. A proto-*Shiva* appears among the Indus-Valley arti­facts.
         2. Shiva is a potent but asceti­cal male; his symbol is the *lingam*, a stone phal­lus.
         3. “*Shiva*” was originally an adjective, meaning “auspicious.” The adjective was applied to Rudra in hopes that he would be kind.
         4. But after c. 200 bc (e.g., in the *smriti* litera­ture), Shiva became a god who absorbed Rudra’s nature. He is a sexually potent yet ascetic god, and can be dangerously unpredictable.
   5. Parvati and Shaktism
      1. Shaktism is also called “Tantrism”; it is a sect within Shaivism and the third-largest sect in Hinduism.
      2. Shaktism worships especially Shiva’s *shaktis*, his female energies (since Shiva transcends the prin­ciples of male and female, he incorpo­rates female energies as well).
      3. The *shaktis* are conceived as Shiva’s consort Parvati, who is ordinarily viewed as a quietly beautiful young woman.
      4. But Parvati also appears in about ten other forms, including Uma (a severe as­cetic), Durga (a ten-armed demon-slayer), and Kali (a black goddess who drinks blood and eats corpses).
   6. Trimurti
      1. In one late *Upanishad* (*Maitri* 4.5, 6.5) and sometimes in the *smriti* literature (i.e., after ad 300), one finds mention of the *Trimurti* (“three forms”), a “trinity” of Brahmā (cre­ator), Vishnu (pre­server), and Shiva (destroyer).
      2. The *Trimurti* was more a theologi­cal reflec­tion than an object of living worship; and Brahmā, in fact, never became a popular god.

## Vishnu

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Hinduism today has about 33 million gods. (Severy 39) The most important is Vishnu.

Vishnu in the Vedas. In the Vedas, Vishnu was a minor deity, a manifestation of the sun and therefore an aspect of Agni and an assistant of Indra against the demon Vritra. Yet even then benevolence and care for the world were prominent characteristics (Ions 23). Only one hymn in the *Rig Veda* is addressed to him (1.154), but it depicts him as the god “who propped up the upper dwelling-place, striding far as he stepped forth three times, . . . who alone supports threefold the earth and the sky and all crea­tures.” Still, establishment of the three worlds in which all creatures dwell is done by “more important Vedic gods such as Indra or Varuna” (O’Flaherty 29).

Vishnu in the *Brahmanas*. In the period of the *Brahmanas*, Vishnu rose to importance as the deity presiding over sacrifices (Lemaitre 25). Later, he absorbs the cosmic god Narayana, who rests on the serpent Sesha (Renou 35) and is “equated with Prajapati the creator and supreme god”; being equated with the creator means that he encompasses Brahma the preserver (Ions 46). But “the central and most important basis for the concept of Vishnu was the man Vasudeva, an ancient hero deified by his kindsmen and followers” (Morgan 54). Vishnu’s most important trait, right­eousness, comes from Vasudeva, who became Vishnu’s father when Vishnu in­car­nated as Krishna.

Vishnu’s Incarnations. Most Hindu gods have been avatars, incarnations into the world of animals and men; the common number of *avataras* per god is ten. Avatars are necessary because, though good and evil are usually balanced in the world, sometimes the balance is disturbed, and the intervention of a god is necessary (Ions 47).

The first four *avataras* were during the *Krita yuga* (Frazier 72). As (1) Fish (Matsya), Vishnu took the Vedas away from the demons and returned them to humans. As (2) Tortoise (Kurma), he sustained the world on his back. As (3) Boar (Varaha), he restored the earth’s position when it was dragged down to the nether regions by a demon. As (4) Man-lion (Narasinha), he saved a demon king’s son, Prahlada, who so fervently worshiped Vishnu that his father was jealous and tried to murder him (Morgan 55-57).

The next three *avataras* occur during the *terta yuga*. As (5) Dwarf (Vamana), Vishnu was granted any wish, and he asked for the space encompassed in three of his steps (Ions 57). Suddenly he became a giant, so that “the first step became the heavens, the second the earth, and the third sent the demons to the nether regions” (Morgan 57). (Here Vishnu becomes the central figure in the cosmogony, a role attributed in the Vedas to Varuna and Indra.) As (6) the human Parasurama, son of a Brahmin, Vishnu killed his mother, who had impure thoughts, with an axe given him by Shiva; but for his obedience he was rewarded with the return of his mother’s life and invincibility in combat. Parasurama then wiped out the Kshatriya caste, who ruled everywhere at the time as tyrants, and retired to the mountains. As (7) the human Ramachandra (sometimes just “Rama”), Vishnu appeared again, before Parasurama had died. When Rama broke a vow to Shiva, Parasurama challenged Rama to combat. Parasurama, armed with Shiva’s bow, was defeated by Rama, armed with Vishnu’s bow (Ions 54). Ramachandra is the central figure in the epic, the *Ramayana*.

As (8) Krishna, Vishnu is the central figure of the epic, the *Mahabharata*. Krishna is believed to be not another avatar but the appearance of the god himself (Morgan 56). Krishna’s life has four stages: childhood, when he performed great deeds of strength; youth, when he enamored the cowgirls; manhood, when he killed Kansa, the tyrant of Mathura; and middle age, when he became the ruler of Dwarka (Ions 61).

Vishnu’s ninth and tenth avatars appear in the present period, the *kali yuga*. Making him appear as (9) the Buddha at the beginning of the *kali yuga* subordinated Buddhism to Hinduism. As the Buddha, Vishnu did not incarnate to restore the balance of good and evil; rather, he appeared as “the devil’s advocate, who propagated ideas which would lead to wickedness and weaken the opponents of the gods, causing them . . . to be destroyed or to turn back to their old faith in traditional gods” (Ions 72). Vishnu’s incarnation as (10) Kalki lies in the future, at the end of the present age. The world will have degenerated so much by then that all the sacred texts will be destroyed and no one will live more than 23 years. Vishnu will appear on a white horse waving a blazing sword; he will destroy the wicked and prepare the world for the renewal of creation in the following *mahayuga*.

Vishnu in the *Puranas*. The 18 *Puranas* (c. ad 250-1000) are ranked from oldest to newest. The third is the *Vishnu Purana*, which says that Vishnu will take the form of Rudra to destroy the universe and then the form of Brahma to recreate the universe; thus everything that occurs is Vishnu’s doing (O’Flaherty 72). In the *Garuda Purana* (300s-1000), Vishnu appears as the teacher of ethics. In the *Agni Purana* (27.17-28, c. 600-1000), he appears as the recipient of animal sacrifices to intiate a Vaishnavite pupil (the rite is described). In the *Brahmanda Purana* (1.2.26.10-61, c. 350-950), he appears as a revealer of the phallus of Shiva as a pillar of fire. (O’Flaherty 85)

## Glossary of Hinduism

**Agni**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**Aranyakas**: see **scripture**.

**Aryan**: “noble,” synonym for “Indo-European,” but sometimes used to refer to those Indo-Europeans who invaded Iran and, later, India (the latter c. 1700 bc).

**asuras**: demons. See **gods, Aryan**.

**Atman**: “breath,” therefore soul; also the universal soul, identical with **Brah­man** (*tat tvam asi*, “that [Brahman] you [Atman] are”).

**bhaktism**: devotion to a god. *Bhakti marga* (way [to liberation] by means of devotion) con­trasts with *jñana marga* (way of knowledge, as in the *Upani­shads* or Vedanta) and *dharma marga* (way of duty). See **Hinduism, periods of**.

**Brahma or Brahman**: Originally, *brahma* or *brahman* (neuter endings) was the power in a spell or prayer to produce its effect. Although sometimes presen­ted as a personal god (Brahm\_) or as the element (earth, air, fire, or water) from which all things are made, Brahman usually refers to the impersonal and ab­stract principle which is Absolute Reality, the ground of both being and non­being.

**Brahmā**: -*ā* is a masculine ending, so “Brahmā” refers to a personal (though minor) god. See *Trimurti* in **gods, of bhaktism**.

**Brahma day, Brahma night**: see **time**.

**Brahmanas**: see **scripture** and **Hinduism, periods of**.

**Brahminism**: a development in Vedism that emphasized magical ritualism. *Brahmin* (lower case) means a priest; *Brahmin* (upper case) means the class of priests. See **Hinduism, periods of**.

**British India**: see **Hinduism, periods of**.

**Buddhism**: the religion based on the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha (“enlightened one”), who lived c. 563-483 bc.

**castes**: social classes. The Aryans had four: priests and kings, warriors, tradesmen and peasants, and outsiders/slaves. These hardened into the Hindu castes of today: the *Brahmins*,the *Kshatriyas*,the *Vaishyas*,and the *Shudras*. One who is “out-caste” is a *pariah*.

**Charvaka**: materialism, *fl*. c. 500s bc.

**deva**: “a shining one,” “one who gives,” a god. See **gods, Aryan**.

**dharma**: duty.

**Dravidians**: the ethnic group to which many south Indians now belong; thought to be the descendants of that wave of Indus-Valley-civilization populace that fled before the invading Aryans c. 1700 bc.

**Dyaus Pitar**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**gods, Aryan**: The Aryan gods are roughly equivalent to the Olympic gods of Greece. The Indo-Europeans worshiped the Sky Father (**Dyaus Pitar**) and the Earth Mother (**Prithivi Matar**), but by the time of the Aryan invasion of India, these had become more and more transcen­dent and distant (the *deus otiosus* syndrome). Though there were both gods (*devas*) and demons (*asuras*), the latter played little part in the priestly religion. Aryan priests classified the gods into celestial (sky), atmo­spheric (air), and terrestrial (earth), with 11 gods in each (33 total). **Varuna** replaced *Dyaus Pitar* as the principal cel­es­tial god; Varuna ruled by **rita** (cosmic order). A minor sun god (there were several) was **Vishnu**, who later became the major god of Hinduism. **Indra** was the major atmospheric (storm) god, a vigorous warrior who loved battle and drun­ken­ness. Another atmospheric god was **Rudra**; probably of **Dravidian** origin, he personi­fied the destructive nature of storms and later (in **Shaivism**, c. ad 700) was assimi­lated to **Shiva**. The prin­ci­pal terrestrial gods were **Soma** (god of *soma*,an intoxicating drink) and Agni (god of the sacrifi­ce fire).

**gods, of bhaktism**: After the Vedic period, during which Varuna, Indra, Agni, etc. were worshiped, Hinduism became increasingly devotional (bhaktism). Bhaktism developed into worship of three principal gods: Krishna in the Indian epics (the **Mahabharata** and **Ramayana**), **Vishnu** in **Vaish­na­vism**, and **Shiva** in **Shaivism**. Krishna and Shiva were largely Dravidian in origin (*krishna* means “black,” and a proto-*Shiva* appears among the Indus-Valley artifacts). Krishna is a black-skinned youth, sometimes called the Indian Heracles. Shiva is a potent but ascetical male; his symbol is the *lingam* (phallus). Vishnu is a god of grace, tenderness, and forgiveness; he is closest of all Indian gods to the God of Christianity. In one late *Upanishad* (*Maitri* 4.5, 6.5) and some­times in the *smriti* literature (i.e., after ad 300), one finds mention of the *Trimurti* (“three forms”), a “trinity” of Brahmā (creator), Vishnu (pre­server), and Shiva (destroyer). The *Trimurti* was more a theological reflec­tion than an object of living worship; and Brahmā, in fact, never became a popular god.

**Harappā**: one of the two capitals of the Indus Valley civilization (the other was Mohenjo-daro).

**Hinduism**: the religion that has resulted from the syncretism of Indus-Valley and Aryan religions. Thus it has existed since c. 1700 bc (date of the Aryan invasion of India).

**Hinduism, periods of**: Hinduism is divisible into the following periods:

Vedism, c. 1700 to 1000 bc (creation of the Vedas)

brahminism, c. 1000-800 bc (creation of the Brahmanas)

Upanishadism, c. 800-300 bc (creation of the Aranyakas and Upanishads)

bhaktism, c. 300 bc-present. Within bhaktism may especially be noted:

creation of *smriti* literature, c 300 bc-ad 1175

rise of Shaivism and Vaishnavism, ad 700-900

Islamic dominance, c. ad 1175-1803

British dominance, ad 1803-1947 (officially, 1858-1947)

“... the Harappā period ... began around 2300 b.c.e. . . . About a thousand years later [appeared] the Indo-Aryans . . .” (Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion*: *An Histor­i­cal Introduction*, 3rd ed., Religious Life of Man [Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982] 3.)

“. . . the *Vedas* [were] composed circa 1500 b.c.e. to 1000 b.c.e. . . .” (Rich­ard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion*: *An Histor­i­cal Introduction*, 3rd ed., Religious Life of Man [Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982] 3.)

Hinduism began c. 500 bc, when the Brahmanical traditions reacted to the develop­ment of the Buddhist Sangha. 3 The *Upanishads* are “early pre-Hindu texts.” (Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion*: *An Histor­i­cal Introduction*, 3rd ed., Religious Life of Man [Belmont: Wadsworth, 1982] 7.)

**idealism**: any philosophy which maintains that the ultimate nature of reality is idea. Its opposite is realism (Latin *res*, “thing”), which maintains that the ultimate nature of reality is extramental. Upanishadism and, especially, *advaita Vedanta* (see **Vedanta**) are idealist. (“Idealism” with a capital often refers to a period of Western idealist philosophy, including Kant, Hegel, Fichte, Feuer­bach, Berkeley, Bradley, etc.)

**Indo-Europeans**: tribes living in southwest Russia who, from c. 4500 bc on, spread west (becoming the Germans, Celts, Romans, Greeks, and Slavs), south (becom­ing the Hittites, the Persians, and the Aryan invaders of India), and east (becoming the Tocharians).

**Indra**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**Indus Valley civilization**: the neolithic civilization that inhabited the Indus River valley from c. 2500-1700 bc.

**Islam**: “submission,” the religion founded in Arabia by Muhammad, in ad 610. It is strictly monotheistic (“Allah is one, and Muhammad is his prophet”). Adherents of Islam are called “Muslims.” India was ruled by Muslims from ad 1175-1858.

**Jainism**: a religion founded c. 500 bc by Vardhamana (called Mahavira, “Great Souled One”) that emphasized the non-taking of life. The 5 million Jains are today the wealthiest persons in India.

**jiva**: soul, that which transmigrates during reincarnation (*samsara*).

**kalpa**: see **time**.

**karma**: moral principle of cause and effect, or the effects of moral actions.

**Krishna**: see **gods, of bhaktism**.

**lingam**: stone phallus, symbol of Shiva.

**Mahābhārata**: see **scripture**.

**mandala**: circle. The ten divisions of the Rig Veda are called *mandalas*.

**maya**: illusion. In *advaita Vedanta* (see **Vedanta**), the phenomenal world is merely illusion; only **Brahman** exists.

**Mohenjo-daro**: “city of the dead,” one of the two capitals of the Indus Valley civilization (the other was Harappa).

**Mughul empire**: a major Islamic empire in India, ad 1526-1858.

**Pakistan**: northwest India after it became an independent Islamic state in 1947.

**Prithivi Matar**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**purusha**: person; the cosmic person sacrificed at creation.

**Ramayana**: see **scripture**.

**rita**: cosmic order, the regularity of the cosmic processes. **Karma** is *rita* in the moral order.

**Rudra**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**samhita**: collection (e.g., each of the Vedas is a *samhita*).

**samsara**: reincarnation.

**scripture**: The Hindu scriptures have two major divisions: *shruti* (“heard”) wisdom and *smriti* (“remembered”) traditions.

The *shruti* literature has four divisions.

The **Vedas**, largely hymns and magical formulas. There are four:

the *Rig Veda* (1017 **suktas**)

the *Sama Veda* (*suktas* from the *Rig* arranged for sacri­fices)

the *Yajur Veda* (a handbook for priests doing sacrifices)

the *Atharva Veda* (a book of magical spells and rites).

The *Brahmanas*,directions for the performances of sacrifices.

The *Aranyakas*,figurative interpretations of the sacri­fices.

The **Upanishads**, meta­physical speculations.

The *smriti* literature has eight divisions.

*Vedangas*,on rituals, morals, astronomy, phonetics, etymology, and grammar, especially the *Dharma Shas­tras* (law codes) of Manu and Yajñaval­kya.

*Darshanas*,writings of the six orthodox philo­sophical schools.

*Itihas­as*,legendary works, especially the two epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*.

*Puranas*,eighteen collections of legends, often aboriginal.

*Upavedas*,appendices to the principal Vedas (e.g., the *Ayurveda*,added to the *Atharva Veda*).

*Tantras*,enormous collections on occult, sometimes erotic topics.

*Agamas*,the writings of Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Shaktism.

*Upangas*,a broad term for logical and ritualis­tic writings.

**Shaivism**: the second-largest sect within Hinduism. It gained momentum c. ad 700. Its principal god is **Shiva** (see **gods, of bhaktism**).

**Shaktism**: also called “Tantrism.” A sect within **Shaivism** and the third-largest sect in Hinduism. It worships especially **Shiva’s** *shaktis*,his female energies (Shiva transcends or incorporates both the male and female prin­ciples). The *shaktis* are conceived as Shiva’s consort Parvati, who is ordinarily viewed as a quietly beautiful young woman but who also appears as Uma (a severe as­cetic), Durga (a ten-armed demon-slayer), and Kali (a black goddess who drinks blood and eats corpses).

**Shankara**: Hinduism’s greatest intellectual, the “Aquinas” of India, c. ad 800s. He develop­ed *advaita Vedanta* (absolute monism, see **Vedanta**) and foun­ded cel­i­bate monasticism within Hinduism (modeled, no doubt, on Buddhism).

**Shiva**: “auspicious.” Before c. 200 bc, *shiva* was an adjective given to **Rudra** (see **gods, Aryan**); but in the *smriti* literature, Shiva became a god who absorbed Rudra’s nature. He is a sexually potent yet ascetical god, and can be dangerously unpredictable. See **gods, of bhak­tism**, and **Shaivism**.

**soma**: a plant used to make an intoxicating drink. For the god **Soma**, see **gods, Aryan**.

**sukta**: hymn (sometimes also riddle, legend, or other type of traditional material). The *Rig Veda*,for example, contains 1017 *suktas*.

**sutra**: “thread,” a pithy aphorism meant to call to mind a larger body of thought. The *sutra* became the common literary form for heterodox (Buddhist and Jain) and **smriti** writings.

**Tantrism**: the religious developments reflected in the *Tantras* (see **scripture** and **Shaktism**).

**tapas**: heat; the basic form of energy found in the universe, in the fire sacrifice, in ascetics, etc.

**time**: Hinduism divides time as follows.

A *yuga* is, on average, 1.08 million years.

Four *yugas* make one *kalpa*: 4.32 million years.

(The four *yugas* in a *kalpa* are of diminishing length and decreasing virtue; that is why I said, “on average.”)

1000 *kalpas* (4.32 billion years) make one Brahma day or one Brahma night.

A Brahma day plus a Brahma night make one cycle: 8.64 billion years.

The universe moves through endless cycles; they extend infinitely, backward and forward.

**Upanishadism**: the religion of the *Upanishads*,characterized by the movement toward monism. See **Hinduism, periods of**.

**Upanishads**: “to sit (*shad*) down (*ni*) near (*upa*)” a *rishi* (guru) in a forest retreat, in order to hear secret knowledge. Written c. 800-300 bc, here are over 200, but only a dozen are important. See **scripture**.

**Vaishnavism**: the largest sect within Hinduism. It gained momentum c. ad 700; its principal god is **Vishnu** (see **gods, Aryan**, and **gods, of bhaktism**).

**Varuna**: see **gods, Aryan**.

**Veda**: “knowledge.” See **scripture**.

**Vedanta**: “end of the Vedas,” a systematization of the teachings of the Vedas. It usually refers to one of its forms, the *advaita Vedanta* (“non-dualistic Ve­danta”) of Shankara

**Vedism**: see **Hinduism, periods of**.

**Vishnu**: from *vish*, “to pervade.” See **gods, Aryan**; **gods, of bhaktism**; and **Vaish­na­vism**.

**yuga**: see **time**.

## An Excerpt from *The Short March in Telengana*

Larneuil, Michel. *The Short March in Telengana*. Trans. June P. Wilson and Walter B. Michaels. New York: Morrow, 1970. (French: *La Petite Marche du Telengana*, Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1968.)

“. . . to the Hindu, creation is only one phase of a cycle which repeats itself ad infinitum in successive periods of growth, equilibrium and decrepitude. It’s logical but discouraging. The West believes with the stubbornness of a mule that life leads somewhere.” (Larneuil 114)

In “a sheer rise higher than the surrounding hills. . . . Halfway up, a crescent-shaped gash cut the hill lengthwise. They could just make out the openings of a [131] long-abandoned Buddhist monastery. It was the Chandra Caves, the Caves of the Moon. [132] . . . Emerson hid his face in his hands. I want to die. I’m so tired I want to die. It mut feel good to die when you want it so much. “David?” Suddhin called out. He raised his head. “There’s a trickle of water in the last cave.” . . .

Emerson made his way to the end of the ledge. A faint light gleamed in the last cell. A naked man, scrawny, with black hair down to his shoulders, was sitting cross-legged in the middle of the cave. Eyes shut, hands resting palms up on his knees, he was praying. The scene was illuminated by a lamp on a stone chest built into the corner. Emerson looked at the [133] chest, at the man, and back to the chest. It was narrow and the length of a body. There was a round hole in the lid. A string tied to a rock lay nearby.

A vague memory stirred in Emerson’s mind. In the fortress at Daulatabad. Yes, in the Maratha fortress at Daulatabad, in the center of the tower, he had seen the tomb of one of these voluntarily immured ascetics. It had never occurred to him that one day he would be watching the actor in this religious suicide, that he would share in the ascetic’s last vigil. For there was no question about it. This very night, the hermit would lie down in the tomb he had made for himself and pull the string, causing the rock to drop and seal the tomb. Then he would slowly suffocate without a thought or even a reflex to make him throw off the thirty-pound block of stone.

Emerson shivered. Madness? Pure madness? But he needed only to look at the Yogi to understand that he was neither mad nor drugged, but obviously aware of the nature of his act and firm in his resolution. Emerson might well shudder, or rebel, but the calm brow and deter­mined mouth imposed silence. I must get out of here. I have no business here. But he didn’t go, fascinated by the grandeur of the performance: a man strong enough, in complete serenity, in full certainty, to push open the door of death.

All his instincts rebelled and one phrase came to his defense: the mystique of escape. Hav­ing weighed the pros and cons, the man has chosen escape. He has taken account of the light, the freshness of dawn, the splendor of evening, fire and water, the world’s beauty, earthly love and man’s labor; he has held them in his living hands and, believing them to be an illusion, has chosen to refuse them that he might arrive more quickly at infinity. Emerson [134] wanted to shake him, to shout, “Wake up! Don’t do this! You’re making a mistake!” But who was he to speak? Who was he to interrupt the prayer? Where could he find the faith and the strength to commit such an act of bravery? . . .

As silently as possible, Emerson also left the cave. He walked back along the ledge as if in a dream, and lay down on the rocky platform. Like a dog, he said to himself. But like a dog without a master. He then realized he had forgotten about the water. His hunger and thirst returned. But the thought of going back there terrified him; it seemed like a sacrilege.

For all his exhaustion, he couldn’t sleep. His mind strained toward what was happening two hundred yards away, at the end of the millennial terrace. To whom, to what does he pray? Does he really believe that someone is listening? Someone . . . he repeated the word and it bruised him like a blind man running into a wall. For Saroj, [a Christian,] it was God, someone who waits on man, draws him into a dialogue, an exchange, a vertical prayer and not just a prostration. But he knew that the Yogi’s prayer was addressed to an impersonal absolute wherein he hoped to lose his “I.” And for all that Emerson raised his eyes toward the stars, he felt ephemeral, useless, lost.

The night was calm and pure. The old hills, worn down by the centuries, lay in silence. When the sound of a stone dislodged by a jackal’s paw or the belly of a snake broke the silence, Emerson sat up and listened. Is it happening [135] now? Has the string pulled the rock? When? Soon? Is it already over?

His obsession returned. He saw the hermit, thin, well-proportioned, his long black hair floating on his shoulders. And his mystical leap was no more than a pirouette coming to rest in Monkey’s urine. He fell asleep as a breeze swept over the hills of Chandra. In the valley, at the foot of the cliff, a hyena laughed. . . .

Surya, the oppressor, had risen over the hills; they were turning white under the sun’s first rays. The men around Emerson were checking their weapons and counting ammunition.

I’m thirsty, he thought. His tongue and mouth were like stone. His stomach hurt. His mind was still numb with sleep; yet thirst, hunger and fatigue were already entrenched in their familiar and cruel places. He got up and went to the far edge of the platform. Suddenly he remembered and stopped. Did he dare? Thirst won out over the reverential fear of what he was about to see.

Dawn had reached into the cave, lighting its deepest corners. The oil lamp had gone out. The rock sealed the tomb. He is inside. Is he still breathing? The question held him rooted. Is he still breathing?

Emerson was on the verge of grabbing the rock, lifting it high and bringing it crashing down on the tomb, then seizing the Yogi and shouting in his face, “Live! Live! You have no right not to live!”

But the fear of finding only a corpse held him back. He stood, hating himself, overwhelmed by his weakness and the tumult of his thoughts. Bewildered, motionless, he contemplated the stone casket, hard and impenetrable like death.

All of a sudden, his ear picked up a small sound, not more than a murmur, of a trickle of running water. He stood galvanized, then ran to the end of the cave. A film of water was seeping from a crack and spreading over the wall at a man’s height. He pressed against the rock, licked the stone, sucked it, and his bitter tears mingled with the tiny dribble that vanished underground. When he had quenched his thirst, he went out into the daylight without a glance at the tomb. The sun was higher. The hills were taking on their ruddy colors.

## Relations of Indian, Greek, and Christian Thought in Antiquity

The “Indian hypothesis” is the contention that Indian religion (Hindu or Buddhist) influenced Christianity at its beginning.

“. . . the history of the Christian Church is the record of the gradual adaptation of an Eastern religion to the Western spirit.” (Radhakrishnan 271) “. . . most probably Indian religious ideas and legends were well known in the circle in which the accounts of the Gospels originated.” (Radhakrishnan 157) “Two centuries before the Christian era Buddhism closed in on Palestine.” (Radhakrishnan 158)

There are parallels between Buddha’s life and Christ’s. (Radhakrishnan 177-86; Pfleiderer 2.121-22)

Most supporters of the Indian hypothesis assume that mysticism “is essentially alien to the Occidental temperament.” (Stunkel 5)

Yet the beliefs that undergird mysticism are found throughout the world, and “there is not much reason to believe that they spread from a primordial center.” (Stunkel 70)

There is no evidence of any mechanisms of transmission of Indian religious concepts among early Christian writers, and no understanding on their part of Indian religious concepts. (Basham 20.591)

The reason for parallels in different religions is “the principle of limited possibilities” (Stunkel 11): the extent of variation among answers to the great metaphysical questions is limited by the nature of the world in which we live.

Most of the common aspects are in fact common only when they have been separated from their respective contexts and are compared against an abstract and sterilized background as unrelated to one religion as to the other. Furthermore, since the similarities have necessarily to be selected according to the particular criterion of the selector, his syncretic intentionality tends to have an obscuring effect. Whole sections of the “encountered” may be neglected or ignored simply because they are dissimilar. This is not a naked encoutner so much as wishful thinking. (Panikkar 38)

Hinduism’s principal difference from Christianity is its lack of a clear concept of creation. (Griffiths 6.1136) Another crucial difference is Hinduism’s conception of time as cyclical eternal, and ultimately without direction (Stunkel 73), versus Christianity’s conception of time as linear and teleological.

# Buddhism

## The Buddha

1. **early Buddhism’s Indian context**
   1. In the 500s bc, north Indian religion contained several strands:
      1. “local indigenous cults in most part probably derived from Harappā times” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
      2. “the Brahmanical overlay, [an] “orthoprax” (enjoining proper ac­tion) tradition” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
      3. “organized nonorthodox groups of ascetic religious seekers called *śramaṇa* (literally, “striver”). These groups generally denied the authority of [the *Vedas* and the *Upan­ishads*].” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   2. Five assumptions from the north Indian world view “framed early Bud­dhism’s soteriology . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 15)
      1. “. . . time and space are endless . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 15)
      2. “. . . personhood and identity extend beyond this lifetime . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 15)
      3. karma: “The individual is totally responsible.” (Robinson and Johnson 16)
      4. samsara: “the world system [is] ever-changing, perilous like an ocean or a swiftly moving stream.” *Saṃsāra* means “that which turns around forever.” (Robinson and Johnson 16)
      5. Escape is *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*, release into a transcendent, death­less state. (*Not* release into heaven: heaven is part of the samsaric world system.) (Robinson and Johnson 16)
   3. But elsewhere Robinson and Johnson suggest that *karma* is an insight original to the Bud­dha.
      1. “The specifically Buddhist feature [in the Buddha’s second cogni­tion, the night of enlightenment] is correlating good deeds with happy births and bad deeds with miserable ones.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
      2. “What determines one’s rebirth, though, is not sacrifice or mere knowl­edge, as in the Upaniṣads, but the quality of one’s entire life.” (Robinson and Johnson 15)
      3. “The idea of moral causality seems only in the sixth century b.c.e. to have become dissociated from notions of the efficacy of ritual and ascetic acts. There is no assurance that Upani.sadic passages express­ing the idea are pre-Buddhist. [So probably] Gautama discovered this comprehensive moral world view . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 15)
2. **names for the Buddha**
   1. The Buddha’s original name was “Siddhartha Gautama.” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
      1. “Siddhartha,” the name he was given at birth, means “he who has achieved his goal” (Robinson and Johnson 7) or “he whose purpose is accomplished” (Gethin 19).
      2. “Gautama” means “descendant of the sage Gotama.” “Gau­tama” is a brahmin clan name; no one knows why the Shakyas (the Buddha’s tribe) applied it to themselves. (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   2. “Shakyamuni” means “sage of the Shakyas.” The Shakyas were a warrior tribe in the Himalayan foothills. The Buddha’s father (Suddho­dana—his mo­ther was Maya) was king of the town of Kapilavastu. (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   3. “Buddha” means “Enlightened One.” It should technically be preceded by “the.” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   4. “Bodhisattva” means “future Buddha”; it refers to the Buddha before his enlightenment. (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   5. The Buddha also sometimes referred to himself as “*Jina* (“Victor”) and *Tathāgatha* (“he who has gone thus, or he who has reached what is really so”).” (Robinson and Johnson 25)
3. **historicity of sources**
   1. “The extant versions of the complete life of the Buddha were all com­posed 500 or more years after his death. They draw on much earlier material from the canonical *Sūtras* (“Dis­courses”) and *Vinaya* (“Disci­pline”) . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 6)
   2. The complete lives give “a fabric of myth . . . Nonetheless, Aśvaghoṣha (first century C.E.), in his *Acts of the Buddha*, saw Gautama as a genuine human being . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 6)
   3. “The oldest account is stylized and exhibits typical mythic features.” But probably it has an historical core. (Robinson and Johnson 13)
      1. Argument 1: “It purports, though, to be autobiographical. First-person reporting of “peak experiences” was not a genre in pre-Buddhist Indian literature and flourished only sporadically in later centuries.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
      2. Argument 2: “The dignity, economy, and sobriety of the account not only highlight the magnitude of Gautama’s claims but also strongly suggest a remarkable man behind the style, self-assured and self-aware, assertive but not bombastic.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
      3. Argument 3: “If disciples put such words into the mouth of their master, then who put into their minds such an image of him?” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
   4. “The quest for the objective Gautama, like that for the historical Jesus, is foredoomed . . . But though the *Saṅ­gha* (“Community”) created the image of the Buddha, the Buddha created the Saṅgha and in so doing impressed upon it his personality.” (Robinson and Johnson 6)
4. **the Buddha’s life**
   1. birth
      1. The Buddha was born about 560 bc.
      2. “The legend says that he was conceived when his mother, Māyā, dreamed that a white elephant entered her body. . . . The view that normal procreation and birth are impure betrays a body image in sharp contrast to the Upanisads [*sic*], which liken copulation to sacrifice.” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
      3. “The newborn child stood up, strode seven paces, and declared that . . . he was destined for enlightenment.” (Robinson and Johnson 7) “As soon as the Bodhisattva [future Buddha] was born he took seven steps to the north and proclaimed, “I am chief in the world, I am best in the world, I am first in the world. This is my last birth. There will be no further rebirth.”“ (Gethin 19)
      4. “Asita, an aged sage, came, examined the marks on the infant, and prophesied that he would become a *Buddha* (“an enlightened one”).” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
      5. “The purpose of all the mythic elements in the nativity cycle is to show that the Bodhi­sattva was innately different from ordinary men.” (Robinson and Johnson 7)
   2. youth
      1. His father tried to keep his son from leaving the palace and join­ing the ascetics by surrounding him with sensual pleasures. He arranged a marriage for Siddhartha to Yashodhara, who bore him a son, whom Siddhartha named “Rahula” (“the fetter”). (Robinson and Johnson 8)
      2. But during chariot rides, Siddhartha encountered
         1. an old man,
         2. a diseased man,
         3. a corpse, and
         4. plowing, which involved the suffering of peasants and oxen and the slaughter of worms and insects.
            1. Seeing a religious mendicant (beggar), Siddhartha determined to become an ascetic. (Robinson and Johnson 8)
      3. With a last midnight look at his wife and infant, he left, cut off his hair, and traded clothes with a passing hunter. He was 29. (Robinson and Johnson 8-9)
   3. studies
      1. Gautama’s first two teachers
         1. Under a first teacher (Arada Kalama), Gautama quickly mastered a method of medita­tion (*samādhi*, “meditative concentration”) that led to “attainment of the state of nothing at all.” (Robinson and Johnson 9)
         2. Under a second teacher (Udraka Ramaputra), he quickly mastered a method of med­i­tation that led to “attainment of neither percep­tion nor non­per­cep­tion.” (Robinson and Johnson 9)
      2. *raja yoga*
         1. The (ascetic?) teachers did not teach “contemplative identification of the soul and the world spirit (like the Upaniṣads) . . . “ That became known as *jñana marga* (the way of knowl­edge). (Robinson and Johnson 9)
         2. Nor did they teach “starving out impurities through absti­nence and asceticism (like the Jains) . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 9)
         3. Rather, they taught what became known as *raja yoga*: “attain­ment of *bodhi* (“enlightenment”) and *nirvāṇa* (“emancipation”) through cultiva­tion of medita­tive trances.” (Robinson and Johnson 9)
         4. Upanishadic references to *raja yoga* date from after the Buddha, and it is not fully described until the *Bhagavad Gītā* and Patañjali’s *Yoga Sutras*. So “Rāja-yoga came into Buddhism not from Brahmanism but from the ascetic wanderer sects of ancient India.” (Robinson and Johnson 9)
   4. austerities
      1. Settling in the east, Gautama spent six years in extreme asceti­cism. He was joined by five ascetics. He ate almost nothing, becoming com­plete­ly emaciated; he stopped his breath to induce trances. (Robinson and Johnson 10)
      2. When austerities did not bring enlightenment, Gautama decided to try a middle way, and ate. In disgust, the five ascetics left him. (Robinson and Johnson 10)
   5. temptations
      1. Under a tree (the Bodhi Tree), facing east, Gautama resolved not to arise until enlight­ened. “Let only skin, sinew and bone remain, let the flesh and blood dry in my body, but I will not give up this seat without attaining complete awakening.” (Gethin 22)
      2. Māra (“Death”) came with demons to tempt him. (Robinson and Johnson 11)
      3. Māra used magic to overthrow Gautama; but Gautama invoked his superior merit, accumulated in previous lives. (Robinson and Johnson 11)
      4. Māra called on the demons to witness to his own merit; but Gautama touched the earth with his right hand and called Mother Earth to witness. [11] In statues of Buddha, often “His right hand touches the earth to recall the drama of Enlightenment. By this gesture he called Mother Earth to bear witness to his merit and thus to his power to defeat Māra and gain salvation from Māra’s realm of recurrent birth and death.” [5] (Robinson and Johnson 5, 11)
      5. Māra sent his daughters, Discontent, Delight, and Desire; but Gautama was unmoved. at sunset, Māra and his host withdrew. (Robinson and Johnson 11)
   6. enlightenment: on the night of the full moon, Gau­tama climbed to en­lightenment
      1. the Buddha’s advance described as progress through four trance states (four stages of dhyana) (Robinson and Johnson 11)
         1. first trance
            1. detachment from sense objects (Robinson and Johnson 11)
            2. calming pas­sions (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            3. discursive thinking: “gazing at . . . mental images as they pass.” (Robinson and Johnson 11)
            4. “Similar trances sometimes occur spontaneously when the mind is concentrated [by] intellectual discovery, or artistic in­spira­tion.” (Robinson and Johnson 11)
         2. second trance
            1. Thinking is nondiscursive: “one-pointedness of mind . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            2. “There is . . . serene faith, zest, and ease.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
         3. third trance
            1. “mindful and conscious . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            2. “a feeling of bliss in the body.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            3. “dispassionate rather than zestful . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 12)
         4. fourth trance
            1. “pure awareness” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            2. “free from opposites such as pleasure and pain, elation and depression.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
            3. “. . . the fourth dhyana leads to the six superknow­ledges (*ab­hij­­ñā*):

magic powers (such as levitation and walking on water);

the divine ear;

knowledge of others’ minds;

memory of one’s former lives;

the divine eye; and

extinction of the *āsrava* [“outflows”] . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 12)

The *āsrava* are the “karmic “outflows,” or “binding influ­ences”“: “sensual desire, desire to exist, wrong (or specula­tive) views, and igno­rance.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)

“The first five [superknowledges] are mundane, while the sixth is realized only by the *arhant* (“per­fected saint”) . . . [The sixth] distin­guishes the liberated adept from the mere wizard.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)

* + 1. the Buddha’s advance described as progress through three “unusual kinds of cognition.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
       1. first cognition (at evening): knowledge of his past lives
          1. Gautama saw each of his previous existences, one after ano­ther. (Robinson and Johnson 12)
          2. “The first cognition, memory of one’s own former lives, is a shamanic power, documented even among the Am­er­in­dians.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
       2. second cognition (at midnight): the divine eye
          1. divine eye as cosmic vision

“The whole universe . . . appeared to him as in a mirror.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)

“The second cognition [is] perception of living beings ev­ery­where dying and being reborn . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 13)

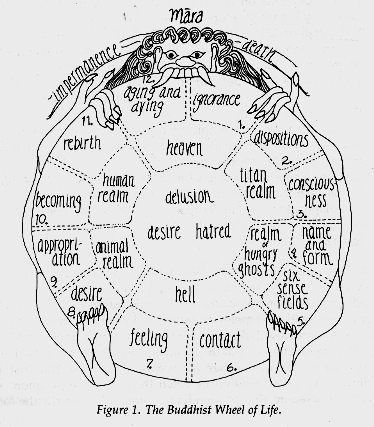
The divine eye “is likewise a variety of sha­manic power—unobstructed cosmic vision—widely at­tested in archaic cul­tures.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)

* + - * 1. divine eye as clairvoyance

The Buddha later used the divine eye to find out where some­one was located when he wanted him. (Robinson and Johnson 22)

Seeing the past, present, and future conditions of others is “a power universally attributed to prophets.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)

* + - * 1. Gautama’s vision in his second cognition, “combined with the twelve precondi­tions [see below], was systematized in later Buddhist art in the figure of the Wheel of Life.” (Robinson and Johnson 19)



(Robinson and Johnson 19)

* + - 1. third cognition (in the wee hours): several accomplishments
         1. “extinction of the *āsrava* (“outflows,” or “bind­ing influen­ces”)—namely, sensual desire, desire to exist, wrong views, and ignorance.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)
         2. perceiving the Four Holy Truths (Robinson and Johnson 12)
         3. perceiving the principle of dependent co-arising and “the twelve preconditions (*nidana*) for the arising of existence.” (Robinson and Johnson 12)

The origin and cause of rebirth is “pratītya-samutpāda (dependent co-aris­ing).” To perceive the principle of dependent co-arising is to perceive Dharma; thus it is for Bud­dhists “a subject of constant meditation.” (Robinson and Johnson 16)

“Dependent co-arising, or the Buddhist law of moral cause and effect, is expressed in its twelve precondi­tions (*nidana*) leading to . . . rebirth.” (Robinson and Johnson 16) For these, see Robinson and Johnson, p. 17.

“. . . ignorance is held to depend on aging and dying, so that the twelve preconditions form a circle . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 17)

“The logical character of the chain is shown by the affirmative and negative forms: If *B* exists, then *A* has existed. If *A* does not exist, then *B* will not exist. The relation between the links is implication. As a theory of causa­tion, this “dependent co-arising concerns the formal [17] con­comitances among things rather than their material derivation from one another. It resem­bles a medical diagnosis . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 17-18)

* + - * 1. “The third cognition is a philosophical theory . . . presented not as the fruits of speculation but as a direct perception, like the first two cognitions.” (Robinson and Johnson 13)
    1. Day dawned on Gautama, now the Buddha. [12] “The earth swayed, thunder rolled, rain fell from a cloudless sky, and blossoms fell from the heavens.” (Robinson and Johnson 12-13)

1. **the Buddha**’**s life after enlightenment**
   1. the decision to propagate the Dharma
      1. “. . . the Buddha at first thought that humanity, addicted to its attach­ments, would find it hard to understand his Dharma. . . . this would weary and vex him. Brahmā, the highest god in the popular religion of the time, read the Buddha’s mind . . . and pleaded . . . Then, out of compassion for living beings, [21] he decided to proclaim the Dharma.” (Robinson and Johnson 21-22)
      2. “The Buddha, furthermore, observes the Aryan gentleman’s etiquette . . .; he waits for an invitation.” (Robinson and Johnson 22)
      3. Gautama thought first of telling his two former teachers . . . “ But one had died a week before and one the previous night. Then “With his divine eye he saw” that the five ascetics were staying near Benares. (Robinson and Johnson 22)
      4. “The Blessed One walked by stages to Benares, about 130 miles from Gayā. Four miles north of the city, in the Deer Park at Sārnāth, the five ascetics saw him coming and resolved not to show more than the [22] minimum courtesy to the backslider who had taken to the easy life. But his charisma was too strong for them.” (Robinson and Johnson 22-23)
   2. the first sermon
      1. “Whether the Buddha actually preached on this occasion that dis­course the Canon attributes to him is . . . moot . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 23)
      2. The first sermon taught the doctrine of the Middle Way.
         1. The Middle Way “con­demned two extremes, . . . sensual indul­gence [and] [23] self-torture . . . “ [24] It is “a course of moderation in which the bodily appetites are fed sufficiently for health rather than indulged or starved.” [27] (Robinson and Johnson 23-24, 27)
         2. But “the Middle Way” can also mean the Holy Eight­fold Path (24, 27), or even the Dharma as a whole. [27] “The Middle Way is . . . a stringent discipline, a yoga . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         3. “. . . “dependent co-arising” . . . is the Middle Way in metaphys­ics, just as the Eightfold Path is the Middle Way in ethics.” (Robinson and Johnson 29)
      3. In the sermon, the Buddha declared Four Holy Truths. (Robinson and Johnson 24)
         1. “The first is the truth of duḥkha, or suffering . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 24)
            1. duḥkha (“transmigratory misery,” Robinson and Johnson 27)

Duḥkha is “found in every aspect of existence [e.g.,] Birth, illness, decay, death, conjunction with the hated, and se­par­a­tion from the dear . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 24)

Duḥkha is either “actual physical or psychological pain or . . . human insecurities and anxieties, which are present even during states of so-called happiness.” (Robinson and Johnson 28)

“Duḥkha” “means all the unsatisfactoriness of existence in the material realm. Discomfort, “dis-ease,” suffer­ing, or even German *Angst* are accept­able near-equiva­lents.” (Robinson and Johnson 28)

“The frequent charge that Buddhism is pessimistic because it declares life to be suffering is inaccurate. . . . it is never denied that there is much happiness in the world. It is only asserted that sooner or later one must suffer because of separation from dear things, that worldly happiness is yoked to suffering.” (Robinson and Johnson 28-29)

* + - * 1. the five skandhas

The five Form, feeling, conception, dispositions, and consciousness are each *anātman* (“devoid of self”). They are impermanent and so are subject to suffer­ing.

“. . . the experienced world, made up of the five skandhas (groups of material and mental forces), entails suffer­ing.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)

“. . . the five skandhas—that is, the phenomenal world-and-person—are duḥkha.” 28 Or: duḥkha is “the crucial attribute of the five skandhas . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 28)

* + - * 1. The first Holy Truth specifies duḥkha “as the object of meditation, designed to achieve eventual mastery over the skandhas. . . . meditation on suffering is a therapeutic exercise to counteract tṛṣṇā (desire) . . . “
      1. “The second Holy Truth is the truth of the source of suffering. This is thirst or craving for sensual pleasure, for coming to be, and for ceasing to be.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
      2. “The third is the truth of the cessation of suffering. When craving ceases entirely through dispassion, renunciation, and nondependence, then suffering ceases.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
         1. “. . . is it not better to live and suffer than to escape at the price of total annihila­tion?” (Robinson and Johnson 29)
         2. “In Buddhism, as in Hindu Vedānta, the pairs of opposites are not exhaustive. They are contraries rather than true contradictories. To be or become means to be or become in the realm of samsara. To . . . “not be” means to pass out of one form (and on to another) within the phenomenal world.” (Robinson and Johnson 29)
         3. “In the earliest Indian thought, *being* was the solid, reified state of things, and *nonbeing* was their subtle, unmanifested state. The meaning of the terms changed shortly before the Buddha’s time, and *being* came to mean that which endures as against that which changes, the ground or essence in contrast to its modifications.” (Robinson and Johnson 29)
         4. “The Buddha is reported to have denied the two widespread extremes of eternalism and annihilation, saying that the Enlightened One, seeing how the world arises, rejects the idea of its nonbeing, and seeing how it perishes, rejects the idea of its being.” (Robinson and Johnson 29)
         5. “The term *exist* has been used here in two sen­ses: (1) to occur at one time after arising and before ceasing and (2) to exist at all times without beginning or end. The second sense is impossible given the Buddhist position that no substance exists apart from its modifications. The Upanishad says that the clay is real and the parts are mere modifica­tions created by “naming.” The Buddhist says that no clay ever exists apart from particular forms, so the unchanging substratum is unattested and does not exist. Existence in the first sense means manifested existence, and no form of Buddhism has ever denied that commonsense things exist in this relative way . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 29)
         6. “Cessation . . . is transcendence rather than annihilation. Early Buddhism accepted the axiom that being cannot come from nonbeing and cannot go to nonbeing. Thus, it ruled out genuine annihilation. Transcendence, though, would not seem to accomodate happiness in any mundane sense. This is con­gruent with the basic pattern of early Indian negation. Suffering and happiness are paired opposites of finite extension, so to achieve perfect felicity one must rise [29] not only beyond misery but beyond ordinary bliss as well. . . . [But] the arhant [between] enlightenment and death certainly is happy.” (Robinson and Johnson 29-30)
      3. “The fourth is the truth of the path leading to cessation of suffering, the Holy Eightfold Path.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
         1. right views: “knowledge of the Four Truths.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         2. right intention: “dispassion, benevolence, and aversion to injuring others.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         3. right speech: abstaining from “the four vocal wrong deeds . . .: lying, slander, abuse, and idle talk . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         4. right action: “abstaining from the three bodily wrong deeds: taking life, taking what is not given, and sexual miscon­duct.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         5. right livelihood: “abstention from occupations that harm living beings—for example, selling weapons, liquor, poison, slaves, or livestock; butchering, hunting, fishing; soldier­ing; fraud; soothsaying; and usury.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         6. right effort

to avoid (i.e., to not cause bad thoughts to arise, e.g., a sexual fantasy)

to overcome (suppress bad thoughts)

to develop (to think of good thoughts, e.g., a corpse)

to maintain (continue to think good thoughts) (Prebish 30)

* + - * 1. right mindfulness

of body: clear consciousness of what your body is doing at the moment (which results in control of pleasure and pain, and in the preternatural gifts [divine eye, divine ear, telepathy, etc.])

of feelings: clear consciousness of emotions at the moment (which results in the recognition that you are not your emotions)

of mind: clear consciousness of mental states at the moment (which results in the recognition that you are not your mental states)

of phenomena in general: clear consciousness of phenome­na in general.

* + - * 1. right concentration

“. . . practicing meditation culminating in the four *dhyānas* or trance states.” (Prebish 30)

“. . . developing deep levels of mental calm through various techniques which concentrate the mind and integrate the personality.” (Keown 55)

* + - 1. “The Eightfold Path is equivalent to a shorter formula, the Threefold Training . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 27)
         1. wisdom (*prajñā*) (Robinson and Johnson 26)

This incorporates “right views and intention . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 27)

It “means clear understanding of the Doctrine of the kind obtained through thinking, study, and meditation.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)

* + - * 1. morality (*sīla*) (Robinson and Johnson 26)

This incorporates “right speech, action, and livelihood . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 27)

It “involves intention and the effects of one’s acts on others.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)

* + - * 1. concentration (*samādhi*) (Robinson and Johnson 26)

This incorporates “right effort, mindfulness, and con­centration.” (Robinson and Johnson 27)

It “is achieved through specific techniques appar­ently known to Gauta­ma’s two teachers but not favored by the five mendicants.” 27

* + - * 1. Prebish categorizes the steps in the Path somewhat differently:

“*sīla* or morality, steps 3, 4, 5;

“*samādhi* or concentration, steps 6, 7, 8; and

*prajnā* or wisdom, steps 1, 2.” (Prebish 31)

He notes that Buddhaghosa, a Theravādin exegete, said that “*sīla* and *samādhi* [are] the legs of Buddhism, while *prajnā* is its body.” (Prebish 31)

* + - 1. In summary, the Four Truths are: “Suffering must be thoroughly understood. The source of suffering must be forsak­en. Cessa­tion must be real­ized, made actual. The Eightfold Path must be cultivated.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
      2. The Four Holy Truths extinguish the *āsrava* (“binding influ­ences”: “sensual desire, desire to exist, wrong (or specula­tive) views, and igno­rance”) (Robinson and Johnson 27)
      3. Like mantras in brahminism or sutras in the Upani­shads, “The Holy Truths . . . were not premises for a deductive system but enunciations of *gnōsis* (“saving knowl­edge”), to be meditated upon until the hearer “catches on” and breaks through to another plane of being.” (Robinson and Johnson 28)
  1. founding the *saṇgha* (“*Saṇgha*, or order of wandering monks and nuns . . . “) (Robinson and Johnson 3)
     1. During the first sermon, one of the ascetics, Kaundinya, “acquired the pure Dharma-eye . . . [He] asked the Buddha for full ordination, which he received . . . Thus he became the first member of the Order of Monks.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
     2. “The other four mendicants took turns begging alms for the group and listening to the Buddha’s instruction. Very soon all four attained the Dharma-eye and received admis­sion to the Order.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
     3. “The Buddha then preached a discourse on the five skan­dhas [“the Second Sermon,” 30] . . . Hearing this exposition, the five monks overcame their infatuation for the five skandhas and were freed from the outflows; thus they, too, became arhants, or saints.” (Robinson and Johnson 24)
     4. “Soon Yasa, son of a rich merchant of Benares, . . . went out to Sārnāth, where the Buddha . . . taught him the Dharma suitable for laymen, namely, the merit of donation, the moral precepts, heaven, the wretchedness of sensual desires, and the blessings of forsaking them. The he preached to higher Dharma, the Four Truths, to the young man, who attained arhant-ship and then took full ordination as a monk.” (Robinson and Johnson 30)
     5. “Later, Yasa’s father took to Three Refuges (rites of entry) and thus became the first lay devotee (*upāsaka*) in the strict sense . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 30)
     6. “Yasa’s mother and sisters took the Three Refuges and became the first female devotees (*upāsikā*). The young man’s friends came, . . . until there were sixty-one arhants in the world.” (Robinson and Johnson 30)
  2. death: the Buddha died “around 480 b.c.e. . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 3)

1. **sainthood**
   1. Faith in the Buddha is a prerequisite.
      1. Gautama “insisted on his own status. . . . He did not proceed to instruct the five mendi­cants until they acknowledged his author­ity and were disposed to assent. His style in the first sermon, as in many later dis­courses, was didactic rather than demon­stra­tive—ela­borating the points but not attempting to prove them.” (Robinson and Johnson 25)
      2. “Faith in the Buddha as revealer of the Dharma is a first step on the Path. Faith is willingness to take statements provision­ally on trust, confidence in the integrity of a witness [i.e., the person affirm­ing the statements] . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 25)
      3. “The saintly disciples who possess faith in the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṇgha) . . . will never go to rebirth in hell, as animals, among the ghosts, or in any state of woe. They are “stream-winners,” lowest of the four grades of saint, and they are confirmed in the course of enlightenment. The objects of faith are not credal statements (faith is not belief) but holy persons (the Buddha and the Saṇgha) and the truth (Dhar­ma), of which their statements are just [25] expressions.” (Robinson and Johnson 25-26)
   2. prediction and confirmation
      1. “. . . prediction and confirmation played a conspicuous part even in early Buddhism . . . “ (Robinson and Johnson 26)
      2. prediction: “The Pali texts often show the Buddha declaring that such-and-such a disciple has become an arhant; has become a “nonreturner,” who will sojourn in the highest heavens until attaining nirvāṇa; has become a “once-returner,” who will attain arhant-ship on rebirth as a human being; or has become a stream-winner, who is assured of not relapsing until attaining enlight­en­ment. . . . any arhant . . . can predict a person’s destiny by reading the dispositions in the person’s mind, a feat that is possible through the superknowled­ges.” (Robinson and Johnson 26)
      3. confirmation: “Closely related to prediction is certification of attainment. The Buddha’s declaration “Kauṇḍinya has caught on!” is the first in­stance of this formal act. Identifying the saints has always been important for the Buddhist devotee, whose chief reli­gious authority is the word of an Enlightened One.” (Robinson and Johnson 26)

## Buddhism after the Buddha

@

1. **introduction**
   1. Buddhism is “sometimes mistakenly called a world religion . . .” (Hardon 86)
   2. “Buddha himself left nothing in writing, but traditions about him have come down to us in two versions, Pali and Sanskrit.” (Hardon 87)
      1. Pali is a literary language very similar to the vernacular spoken by Gautama. . . . the Pali texts represent the earlier and more accurate tradition . . .” (Hardon 87)
      2. Pali is a literary vernacu­lar of Sanskrit; the earliest Buddhist canon is written in Pali. (Robin­son and Johnson xiii)
   3. Early Buddhist traditions were oral until the first century ad, when monks in Ceylon wrote them down. The present Pali texts are palm-books based on the first-century texts. (Hardon 87)
2. ***Triratna***
   1. The *triratna* are the “three jewels” which the Buddha prescribed to his followers. (Hardon 116)
   2. The three jewels are, “I believe in the Buddha, in Dharma (law) and in the Sangha (monas­tic order).” (Hardon 116)
3. **Asoka**
   1. Asoka’s inscriptions “are conspicuously silent about the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, and even about Nirvana.” (Hardon 104)
   2. Asoka sent missionaries to Hellenistic Asia, north Africa, Nepal, Ceylon, and (Buddhist chroniclers say) Europe. (Hardon 103)
4. **Kanishka**
   1. introduced Greek and Persian elements into Buddhist literature (Hardon 104)
   2. ruled when the schism between Hinayana and Mahayana occurred (Hardon 104)
   3. convened the fourth council (Hardon 104)
   4. promoted worship of Buddhist saints’ relics (Hardon 104)
   5. promoted worship of Buddha images (Hardon 104)
   6. Monasteries taught secular subjects to temporary students. (Hardon 104)
5. **councils**
   1. Three councils supposedly codified the Pali canon. (Hardon 102)
      1. 483 bc, at Rajagaha (Hardon 102)
      2. 383, at Vesali (Hardon 102-03)
      3. during Asoka’s reign, 274-232 bc, at Pataliputra (Patna) (Hardon 103-04). Asoka convened it to reform the corrupt monasteries. (Hardon 104)
      4. But little of the Pali canon goes back that far. (Hardon 87)
   2. A fourth council supposedly codified the Sanskrit canon during Kanishka’s reign, 200-100 bc, at Kashmir. (Hardon 104)
6. **Buddhist literature**
   1. the Pali canon = scripture
      1. the *Tipitaka* (“three traditions [lit. baskets]”) (Hardon 87)
         1. *Vinaya* (discipline) [87]: regulations for the life of monks and nuns (Hardon 87-88)
            1. first part, *Patimokkha*: 227 rules for self-examination on the twice-monthly fast days (Hardon 88)
            2. prescriptions on personal behavior; though monastic, Bud­dhism has a paternalistic attitude toward the laity. (Hardon 88)
         2. *Sutta* (discourses) (Hardon 87)
            1. main source for the Buddha’s teachings (Hardon 88)
            2. mainly on *dhamma*:

in Hinduism, rule of deity or of social obligation;

in early Buddhism, the truth, the way, saving doctrine;

in later Buddhism, “any reality or essential quality which deserves to be understood.” (Hardon 88)

* + - * 1. arbitrarily divided into five sections (Hardon 88)
      1. *Abhidhamma* (doctrinal elaboration) [87] (literally, “further” or “special” dhamma [88]) (Hardon 87-88)
         1. composed after schism, so two forms exist (Hardon 88)
         2. metaphysics and elaboration of the way of life. (Hardon 88)
    1. other (not really scripture)
       1. *Khuddaka Nikaja*, collection of smaller works, often an appendix to the Exposition treatise (Hardon 88)
          1. includes the *Dhammapada* (*dhamma* “path,” *pada* “of virtue”) (Hardon 88)
    2. *Jataka*
       1. “Birth Tales” of Buddha’s earlier 550 births
       2. preserve much Indian folklore (Hardon 88)
    3. *Questions of King Milinda*: Milinda, Greek king of Bactria, ques­tions Buddhist philosopher Nagasena (Hardon 88)
  1. *Lotus of the Good Law*, “the great textbook of orthodox Mahayana . . .” (Hardon 106)

1. **chronology**
   1. 483 bc Buddha’s death (Hardon 102)
   2. 232 bc Asoka’s death (Hardon 103)
   3. c. ad 320 the Gupta dynasty begins: Hinduism waxes, Buddhism wanes. The Buddha becomes an incarnation of Vishnu. (Hardon 104)
2. **overview of sects**
   1. Hinayana
      1. “little vehicle” (i.e., can carry few across the ocean of rebirth to Nirvana) (Hardon 105)
         1. India, Thailand, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Indonesia) (Hardon 105)
         2. A common synonym is “Southern Buddhism.” (Hardon 113)
   2. Mahayana
      1. “great vehicle” (i.e., can carry many across the ocean of rebirth to Nirvana) (Hardon 105)
      2. Tibet, Nepal, China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam) (Hardon 105)
      3. A common synonym is “Northern Buddhism.” (Hardon 113)
   3. Mantrayana
      1. Mantrayana is a subtype that especially permeates Mahayana. (Hardon 105)
      2. The *mantra* (sacred text or spell) gives access to *tantras* or magic formulas. (Hardon 105)
   4. “The issue between the two systems runs deeper than the familiar difference between the active and contemplative life in Western reli­gious thought. It implies a radical dichotomy between two contradictory moral philosophies: Mahayana admits a personal deity (or deities) and therefore allows for the concept of social justice and charity under obedience to a higher power. Hinayana denies or prescinds from any god outside and above man and so logically concerns itself only with self . . .” (Hardon 116)
3. **Hinayana**
   1. “. . . Hinayanists prefer to call themselves members of the *Theravada* or “school of the elders.”“ (Hardon 113)
   2. “Present-day Mahayanists distinguish themselves from Hinayana in five ways, which may be taken as a valid description of the latter . . .” (Hardon 114)
      1. literal-mindedness
         1. “The literal-mindedness appears in their habit of regarding intellectual formulations of doctrine as valid in the ultimate sense, as being not merely conceptual symbols of reality but constituting unreality of the so-called individual being by analyzing it into its most prominent phenomena-bodily form, perception and the rest. Hanayanists proceeded to treat each of these phenomena as ultimately real, thus actually deviating from Gautama’s uncompromising nihilism. Then they equated their theory with its verbal expression and, after the oral tradition was committed to writing, refused to depart a hair’s breadth from the precise wording of the “canonical” scrip­tures.” (Hardon 114)
         2. Because of their ultra-conservatism, “the Buddhists of Burma, for instance, . . . [spent] two million dollars . . . on the so-called Sixth Buddhist Council (Rangoon, 1954-1956) in order to determine whether a certain letter of the texts was a “t” or a “d.”“ (Hardon 114)
      2. intellectualizing
         1. “Scholastic preoccupation with mental states” is another charge. [114] Philo­sophical analysis has replaced the ancient practice of inward concentration.” (Hardon 114-15)
         2. “The result of this intellectualizing has been “the almost total neglect of the practice of meditation . . .” (Sang­harakshita 235)
   3. negativism (Hardon 115)
      1. “A negative concept of Nirvana leads the Hinayanists to describe the goal of Buddhist ethics in terms of non-existence, and so to stress the present that the future life is implicitly denied.” (Hardon 115)
      2. “The same negativ­ism affects the deity. . . . Hinayana is mainly responsible for the common notion that Buddhism is a religion without God.” (Hardon 115)
      3. In Zen terminology, “Buddhists understand the universe and God as one. There is no remainder in the mathemat­ics of infinity. All life is one, therefore there cannot be God and man nor a universe and God.” (Senzaki 10)
      4. “As a result, Hinayana does not believe in prayer, and submits to no ultimate heavenly authority. . . . [It deprives] morality of its transcendental sanction . . .” (Hardon 115)
   4. “Overattachment to the merely formal aspects of monasticism” (Hardon 115)
      1. Hinayana dispenses “with the need for any ethical training other than a merely external conformity with the disciplinary pre­cepts. . . . “giving up the world” [is] regarded as synonymous with a life of idleness and inactivity. Rigid observance of the strict letter of the *Vinaya* (discipline), at least while under public surveillance, is all that is expected of the monk in most parts of the so-called Theravada world today.” (Sang­harakshita 239)
   5. “Spiritual individualism” (Hardon 116)
      1. “Spiritual individualism is the final distinguishing mark of the “lesser vehicle” type of Buddhism. 116
4. **Hinayana monasticism**
   1. A *bhikshu* (monk) “is not a priest except in the broad sense of leading prayers and assisting with such ritual as the offering of incense or the burning of candles.” (Hardon 119)
   2. “During Gautama’s lifetime, he was the head of the Order, and after his death no one has replaced him . . . At first each school of Buddhist thought had a superior and now each monastery (*Vihara*) within the sect, but his position is only one of honor, a *primus inter pares*, and not of real jurisdiction over the monk or *Bhik­shu*.” 116 Still, a *bhikshu* “may be dismissed for grave viola­tions.” (Hardon 117)
   3. “Men are normally admitted to the Order after the age of twenty . . .” (Hardon 117)
   4. “However, no vows are taken, and the monk may leave . . .” (Hardon 117)
   5. “Many men join the Order late in life . . . In Burma, Thailand and Cambodia many boys spend part of their early years in a monastery, from several weeks to a decade or more. The purpose is to have them learn the sacred writings, and habits of discipline and morality not easily taught at home. One result of the practice is to instill a deep respect from childhood for the monastic way of life.” [117] “Until modern times, the *Bhikshus* were the ordinary schoolmasters for the children . . .” But secularization of the schools, especially in Communist countries, has largely removed this function. (Hardon 118)
   6. “A certain hierarchy of advancement” exists: novice (*samarena*), monk (*bhikshu*), elder (*thera*), great elder (*mahathera*, after 20 years in the monastery). But the titles are only respectful and imply no increased authority. (Hardon 117)
   7. poverty
      1. “. . . individualpoverty is often strictly interpreted, allowing for three robes, a waist cloth, begging bowl, razor, water strainer and needle. However, . . . even the strictest monks often have other belongings.” (Hardon 117)
      2. “But the monasteries, by contrast, are wealthy land owners, in some areas owning upwards of a third of the arable land.” (Hardon 117)
      3. Begging “has a deep moral significance . . . One benefit is to teach the beggar humility, and another is to make the donor accumulate the merit of self-denial.” (Hardon 118)
      4. “On certain days the monks may go out in large groups, forming a long line and walking slowly in the streats, crying “Ho.” Each monk carries a bowl, in which people are to place money or rice. More often the monks go out in small companies of four or five. They wear broad-brimmed hats that permit the monk to see only a few feet ahead. “The donor is not to know who the beggar is, nor does the beggar observe who the donor is. . . . [Otherwise, begging] harbors in it on one side the felling of personal superiority and on the other the degrading consciousness of subserviency.” (Hardon 118)
   8. nuns (*bhikkunis*)
      1. “In the early centuries, in India, they had their own monas­teries, completely subject to the men; but as their status declined they practically ceased to exist in community life and became instead lay women disciples (*Sila-Upasika*) in countries of Hinayana Buddhism. They often lead austere lives and partic­ularly in Burma and Ceylon have been pioneers in social service fields.” (Hardon 119)
5. **Mahayana**
   1. origin: “Its own apologists claim it was started by Kanishka, in the second century b.c., when he sanctioned the addition to the canon of Sanskrit commentaries which embodied, in some systematic form, the views of a modified Buddhism that was open to all the people.” (Hardon 105)
   2. theism
      1. The “earthly Buddha had a hidden background in eternity. Out of this Buddha came as a kind of emanation. In the *Lotus of the Good Law*, . . . the Buddha is simply regarded as . . . Krishna . . . he declares that he reached enlightenment an infinite number of ages ago, has preached the law to people in an infinite number of worlds, and, although he announces final extinction, he will himself not become extinct. The Nirvana he experienced under the bodhi tree was only a pedagogical device and not real. . . . “I am the Father of the world, the self-born . . .”“ (Hardon 106)
      2. “. . . since the dominant philosophy (*Madhyamika*) in Mahayana Bud­dhism maintained that no positive statement can be made about the Absolute, that the ultimate reality was an “emptiness,” even these passages about Buddha’s divinity are subject to an orthodox, i.e., atheist, interpretation. Yet for the purposes of popular religion, he became the supreme deity, much as Krishna was for the average Hindu . . .” (Hardon 106)
   3. bodhisattvas
      1. 106 bot
6. **Mahayana monasticism**
   1. “When Buddhism was first introduced into China, the Chinese were long unfavorable to the implications of monastic life and after they admitted the *Sangha* it was basically changed in the process. Japan followed the lead of China . . . The basic difference was the creation of the bonzes in Japan and the incorporation of ancestor worship into Chinese monasticism.” (Hardon 119)
   2. “A Japanese bonze may marry, and he is often responsible for a certain quota of families (like a parish) who support a particular temple. Instead of the uniform yellow or orange robe of monks elsewhere, he wears a dark *Kimono* . . . Moreover there are thousands of female bonzes in Japan. They sometimes live in separate convent temples or they share the same monastery with the men . . .” (Hardon 119)

## On Zen Buddhism

Suzuki, Daisetz Taitaro. “An Interpretation of Zen Experience.” In *Studies in Zen*. Ed. Christmas Humphreys. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 61-84. (This essay was originally delivered to the East-West Philosophers’ Conference, 1939, and published in Moore, Charles A., ed. *Philosophy*—*East and West*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1944. 109-29.)

“. . . a feature peculiar to Zen Buddhism [is] a kind of practical philosophy [64] . . . [If one is] still on the conceptual level, [then one is] away from life itself. . . . The highest and most fundamental experiences are best communicated without words [65] . . . [One needs a] direct, non-mediated understanding of reality [66] . . . Zen-experience is absolutely unique in the whole history of human culture. [70] . . . The question in regard to being and non-being is a philosophical one dealing with abstract ideas. All our thoughts start from the opposition between being and non-being; without this antithesis no reasoning can be carried on [63] . . . the suchness of things—the antithesis of being and non-being—is beyond the ken of . . . dialectical delineation, [and] no amount of words can succeed in describing, that is, reasoning out, the what and why of life and the world. . . .

“I am not certain whether Zen can be identified with mysticism. Mysticism as it is understood in the West starts generally with an antithesis and ends with its unification or identification. If there is an antithesis, Zen accepts it as it is, and makes no attempt to unify it. . . . it has the tendency to resort to concrete objects and happenings. It does not reduce them to oneness—which is an abstraction. [74] . . . Going carefully over all these *mondo* (dialogues), where do we find traces of mysticism in Zen? The masters give no hint whatever as to the annihilation or absorption of the self in the absolute, or the casting of the world into the abyss of Nirvana. Mystics, I believe, generally agree [that God] transcends knowledge, and everything one says of Him is untrue. . . . [In mysticism] one cannot avoid using [75] the term “God” or “Godhead” or some concept corresponding to it. But this is no so with Zen. Zen avoids, not necessarily deliberately but unavoidably I believe, abstract terms. . . . Zen is neither to assert nor to deny . . . Zen is the suchness of things. The Zen masters are not mystics and their philosophy is not mysticism. [76] . . . Zen is radical realism rather than mysticism.” 79

“When you say “this” or “that”, however abstract and universal it may be, you are singling the particular “that” or “this” out of multiplicities, thus making it one with them. We cannot help this as long as we are what we are, so many “that’s”, or so many “this’s”. The only way to escape this infinite regression is actually to beat the drum, or to dance up and down with a rice-bowl, or to sing out loudly “La-la-la! [77] . . . We must remember here, however, that Zen does not mean to ignore our moral thoughts, aspirations and feelings which determine the value of life while on earth. Zen is essentially concerned with the thing most fundamental and most primary, and as to what relates to our worldly lives it leaves all this where it properly belongs. Everything that exclusively belongs, as it were, to the dualistic sphere of existence is taken up by moral philosophy, religion, political science, and other fields of human consciousness, while Zen aims at taking hold of what underlies all these phenomenological activities of the Mind.” 79

# Confucianism

## Introduction

1. **China as social laboratory**
   1. “. . . ever since Alexander the Great pushed his conquest into India in 326 b.c., India and Europe have undergone mutual influences. . .” [9] But “China’s civilization has grown up indepen­dently of our own. . . . Thus we can view China as a great social labora­tory, in which for three thousand years . . . me and women have been doing things . . . quite different . . .” [8] (Creel 8-9)
2. **peace of mind**: **a Chinese emphasis**
   1. “It is characteristic of the Chinese view . . . that it lays the emphasis not upon some divine injunction or philosophical princi­ple but upon the human individu­al—and not upon his state of grace or material well-being but upon his state of mind.” (Creel 6)
   2. A student saw a farmer watering a large vegetable garden. The farmer lifted each bucketful into the ditches by hand. The student said, “You [could] cut a wooden beam so that it is heavy behind and light in front. Using it as a lever you can lift water [more] easily . . .” “The farmer laughed scornfully and said, “. . . to produce mechani­cal devices there must be elaborate contriving . . . peace of mind is impossi­ble . . .” [*The Writings of Kwang-zze* (= Chuang-Tsŭ), trans. James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. 39-40. 1.319-20.] . . . This condemna­tion of the machine age was written in China well over two thousand years ago.” (Creel 5)
   3. In 1951, “E.M. Forster wrote: “We can­not reach social and politi­cal stability for the reason that we continue to make scientific discoveries [and] destroy the arrange­ments that were based on more elementary dis­coveries [5] . . . our race[‘]s best chance lies through apathy, uninven­tiveness, and iner­tia.”“ (Creel 5-6)
   4. “Even in the West . . . thoughtful persons have looked upon a tranquil mind as the most precious of all possessions.” (Creel 7)
      1. “In a.d. 305 Diocletian [abdicated] at the height of his power . . . and tended . . . cabbages.” (Creel 7)
      2. “Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Henry David Thoreau . . . praised the simple life.” (Creel 7)
      3. “In the nineteenth century there were . . . many . . . communities [such as] “Brook Farm” . . .” (Creel 7)
   5. “. . . those who have been outstandingly successful in our indus­tri­alized cities commonly try, as soon as they have enough money, to buy homes outside them. Very often they spend weekends working like farm laborers.” (Creel 7)
      1. “Although they have not developed a great deal of theoretical science, the Chinese have usually been eager to adopt devices that would obvious­ly contrib­ute to their well-being.” (Creel 6)
3. **early history**
   1. Hsia: “. . . although there is a great deal of tradition concerning a Hsia dynasty, as yet we have no archeological evidence . . .” (Creel 16)
   2. Shang: “Our earliest Chinese writing comes from . . . Shang kings around 1400 b.c. . . . [We have their] buildings, . . . bronze vessels, [and] woven silks . . . [but] the only writings we have from them are short inscriptions on bone and stone.” 10 “Yin is another name for “Shang.”“ (Creel 17)
   3. “. . . no actual written document can be dated with certainty before the twelfth century b.c., but the names of kings of the Shang-Yin Dynasty on the oracle bones . . . take us to the beginning of the dynasty, i.e., to about the middle of the second millenium. It is hardly likely that future finds will carry written records back before 2000 b.c. . . . nearly all basic elements of Chinese civilization penetrated from the West at different periods, so that the eminent Sinologist, C.W. [30] Bishop, can justly call Chinese culture “a civilization by osmosis.”“ (Albright 30-31)
   4. Chou: In 1122 bc, China was “conquered . . . by rude tribesmen from western China . . . led by the Chou . . .” (Creel 10)
   5. “A few years after the conquest the Chou king died. His son was crowned [but] was too young . . . [His uncle,] the Duke of Chou . . . ruled with a firm hand. . . . Once the danger was past, he substi­tuted concilia­tory mildness [thereby] organiz­ing the empire . . . After seven years he turned back the power to the king. . . . the Duke of Chou . . . has been honored in China as the founder of the “Confu­cian” tradition.” (Creel 10-11)
   6. “The justification of conquest . . . usually calls for . . . mythology . . .” (Creel 15)
      1. “Ar­cheological evidence in­dicates that the last Shang king was . . . energetic. Far from . . . neglect of religious ritual[s] [he] seems to have been very careful in per­forming them.” (Creel 16)
      2. But “The Chou said . . . the last Shang king was a drunken scoun­drel,” and that is why Heaven had withdrawn its “decree” and handed the decree over to the Chou. They said that “it had not been their desire to conquer the Shang territo­ries . . .” (Creel 15)
      3. “Many centuries earlier, they said, the Shang ruler known as T’ang the Success­ful had been appointed by Heaven, in exactly the same way, to replace the wicked last king of [the Hsia].” (Creel 16)

## Confucius (551-479 bc)

1. **social class**
   1. “Confucius was born . . . without rank . . . He had to make his own living, at tasks that [25] were more or less menial. [He] seems to have been largely self-taught. . . . These experiences undoubted­ly gave him a close view of the sufferings of the common people . . . Of most of the aristo­crats he had a very poor opinion.” (Creel 25-26)
   2. aristocracy
      1. “In China, as perhaps in most other nations, the nobility was mili­tary in origin. . . . Most of them felt that the arts of war were the only occupa­tions worthy of the serious attention of a gentleman . . .” (Creel 26)
      2. “Confucius was not a pacifist. . . . there are times when force must be used [as] a last resort . . . [But] an army could not fight effec­tively unless even its common soldiers . . . were convinced of the justice of their cause. . . . morale is dependent on moral convic­tion.” (Creel 27)
      3. “Up to his time the term *chün tzŭ*, “gentleman,” [meant] a gentle­man by birth; no one not born so could become a gentleman . . . [But Confucius asserted that] a gentleman . . . was solely a question of conduct and character.” (Creel 27)
      4. “The king was called the Son of Heaven, and feudal lords were believed to rule by virtue of the assistance of their powerful noble ancestors, who lived in the heavens and supervised the destiny of their descendants. This idea protected the intrenched privilege of the aristocracy, for no plebeian, however wise and capable, could bring to the throne such supernatural backing. He simply said nothing about it whatever. Instead, he made the title to rule wholly dependent upon character, ability, and education, without regard to birth.” (Creel 37)
2. **Confucius**’ **school**
   1. “Confucius and those who studied with him, formed the first private school devoted to higher education in Chinese history.” (Creel 27)
   2. “The sons of rulers and aristocrats had long had tutors; and men who were destined to be minor officials in the courts had studied, as apprentices of officials, with their superiors. That kind of teaching seems to have con­sisted chiefly of training in techniques . . . in the usual view such an official was expected to be simply an instru­ment of his ruler . . .” (Creel 27-28)
   3. “Confucius expected his students to play the dynamic role of revolution­izing any government in which they might take part and making it serve the needs of the people. . . .” (Creel 28)
   4. “Among his students there were, in fact, members of the nobility along with others who were very poor. . . .” (Creel 29)
   5. “Confu­cius . . . insisted upon . . . universal education.” 40 Govern­ment should be “administered by the most capable men in the country. Such capability has nothing to do with birth, or wealth, or posi­tion, but is solely a matter of character and knowledge. These are produced by proper education. Education should therefore be widely diffused, so that the most talented men in the whole popula­tion might be prepared for the busi­ness of government.” (Creel 41)
   6. “Confucius was always markedly contemptuous of eloquence . . .” (Creel 27)
3. **later life**
   1. “. . . some of them [rulers] thought Confucius was eccentric, if not danger­ous. He seems to have owed his success . . . chiefly to . . . Chi K’ang Tzŭ. . . . head of the most powerful family in the state of Lu and, as such, was the actual ruler, dominating the duke, . . . Chi . . . exemplify all the evils against which Confucius held forth. . . . Confucius [was] outspokenly critical.” (Creel 42)
   2. “Instead of becoming angry, Chi K’ang Tzŭ admired Confucius’ courage. . . . he [gave] official posts to several of his disciples . . . for two reasons. . . . it was obvious­ly to their [the nobles’] interest that their subordinates should be . . . moral men [and] . . . could be depended upon . . . second . . . His disciples proved, in actual practice, . . . effective officers. . . . at least half of the disciples who are mentioned in the *Analects* ultimately held government posts . . .” (Creel 43)
   3. Confucius “never intended to make a career of teaching. . . . He wanted nothing less than to direct government of the state.” (Creel 43)
   4. “Finally, after several of his disciples were in office, a place was found for Confu­cius . . . a sinecure to keep him quiet. When he realized this, he re­signed in disgust.” (Creel 43-44)
   5. “Although Confucius was now in his fifties, he left his native state and spent about ten years of traveling from state to state in north China, seeking a ruler who would use his philosophy in his government. He never found one.” (Creel 44)
   6. “Confucius spent the last years of his life in teaching in Lu. He was deeply disap­pointed, but not embittered . . .” (Creel 44)
   7. “Reichwein says that “Confucius became the patron saint of eigh­teenth-century Enlightment.”“ (Creel 45)
   8. “He was willing to help them [human beings] and to teach them *how* to think, but the answers they must find for themselves. He frankly admitted that he himself did not know the truth, but only a way to look for it.” (Creel 45)

## Confucius’ Thought

1. **ethics**
   1. “Confucius did not say that human nature is “good” [nor] that human nature is “bad.”“ (Creel 39)
   2. “Perhaps his most important observation about men was that they are essentially equal . . . all men . . . desire happiness . . .” (Creel 39)
   3. “Since happiness is the good and man is normally a social being, it is only a short step to Con­fucius’ principle of reciprocity. . . . Confucius once defined reci­procity as “not doing to others what one does not wish them to do to one’s self.” He stated the same idea more positively as follows: . . . “To find in the wishes of one’s own heart the principle for his conduct toward others is the method of true virtue.” . . . But most of us will [choose] a lesser immedi­ate pleasure . . .” (Creel 40)
2. ***li***
   1. Confucius had to teach his disciples court etiquette, “the rules of propri­ety.” (Creel 29)
   2. “Even in some of the so-called Confucian “clas­sics” we find the most minute dir­ections for behavior, which tell one where exactly each finger should be placed in picking up a ritual object.” (Creel 30)
   3. “. . . convention is the cement of society. If each of us ate, slept, and worked when and where we pleased and used words that we individually invented to mean what we individually desired them to mean, the world would be a difficult place to live in.” (Creel 32)
   4. “The original meaning of *li* was “to sacrifice”; it still has this sense in modern Chi­nese. It was extended to denote the ritual used in sacrifice and then to cover any sort of ceremony and the “cour­tesy” that characterized the conduct of those who made up a ruler’s court.” (Creel 30)
   5. “Confucius used the term *li* to stand for the whole complex of conven­tional and social usage, which he endowed with a *moral* connotation. . . . the obligations . . . of both courtesy and moral duty were included in *li*. To say “it is *li*” was equivalent to our “it is done,” which is often more per­sua­sive than the most detailed argu­ment.” (Creel 32)
   6. *Li* includes what the French call *l*’*huille politesse*, “the oil of politeness.”
   7. “If ministers treated one another with courtesy . . . why should they not be equally considerate toward the common people[?] . . . his dis­ciple . . . should treat all those with whom he came in contact as if he were “receiving an impor­tant guest” . . .” (Creel 30)
   8. “. . . the conscience of the individual must equally forbid him either to withdraw from society or to surrender his moral judgement to it. It is equally wrong, then, either to become a recluse or to “follow the crowd.” . . . Wherever the conven­tional practices seem to him immoral or harmful, he not only will refrain from conform­ing with them but will try to persuade others to change the convention. Necessar­ily, however, the areas in which he does this will be lim­ited. As a sensible and social man, he will accord with con­ven­tion wherever the common practice seems reason­able or harm­less.” (Creel 31)
3. **religion**
   1. God
      1. “. . . he was reluctant to discuss religious ques­tions. . . . Some have thought that he was, in fact, skeptical or even atheistic but that, for [35] lack of courage or for some other reason, he refrained from telling his disciples the truth. This seems to resolve a difficult problem too sim­ply.” (Creel 35-36)
      2. “Ti” or “Heaven” was the name of the most important deity. (Creel 15)
         1. Heaven was rarely conceived in Confucius’ day as an anthropomor­phic being. To Confucius, “Heaven” meant “a vaguely conceived moral force in the universe. . . . the idea of Heaven gave him the feeling that somehow, somewhere, there was a power that stood on the side of the lonely man who struggles for the right.” (Creel 36)
         2. “The king was called the son of Heaven . . .” (Creel 37)
   2. afterlife
      1. “The religion of the day said little about life after death and made little or no use of it as a deterrent to wickedness or a stimulus to virtue.” (Creel 36)
      2. “Confucius refused to discuss the question of life after death.” (Creel 33)
      3. Yet Creel says that the Chinese believed that ancestors (at least of nobles) “lived in the heavens and supervised the destiny of their descendants.” (Creel 37)
   3. sacrifice
      1. In the traditional religion “sacrifice was considered a barter trans­ac­tion [for] receiving . . . blessings. Confucius [36] con­demned this attitude. He believed that the tradi­tional sacri­fices should be made but in the same spirit which one is courte­ous to one’s friends . . . because it is the right thing to do. Did he believe that the spirits con­ferred blessings? We simply do not know; it is possible that he did not.” (Creel 36-37)
      2. “Human sacrifice had been very prevalent in an earlier day, and still con­tinued to some extent in his time and for centuries after. Confucius con­demned it, and there seems to be little doubt that it is the Confucians who were principally responsible for its eventual decline.” (Creel 37)
   4. religious pragmatism
      1. “. . . the modern scientist [37] . . . is not concerned with the ultimate nature of the uni­verse but with making certain observations from experience and formulating them into principles that represent preponderant probabili­ties. . . .” (Creel 37-38)
      2. “Confucius operated in much the same way. . . . one should “hear much, leave to one side that which is doubtful, and speak with due caution concerning the remainder.” . . . He said nothing about . . . a sudden flash of mystical enlight­ment; on the con­trary, he stated flatly that meditation alone does not lead to wisdom. *Ibid* 15.30. . . .” (Creel 38)
      3. “. . . to build the freedom and happiness of the human race [Confu­cius] took as his basis . . . neither theological dogma nor religious hope but the nature of man and society as he observed them.” (Creel 38)
   5. the tao
      1. The earliest mean­ing of *tao* was “road” or “path.” It is “usually translated as “the way.” (Creel 32)
      2. Before the time of Confucius the term was usually employed either in this sense or as meaning a way of conduct, which might be indiffer­ently good or bad. (Creel 32)
      3. For Confucious the goal of the *tao* “was happiness, in this life, here and now, for all mankind. . . . the Way included . . . the ethical code of government that should bring about the fullest possible measure of well-being and self-realization for every human being.” (Creel 33)
      4. “After Con­fucius’ time it was used, especially by the Taoists [as] the prim­al stuff of the universe or the totality of all things.” (33)
         1. “This later idea has very commonly been read back into Confucius’ use of the term. There are a few passages in the *Analects* that seem to make this plaus­i­ble, but these are also capable of a different interpretation. [For Confucious] the *tao* was not some­thing mystical.” (Creel 33)
4. **politics**
   1. All men desire happiness, and in so far as possible they should have it. “Thus we find him defining a good government as one that makes its people happy.” (Creel 39)
   2. “Punishment may temporari­ly compel men to do what they should, but . . . “the people will merely seek to avoid the penalties without having any sense of moral obliga­tion. But if one leads them with virtue [both by percept and by example] [Creel’s brack­ets], and depends upon *li* to maintain order, the people will then feel their moral obligation to correct themselves.”“ (Creel 40)
   3. “Confucius did not, however, demand that the heredity rulers vacate their thrones. If he had, . . . his teaching would probably have been sup­pressed. Instead, he tried to persuade the hereditary rulers that they should “reign but not rule,” handing over all administrative authority to ministers chosen for their qualifica­tions.” (Creel 41)
   4. “There was a very obvious weak point . . . The rulers would still have the power to choose their ministers . . . But there was scarcely any alternative . . . Voting was unheard of in ancient China, and the common people of his day were, in any case, both uneducated and without political experience.” (Creel 42)
   5. “. . . if a ruler’s policies are bad, and yet none of those about him oppose them, such spinelessness is enough to ruin a state.” (Creel 42)
   6. “. . . the Confucians have produced a goodly company of martyrs, who have given their lives in defense of the Way. Some of them have died as revolu­tionaries, who had taken up arms against the tyranny; this was the fate of Confu­cius’ own heir in the eighth generation. Others have died at the hand of the ex­e­cu­tion­er, for daring to obey Confucius’ injunction to criticize an erring ruler fearlessly . . .” (Creel 34)

## Confucianism after Confucius

1. **introduction**
   1. “Although Confucius had emphasized *li*, one aspect of which is ritual, he consid­ered the forms of ritual wholly secondary to the feelings it expressed, and be­lieved its value to lie in its ability to socialize the individual. . . . however, even . . . some of Confucius’ immediate disciples . . . gave almost exclusive attention to ritual forms . . .” (Creel 46)
   2. Confucianism “came to have less and less of the balance and flex­i­bili­ty of the Master and [came] to demand that the individual dedicate himself more and more com­pletely to a fixed code of action on behalf of a world he had not made.” (Creel 94)
   3. funerals
      * 1. “Some of the Confucians . . . advocated lavish funerals [and] came to specialize in conducting funerals . . . some of them made their liv­ings in this way.” (Creel 46)
        2. “Some of Mo Tzŭ’s most violent criti­cism was directed against the practice of expensive funeral and long mourning. . . . Mourn­ing for the closest relatives . . . require[d] that the individual spend three years in complete abstinence from his usual mode of life . . .” (Creel 53)
        3. “. . . Confucius personally deplored unsuitably lavish funerals, but he did advo­cate mourning for three years.” (Creel 53)
      1. “. . . most of his later disciples seem to have considered themselves to be teachers primarily.” (Creel 46)
      2. “The most successful of these teachers were the tutors of rulers. . . . They never ceased to work, as Confucius had done, to better the lot of the common people. But . . . they seem rather more concerned with the success of their personal careers . . .” (Creel 47)
      3. “. . . Mo Tzŭ and the Confucians of his time were much less concerned with teaching men to think for themselves than Confucius was, and were much more interested in setting up fixed rules for them to follow.” (Creel 52)
2. **Mo Tzŭ**
   1. Mo Tzŭ was “born not earlier than 480 b.c. . . . and died not later than 390.” (Creel 47)
   2. He “lived in the generation that immediately followed Confu­cius.” (Creel 47)
   3. Concerning the book, *Mo Tzŭ*: “chapters 1-7 are late interpola­tions . . . chapter 39 is false, and a late addition . . . Chapters 40-45 are . . . consider­ably later . . . of the seventy-one chapters that the work is supposed once to have included, eighteen are now lost.” (Creel 47)
   4. Mo Tzŭ held office in Sung [48] and was perhaps born there. (Creel 53)
   5. “Mo Tzŭ was evidently a man of relatively humble origin, as was Confu­cius. He is said to have studied at first with those who transmitted the doctrines of Confu­cius. He felt, however, that Confucianism . . . did not get at the root of the troubles that made the people miserable.” (Creel 48)
   6. “He therefore . . . founded his own school . . . [and] attacked the Confu­cians violent­ly . . .” (Creel 48)
3. **Mo Tzŭ**’**s philosophy**
   1. “When virtuous officers are numerous in a state, it is well governed; when they are few, it is governed badly. Therefore it is the business of the rulers merely to cause the virtuous to be numerous. By what method can this be done?” (Creel 48)
   2. “. . . the virtuous and excellent who are rich in virtuous conduct, versed in argu­men­tation, and experienced in the arts of the Way . . . must be enriched, given rank, [and] respected . . .” (Creel 49)
   3. “. . . rulers should turn over the administration of their govern­ments to men of virtue and capacity. But, if so, why should they not turn over their thrones as well? . . . Confucius did go so far as to say that one of his disciples might properly occupy a throne . . . he did not directly assail . . . the heredity of the rulers . . . re­bel­lion . . . would have made trouble . . .” (Creel 49)
   4. the argument from antiquity
      1. “Tradition Chinese history records a long line of early emperors who are sup­posed to have reigned before establishment of the first dynasty, during which the third millennium b.c. . . . these early emperors are not mentioned in any docu­ment . . . earlier than . . . Confucius.” (Creel 49)
      2. “Although Confucius mentions Yao, Shun, and Yü in the *Analects* as worthy emper­ors of old, no genuinely early passage in the *Analects* states that they did not acquire their thrones in the usual hereditary manner. In the book of *Mo Tzŭ*, however, we find a new note as follows: . . . “When the sage-kings of old governed the world, those whom they enriched and ennobled were not necessarily their relatives, or the rich and noble, or the good-looking. Thus Shun had been a farmer . . . a potter . . . a fisherman . . . and a peddler. But Yao discovered him [and] . . . made him emperor . . .”“ (Creel 50)
      3. “. . . these traditions . . . represent a logical next step from the doctrines of Confu­cius . . .” (Creel 50)
      4. “As we follow the development of Chinese philosophy, we shall see more and more of the argument from antiquity. The emphasis on precedent was by no means new. . . . the Chou conquerors stress[ed] . . . following the ways of “the former wise kings” . . . Confucius made some reference to antiqui­ty, but . . . almost never justified a course merely on the basis of precedent.” (Creel 51)
      5. Confucians in Mo Tzŭ’s day wanted to set up fixed rules for men to follow. “By referring their fixed rules to antiquity, Chinese philosophers conferred upon their doctrines the greatest prestige . . . Antiquity also . . . provided a blank space . . . rival schools said in effect: “What you say is no doubt quite true, but when we go still farther back we find.”“ (Creel 52)
   5. on war
      1. “In deploring war, Mo Tzŭ was at one with the Confucians. . . . on one occasion the capital of Sung was besieged until the people were reduced to cannibalism . . .” (Creel 53)
      2. “Mo Tzŭ attacked the problem of war in two ways.” (Creel 53)
         1. “The first [53] was to try to persuade the rulers of states that war was unprofit­able.” (Creel 53-54)
            1. “. . . there were originally more than ten thousand Chin­ese states, while now all but four have been swallowed up . . . “a physician who treats more than ten thousand patients, and cures only four . . . can hardly be called a good physician” . . .” (Creel 54)
            2. “Territories that are conquered, he points out, are often laid waste in the process. . . . Conquerors are, in fact, great thieves, who steal not because they need more territory but because they are kleptomaniacs.” (Creel 54)
         2. Second, “Mo Tzŭ . . . gave a great deal of attention to the practical tech­niques of defensive warfare . . . we find chapters with such titles as “The Fortification of a City Gate,” “Defence against Scaling-Ladders,” “Defence against Inunda­tion” . . .” (Creel 55)
   6. universal love
      1. Confucians and familial piety: “. . . the Confucians . . . empha­sized love of one’s parents and relatives and said that, by analogy with this, one should love all men, though in lesser degree. This putting of the family first has always . . . been character­istic of Chinese culture. It is responsible for some of its greatest strengths and for some of its chief weaknesses, such as nepotism.” (Creel 56)
      2. “Mo Tzŭ saw only the weaknesses of family loyalty and condemned it utterly.” (Creel 56)
      3. He argued in the opposite direction: “Suppose that everyone in the world prac­ticed univer­sal love, so that everyone loved every other person as much as he loves himself. Would anyone be lacking in filial devotion?” (Qtd. from Mo Tzŭ. *The Ethical and Political Works of Mo­tse*. Trans. Mei Yi-pao. London: 1929. 79-80.) (Creel 56)
      4. “The Chinese term he uses is *ai* . . . for which “love” is the only possible transla­tion. [However,] his “love” is not the emotion­al love of Christianity or, for that matter, of Confu­cianism. For, unlike the Confucians, Mo Tzŭ disapproves of emotion and at one point says that all emotions must be abol­ished [and that] “uni­versal love” is . . . purely a thing of the mind.” (Creel 56)
   7. “. . . Mo Tzŭ’s famous doctrine of utilitarianism.” (Creel 57)
      1. “. . . everyone does what he finds useful in attaining some purpose . . .” (Creel 57)
      2. “What . . . are the ends for Mo Tzŭ’s utility? He seems to believe five goods to be especially desirable, to wit: enriching the country, increas­ing the population, bringing about good order, preventing aggressive war, and obtaining blessings from the spirits.” (Creel 57)
         1. “. . . as recently as three hundred years ago, there were only one-seventh as many Chinese as today.” (Creel 57-58)
         2. “All must marry, whether they wish to or not, in order to augment the popula­tion.” (Creel 58)
      3. “Nothing not useful in Mo Tzŭ’s terms was to be tolerated.” (Creel 58)
         1. “Joy and anger, pleasure and sorrow, love [and hate] [Creel’s brackets], are to got rid of.” (*Ethical and Political Works* 224) 58
         2. “Houses . . . should have no useless decoration. . . . He was particu­lar­ly opposed to music . . .” (Creel 58)
      4. “He advocated a rigidly disciplined organization of the state, cemented by what he called the principle of “identification with the superior”—by which he seems to have meant an identifica­tion of will and interest. [58] . . . “Those who identify them­selves with their superiors, and do not form cliques with their subor­di­nates, shall be re­warded by their superiors and praised by their subordinates.”“ (*Ethi­cal and Political Works* 56-57) (Creel 58-59)
   8. on religion
      1. “. . . whereas religious ritual, and even religious belief, were compatible with but in no sense essential to the philosophy of Confucius, Mo Tzŭ’s whole scheme of things demanded that Heaven and the spirits intervene in human affairs to punish wrongdo­ing. Thus we find Mo Tzŭ saying: “The Confu­cians consider Heaven to be without intelligence and the spirits of the dead to be without consciousness. This displeases Heaven and the spirits, and is enough to ruin the world.”“ (*Ethical and Political Works* 237) (Creel 60)
      2. “. . . for every murder of an innocent man, there is certain to be retribution. [60] . . . Who sends down retribu­tion? Heaven. . . . Thus I know that heaven loves the peo­ple.”“ (*Ethical and Political Works* 169) (Creel 60-61)
      3. Mo Tzŭ “cites a number of instances, from relatively recent history, in which spirits (usually those of the dead) are supposed to have avenged wrongs or rewarded virtue.” (Creel 61)
      4. “. . . he did not say that men might prosper merely by offering sacrifice. On the contrary, he insisted that only the sacri­fices of the virtuous would meet with favor.” (Creel 61)
   9. on dialectics
      1. “At about the same time . . . thinkers . . . were developing dispu­ta­tion to a high degree. They . . . remind one sometimes of the Greek Sophists . . . they are com­monly grouped together under the title of “the school of names” or “the dialecti­cians.”“ (Creel 63)
      2. The dialecticians “considered the problem of univer­sals, pon­dered the nature of such qualities as “hardness” and “white­ness,” and speculated on the acquisition of knowl­edge through the senses. [Yet] Only one portion of one of their works is pre­served . . . The reason for this seems to be that . . . the Chinese in general have been rela­tively little interested in such things [logic and dia­lectics].” (Creel 64)
      3. “The Chinese written language does not normally distinguish singular and plural, or active and passive voice; in these and other ways it may be ambiguous, if it is used carelessly or with pitfalls.” (Creel 64)
      4. “Although the later Moists criticized the dialecticians, they like Mo Tzŭ were interested in disputation. They appear, too, to have esteemed it as a means of reaching the truth . . .” (Creel 64)
4. **Mo Tzŭ**’**s school**
   1. “Since Mo Tzŭ believed that the state should be organized in rigidly disci­plined hierarchy, it is not remarkable that he organized his school in the same way. This was the more natural because of the military functions that the group sometimes per­formed. Military functions sometimes require, and always excuse, the exercise of arbitrary powers by those in authority.” (Creel 61)
   2. “After the time of Mo Tzŭ, his school was continued for several centu­ries. His great power as leader of the group was handed down to a series of individ­uals, who apparently held it for life. This leader could apparently enforce the death penalty against his followers. It is recorded that one of these leaders was entrust­ed with the function of defending a small state, and that when he was unable to do so he commit­ted suicide. At the same time, one hun­dred and eighty-three of his followers killed themselves with him.” (Creel 62)
   3. “In its early centuries the Moist school flourished and seems to have been a principal rival of Confucianism. In the uprisings against Ch’in totalitari­anism in 209 b.c., both Confucians and Moists flocked to the standard of revolt as soon as it was raised. We find the Moists men­tioned as a numerous group as late as the first century b.c. Shortly thereafter they disappear from sight, and interest in Mo Tzŭ seems to have become virtually extinct until it was revived in relative­ly recent times.” (Creel 65)
   4. “It is not difficult to account for the fact that Mo Tzŭ’s doc­trines had little lasting appeal for the Chinese people.” (Creel 65)
      1. First, there is his “authoritarian system of “identification with the superior” and the dogmatic tone of his statements . . .” (Creel 65)
      2. “Mo Tzŭ’s condemnation of all pleasure, and even of all emotion, runs counter to the normal Chinese attitude, which is to main­tain balance in all things and to regard pleasure in reasonable modera­tion as good, not evil.” (Creel 66)
   5. “He seems to have devoted his life to a sincere effort to help his fel­low-men, without any hope of selfish reward. Yet he tried to justify all his actions and all his philosophy by reason alone. . . . Mo Tzŭ’s intellect, however, was inferior [66] [and his] argu­ment was often singu­larly illogical.” (Creel 66-67)
5. **the hundred schools**
   1. “. . . the varieties of philosophical opinion that were prevalent in China in the fourth century b.c. . . . were so numerous that the book of *Chuang Tzŭ* called them “the hundred schools.”“ (71)
   2. “Confucius was the first private teacher and scholar of whom we have any clear know­ledge in Chinese history; but his example and the conditions of the times quickly produced a host of emulators, who traveled from state to state seeking to sell their abilities and their philoso­phies.” (Creel 68)
   3. “After Confucius had been dead for a century and more, there were many schol­ars who lived at the courts of rulers, great and small, as “guests” rather as officials.” (Creel 68)
      1. “A Han dynasty work tells us that . . . men like Mencius “re­ceived the salaries of high officials and, without having to undertake the responsibil­i­ties of office, deliberated upon affairs of state.”“ (Huan K’uan, *Yen T*’*ieh Lun* 2.13*b*) (Creel 69)
      2. “Many of these “guests,” it should be noted, were military men, but many also were philoso­phers.” (Creel 69)
      3. “By the fourth century b.c. a number of different philosophies were current.” 70 Each guest claimed that his philosophy, and it alone, held the key to gaining control of the entire Chinese world.” (Creel 69)
   4. “Apparently, the schools of [Yang Chu, Mo Tzŭ, and the] Confucians were the most popular in the time of Mencius.” (Creel 70)
   5. “Another group is called the “agricultural school. [70] . . . They maintained that “a wise and virtuous ruler tills the soil together with his people in order to get his food; along with governing, he cooks his own meals morning and night.”“ (*Works of Mencius* 3(1)4.­1-6) (Creel 71)
6. **Mencius** (c 372- 289 bc [72])
   1. Mencius taught during the period of the hundred schools.
   2. Mencius’ traditionalism
      1. “Confucius seems to have been the only very important philosopher living in his world. Mencius, however, belonged to one philosophi­cal school among many . . .” (Creel 74)
         1. “. . . whereas in the *Analects* Confucius several times says frankly that he is mistaken, Mencius seems never to have openly admitted that he was wrong.” (Creel 74)
         2. “The discussions of Confucius with his disciples . . . were devoted . . . to an attempt to arrive at and to examine the truth. The discussions of Mencius, on the other hand, are largely taken up with the enterprise of defending and pro­pagating the true doctrine . . .” (Creel 74)
      2. “It is obvious that tradition played a much greater part in the thinking of Mencius than it had in that of Confucius. A part of the reason was that the Confucian school had by this time developed a large body of tradition . . . Confucius’ method, which consisted of incessant hard thinking together with the willingness to re-examine even one’s basic premises, is so rigorous that no consider­able group of men has ever espoused it for very long.” (Creel 84)
      3. “Here we have to do with a philosophy that is presented as a package, labeled “the ways of antiquity,” to be accepted or rejected in a piece. Such a philosophy tends to discourage criticism and initiative on the part of the individual and to be inflexi­ble and very difficult to adapt to new situations. Confu­cian orthodoxy, as contrast­ed with the thought of Confucius, has had these shortcomings.” (Creel 85)
      4. “Documents had been forged in China at an earlier time, but the golden age of forgery seems to have begun shortly after the death of Confucius. In the several centuries that followed his death a flood of such materials was produced, and many of them have found a place in the sacred canon of the classics. Most of these works seem to have been produced . . . to reinforce the views of Confucian ortho­doxy. . . . There is no indication, however, that Mencius himself was a forger. On the contrary, he protested . . .” (Creel 85-86)
   3. the *Mencius*
      1. The *Mencius* “is undoubtedly one of the great books of the world’s litera­ture.” (Creel 71)
      2. “The *Mencius* is a lengthy book . . . Although it has been said that Mencius himself wrote the book, it seems certain that it must have been put together by his disciples. Unlike most early Chinese books, it involves very few problems of textual authen­ticity.” (Creel 71)
      3. “. . . it is difficult to derive from it any clear picture of Men­cius’ methods as a teach­er.” (Creel 72)
   4. Mencius’ office
      1. “The principal aim of Mencius seems to have been to find office as chief minister of a state . . . he never achieved a position . . . [However,] he held a nominally higher office, in the state of Ch’i, than Confucius ever attained in Lu.” (Creel 73)
      2. “It is doubtful that Mencius was ever a regular administrative official. Apparently he was a “guest minister,” a sort of consul­tant on governmental affairs who had neither the duties nor the authority of the ordinary minis­ter.” (Creel 73)
   5. scholar versus aristocrat
      1. “. . . No one has more eloquently asserted the claim of the scholar and the man of virtue to a place of honor above that which is conferred by the pomp of princes.” (Creel 76)
      2. “This exalting of the scholar . . . had to do, very definitely, with the struggle for influence and power that was going on between the scholars and the aristocrats.” (Creel 77)
      3. “. . . the teacher. In China this is a position of great respect; and we find Men­cius saying that a ruler’s tutor stands toward him in the relation of a father or an older brother, and thus of a superior rather than a subject.” (Creel 77)
      4. “Mencius believed that it was far beneath the dignity of a scholar like himself to be summoned to the presence of a ruler.” (Creel 78)
      5. “. . . he says that for the king to interfere with the administration of such officials [Confucian scholars] is as if he were to try to tell a skilled jade-carver how to carve jade.” (Creel 79)
      6. “Elsewhere, however, we find Mencius emphasizing the importance of pleasing the great families that wield hereditary power.” (Creel 79)
      7. “. . . Mencius, in this connection, may have been importantly in­flu­enced by the fact that he himself is said to have been of noble ancestry and that he habitually moved in aristocratic circles.” (Creel 79)
      8. “Mencius was interested in the hierarchy of feudalism, and we occasion­ally find later Confucians defending feudalism as an institution. Undoubted­ly, these ideas have been read back into Confucius himself and have contrib­uted to the idea [80] that Confu­cius was a strong advocate of the feudal system, although it is very difficult to find valid evidence for that position.” (Creel 80-81)
      9. Mencius was noted for “the audacious courage with which he accused them [the rulers of his day] of crimes and declared them deserving of punishment. “Is there any differeance,” he asked the king of Liang, “between killing a man . . . with a blade and with one’s manner of govern­ing?” “No,” the king said. Then Men­cius told him, since his manner of governing was causing some of his people to starve to death, the king was in fact a murderer.” (Creel 80)
   6. political philosophy
      1. “Perhaps more than any other early Chinese philosopher, . . . We find him standing back and thinking about what a state ought to be and could be, and then propos­ing a concrete program to make it so.” (Creel 81)
      2. “Mencius was strongly opposed to war as such. . . . He did, however, leave a loophole in favor of righteous wars.” (Creel 81)
      3. “Few philosophers have laid more stress than Mencius did on economics. It is not enough, he insisted, for a ruler to wish his people well; he must take practical economic measures to assure their welfare. . . . A scheme very dear to Mencius’ heart was one whereby a sizable square of land was to be divided, like a checker­board, into nine equal plots. Each of the eight plots on the periphery was to be given to a family, while all the eight families were to cul­tivate the square in the center in common. The produce of the center square would go to the government and constitute their taxes. At the same time, these eight families would form a commu­nity with close relations of friendship and mutual aid. Mencius said that this system had been practiced by virtuous rulers of former times. Scholars are divided as to whether this is really true or whether the scheme is one that was imagined by Mencius, who attributed it to the past in order to gain for it the sanction of tradi­tion.” (Creel 82)
      4. “Some of Mencius’ economic measures sound very modern. He advo­cated divers­ified farming, with each farm family planting some mulberry trees to raise silk­worms and keep “five brood hens and two brood sows.” Even more remark­able, he advocated conservation of fisheries and of forests.” (Creel 82)
      5. “. . . he advocate[d] . . . a system of public schools . . . the earliest mention of a public school system in Chinese history. Here again Mencius says that this plan was carried out by previous dynasties . . .” (Creel 83)
      6. “Mencius groups all such precedents together under the term *wang tao*, “the kingly way” or “the way of a true king.” By this he denoted the prac­tices of certain good kings of the past, which should be taken as a model . . .” (Creel 83)
      7. “. . . if a ruler fails to bring about the welfare of the people he should be re­moved.” 83 Mencius “quoted the saying, “Heaven sees and hears as my people see and hear.” . . . Here Mencius makes even the throne of a hereditary monarch the gift of the people.” (Creel 84)
      8. Mencius said that it was only because he was not designated heir by the ruler that Con­fucius did not sit upon the Chinese throne. “From this we can see how much exaltation of Confucius had devel­oped in a single centu­ry.” (Creel 84)
   7. anti-utilitarianism
      1. “We saw that one of Mo Tzŭ’s principal arguments for a course of action was its utility or profitableness. Mencius argues against this criterion.” (Creel 86)
      2. Yet “He does not say that one must be benevolent and righteous because it is a categorical imperative, nor because it will glorify the deity. Instead, he points out that action which has as its sole aim material profit will in the long run not even achieve that, for it will result in anarchy and civil war. What Mencius is preach­ing here is really a doctrine of enlightened selfishness--which is, of course, quite utilitarian.” (Creel 87)
      3. “. . . thoroughly utilitarian considerations will usually be found to underlie all of the ethics of Confucianism.” (Creel 87)
   8. human nature is good
      1. “Mencius believed . . . that human nature is good.” (Creel 87)
      2. “Man’s nature is endowed with feelings which impel it toward the good. . . . All men have the feelings of sympathy, shame and dislike, reverence and respect, and recogni­tion of right and wrong. . . . Men differ . . . because . . . they are unable fully to develop their natural powers.” (Creel 88)
      3. ““Suppose,” he says, “that a man suddenly sees a little child about to fall into a well. He will, no matter who he may be, immediately experience a feeling of horror and pity. This feeling will not be the result of a desire to gain the favor of the child’s parents, or to be praised by his neighbors and friends.”“ (Creel 88)
      4. “. . . for Mencius, as for Confucius, the good is that which is most fully congru­ent with human nature. Food that gives one a stomach ache is not “good” food.” (Creel 88)
      5. “Thus when Mencius says that human nature is good he is in some degree speaking tautologically, because in the last analysis he seems to mean, by the “good,” that which is in harmony with human nature. For Mencius, therefore, the relationship between ethics and psychology is very intimate.” (Creel 89)
   9. ethics
      1. “As a psychologist Mencius had one great advantage; the idea of a separate soul and body did not hover in the background of the minds of the men of his day, as it broods over much of even our most scientific thinking. Mencius did, however, have a kind of psycho­logical dualism, between what we may call the “emotional nature” and the “rational faculties” (these are only very rough equivalents for Mencius’ terms). . . . control should rest with the rational faculties.” (Creel 89-90)
      2. “. . . the emotional nature . . . is *not* to be repressed. He considers that if proper­ly channeled the emotions are, far from being im­moral, the greatest of moral forces.” (Creel 90)
      3. “. . . Mencius asserted that only the educated man could be depended upon to remain virtuous in the fave of economic privation.” (Creel 91)
      4. “By “education” Mencius seems chiefly to have meant moral cultiva­tion. This cultivation was aimed at preserving one’s original nature intact. . . . Mencius recog­nizes that the innate tendencies to morality, what he calls the “begin­nings” of the virtues, must be cultivated and developed in order to reach their full effective­ness. This development does not come suddenly, in a moral rebirth or a flash of enlight­enment. Rather it is a result of one’s entire conduct, in one’s daily life. Thus Mencius says that the proper cultivation of one’s emotional nature can be achieved only by the constant “accumulation of righteousness.” . . . one must always act morally because everything one does will react, for good or ill, on the development of one’s charac­ter.” (Creel 91)
      5. “Since all men are good, and equally good, at birth, why do some become evil? Mencius employs a simile like one used by Jesus and points out that . . . one sows identical grains in different places . . . Men, similarly, differ because of the envi­ron­ment in which they develop. It is important, therefore, to see to it that this en­vir­onment is as good as possible. . . . extreme poverty leaves scars on men’s minds and hearts as surely as it emaciates their bodies.” (Creel 92)
      6. “Thus far there is little in Mencius’ philosophy of human nature and in his psychol­ogy that is not in essential harmony with the ideas of Confucius. It is Mencius’ great contribution that he took up and developed much that was merely suggested by, or implicit in, the sayings of the first Master. Confucius, however, seems never to have said explicitly that human nature is good.” (Creel 92)
   10. incipient Taoism?
       1. “Mencius . . . said: “All things are complete within us.” In other words, man’s inborn nature not only is perfect but is a sort of microcosm which represents or contains the essence of all things. From this it follows logically that, as Mencius says, “he who completely knows his own nature, knows Heaven.” The meaning of these passages has been debated endlessly in Chinese literature for two thou­sand years, and it is unnecessary for us here to try to determine whether Mencius meant that one may, by introspection alone, learn the nature of the world about him, or whether he merely meant that one can in this way learn the principles of morality, which are all that greatly matters.” (Creel 92-93)
       2. “In either case, Mencius was here breaking (unconsciously, no doubt) with Confu­cius, who had explicitly branded meditation as inadequate and urged upon his students the importance of wide observation and critical examination of what went on in the world.” (Creel 93)
       3. “. . . a few other passages in the *Mencius* . . . may not be genuine utter­ances of Mencius but, instead, have been interpolated into the text. In any case they approach the type of thinking that is called “Taoist” . . .” (Creel 93)

# Taoism

## Yang Chu

1. **introduction**
   1. “The aristocrats . . . wanted to exercise despotic control over the individ­ual . . .” (Creel 94)
   2. “Between the princes and the philosophers, a man had little chance to call his soul his own. . . . it was to be expected that some of them would rebel . . .” (Creel 94)
   3. “. . . even earlier than Confucius . . . there are a few passages . . . that may refer to hermits. In the original text of the classic called the Book of Changes we find mention of “one who does not serve either a king or a feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit values his own affairs.”“ (Creel 95)
2. **Yang Chu**
   1. “We find this revolt in unmistakable form about a century after the death of Confucius [in the person of] Yang Chu. About his ideas, Mencius tells only this: “Yang takes the position of selfishness. Though he might benefit the whole world by merely plucking out one of his hairs, he would refuse to do it.” A Han dynasty work says that the philosophy of Yang Chu advocated “preserving the integrity of one’s personality, and not allowing one’s self to become en­snared by things.”“ (Creel 95)
   2. “There is a much more full account, supposedly quoting the words of Yang Chu himself, that appears as a chapter of the Taoist work called *Lieh Tzŭ*. Unfortu­nately, the *Lieh Tzŭ* is a book that is now generally recognized to be a forgery, probably perpetrated many centuries later than the time of Yang Chu, who is believed to have lived in the fourth century b.c. [Nevertheless,] it contains the kind of things we should expect Yang to have said. [95] The *Lieh Tzŭ* tells us [that] Yang Chu said:
      1. “No man lives more than a hundred years, and not one in a thou­sand that long. And even that one spends half his life as a helpless child or a dim-witted oldster. And of the time that remains, half is spent in sleep . . . [And even then,] We waste ourselves . . . scheming to contrive that somehow some rem­nant of reputa­tion shall outlast our lives.” 96
      2. “The men of old knew that life comes without warning, and as easily goes. They denied none of their natural inclina­tions, and re­pressed none of their bodily desires. They never felt the spur of fame. They sauntered through life gathering its plea­sures as the impulse moved them. Since they cared nothing for fame after death, they were beyond the law.” 96
      3. The benevolent sage dies just as dead as the wicked fool. Alive they were Yao and Shun [[two sage-kings]; dead, they are just rotten bones. Alive they were Chieh and Chou [two cruel ty­rants]; dead, they are just rotten bones. [96] . . . Then let us make the most of these moments of life that are ours. We have no time to be concerned with what comes after death.”“ (Creel 95-97)
   3. “Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes . . . made some observations that have some remarkable sim­i­larities to those of Yang Chu . . .” (See Howe, *Holmes-Pollock Letters* 2.22.) (Creel 97)

## Contemplative Taoism: The *Lao Tzŭ* and *Chuang Tzŭ*

1. **when written**
   1. The *Lao Tzŭ* and *Chuang Tzŭ* are “the oldest Taoist works . . .” (Creel 97)
   2. “Lao Tzŭ” “should perhaps be translated as “Old Master.” Lao Tzŭ is alleged to have been a somewhat older contempo­rary of Confucius [97] . . . Very few critical scholars any longer believe that Lao Tzŭ, if there was such a person, lived as early as Confucius. . . . There is no mention of Lao Tzŭ in any book until we come to a much later time. The book of *Lao Tzŭ* refers constant­ly to ideas that were unknown at the time of Confucius . . . even if there was such a man, [he did not write] the whole book of *Lao Tzŭ*.” (Creel 97-98)
   3. “The *Lao Tzŭ* is also known as the *Tao Tê Ching* . . . “The Canon of the Way and of Virtue.” This is a small book . . . in a terse style that often seems deliber­ately obscure. . . . in different sections it espouses different and sometimes contradictory doctrines. . . . it is a composite work, . . . varying from . . . the time of Confucius down to . . . the second century b.c. . . . it could not have been written earli­er than the fourth century b.c.” (Creel 98)
   4. “. . . Chuang Tzŭ, “Master Chuang,” [was] born in . . . Honan Province, and . . . held a minor administrative post there . . . [He] died shortly after 300 b.c.” (Creel 99)
   5. “Some scholars think they detect a multi­plici­ty of author­ship even within individ­ual chapters [of the *Chuang Tzŭ*]. Here, as in the case of the *Lao Tzŭ*, we find conflicting points of view. Some scholars believe that this text may not have reached its present form until as late as the second century b.c.” (Creel 99)
2. **Tao**
   1. “In the earliest Taoism . . . there is the same disillusion . . . that we saw in the thought of Yang Chu. [99] . . . Such pessimis­tic passages are, however, rather rare. For the Taoists have discov­ered *nature* and are amazed and fascinated by it.” (Creel 100)
   2. Thus many Taoists “are recluses, fishermen, or farmers, living apart, in commu­nion with nature.” (Creel 100)
   3. “Thus the *Chuang Tzŭ* tells us: “The universe is the unity of all things. If one once recognizes his identity with this unity, then the parts of his body mean no more to him than so much dirt, and death and life, end and beginning, disturb his tran­quility [100] no more than the succession of day and night.” (Creel 100-01)
   4. “According to the *Lao Tzŭ*, . . . “though one dies, he is not lost” from the universe.” (Creel 101)
   5. The *Chuang Tzŭ* says, “When life comes, it is because it is time for it to do so. When life goes, this is the natural sequence of events. To accept with tranquili­ty all things that happen in the fullness of their time, and to abide in peace with the natural se­quence of events, is to be beyond the disturb­ing reach of either sorrow or joy.” (Creel 101)
   6. “Taoism is . . . a nature mysticism. . . . The Christian or Moham­medan mystic seeks communion and union with God. The Taoist seeks to become one with Nature, which he calls the *Tao*.” (Creel 101)
   7. “We have seen that before Confucius the term *tao* usually meant a road, or a way of action. Confucius used it as a philosophical concept, standing for the right way of action—moral, social, and political. For Confucius, however, the *Tao* was not a meta­physi­cal concept. For the Taoists it became one. They used the term *Tao* to stand for the totali­ty of all things [101] . . . The *Tao* was the basic stuff out of which all things were made. It was simple, formless, desire­less, without striving, supremely content. It existed before Heaven and Earth. In the course of the generation of things and institu­tions, the farther man gets away from this primal state, the less good, and the less happy, he is.” (Creel 101-02)
   8. “There was a time when the wisdom of the men of old was perfect. When? When they were not yet conscious that things existed. Next, they knew that there were things, but did not attempt to distinguish them. Next, they distin­guished things but did not try to label some ‘right’ and others ‘wrong.’ As soon as such judgments were passed, the integrity of the *Tao* was violated and prejudice came into being.” (*Chuang Tzŭ* I.185-86) (Creel 107)
3. ***tê***
   1. “. . . the *Lao Tzŭ* is also known as the *Tao Tê Ching* . . . When *tê* means “virtue,” in the Confu­cian sense, the Taoists condemn it. But as they themselves use the term it refers to the natural, instinc­tive, primitive quali­ties or virtues, as opposed to those enjoined by social sanction and educa­tion.” (Creel 102)
   2. “Since nothing is certain, it would be ridiculous to become so in­tent on success that one strove with fanatical zeal to attain it. In fact, if one tries too hard, he is certain not to suc­ceed.” (Creel 104)
   3. “. . . the *Chuang Tzŭ* notes that an archer who is shooting for . . . an earthen­ware dish will noncha­lantly display his best skill. . . . Offer a prize of gold, and he will become tense, and his skill will desert him entire­ly.” (*Chuang Tzŭ* 2.16) (Creel 105)
   4. “The operations of Heaven and Earth proceed with the most ad­mira­ble order, yet they never speak. The four seasons observe clear laws, but they do not discuss them. All of nature is regulated by exact principles, but it never ex­plains them. The sage penetrates the mystery of the order of Heaven and Earth, and compre­hends the principles of nature. Thus the perfect man does nothing, and the great sage [105] originates nothing; that is to say, they merely contemplate the uni­verse.” (*Chuang Tzŭ* 2.60-61) (Creel 105-06)
   5. ““Do nothing,” *wu wei*, is a famous injunction of the Tao­ists. But does it mean simply to do nothing at all? Evi­dently not. The sense is rather that of doing nothing that is not natural or sponta­ne­ous. The important thing is not to strain in any way.” (Creel 106)
      1. “. . . after years of practice [a butcher cuts up an ox] almost by instinct . . .” (Creel 106)
      2. *Chuang Tzŭ* (no citation): “my senses stand still, and my spirit acts as it wills.” (Creel 106)
      3. “Taoism emphasizes this unconscious, instinctive, spontaneous element.” (Creel 106)
   6. *Lao Tzŭ* (81): “speak as little as possible . . . The *Tao* that can be talked about is not the eternal *Tao*. Those who know do not talk and those who talk do not know.” (Creel 107)
      1. *Lao Tzŭ* (81): “True words are not flowery, and flowery words are not true. The good man does not argue, and those who argue are not good. The wise are not learned, and the learned are not wise.” (Creel 107)
   7. *Chu­ang Tzŭ* (1.300-303): “The Spirit of the Clouds, traveling to the east on a gentle breeze, happened to meet with Chaos . . . Chaos said, “I drift here and there, with no idea of what I seek; moved only by the impulse of the moment, I have no idea where I am going. I wander aimless­ly, regarding all things without prejudice or guile . . .” [108] said the Spirit of the Clouds, “so what shall I do?” “Alas,” Chaos said, “this idea of ‘doing’ is what makes the trouble. Desist! . . . Nourish your mind. Rest in the position of doing nothing, and things will take care of them­selves. Relax your body, spit out your intelli­gence, forget about principles and things. Cast yourself into the ocean of exis­tence, unshackle your mind, free your spirit, make yourself as quiet as an inanimate thing. . . . Because they [inanimate things] lack knowl­edge, they never leave the state of primal simplicity. But let them once become con­scious, and it is gone! Never ask the names of things, do not seek to spy out the workings of their na­tures, and all things will flourish of them­­selves.”“ (Qtd. in Creel 109)
   8. “Like all true mystics, these Taoist philosophers found their satis­­faction in the mystical experience itself. . . . They represent what we may call the “contempla­tive” aspect of Taoism. Such dedicated mystics are rare, and it is doubtful that there were many of them even among the early Taoists.” (Creel 109-10)
4. **some conclusions**
   1. “One can hardly imagine a world actually governed [113] . . . accord­ing to the completely laissez-faire program of the Taoist philoso­phers. [But] It seems doubtful that they expected to be taken altogether seriously. They were poking fun, acting as gadflies . . .” (Creel 113-14)
   2. “The quest for longevity and for immortality came to have a prom­inent place in the history of Taoism, and the search for an elixir of life led to the development of a considerable Taoist alchemy. There would seem to be some question, however, whether the desire for immor­tality had any part in the highest phase of early Taoist philosophy.” (Creel 100)

## Purposive Taoism

1. **introduction**
   1. “. . . we find in their works repeated statements to the effect that, by doing nothing, the Taoist sage in fact does everything; by being utterly weak, he overcomes the strong; by being utterly humble, he comes to rule the world. This is no longer “contemplative” Taoism. It has moved to the “purposive” aspect.” (Creel 110)
   2. “The first step in this remarkable transition probably comes from mysti­cism. The *Tao* is the absolute, the totality of all that is. If one regards himself as simply a part of that, then it is clear that no matter what happens, he cannot get out of it. One seeks then to become merged into the *Tao* . . .” (Creel 110)
   3. *Lao Tzŭ* (56): “This is called the mysterious absorption. He who has experienced it cannot be treated as an inanimate, or rebuffed, cannot be helped, or harmed, cannot be honored, or humbled. Therefore, he occupies the first place among all the world’s crea­tures.” (Qtd. in Creel 110)
   4. “This is the transition. One who is absorbed into the *Tao* cannot be hurt because he recognizes no hurt. One who cannot be hurt is impregna­ble. One who is impregnable is more powerful than all those who would hurt him. Therefore, he is the chief and the most powerful of crea­tures. This skillful transition is made in many forms. The Taoist sage has no ambitions; there­fore, he has no failures. He who never fails always succeeds. And he who succeeds is all-powerful.” (Creel 111)
   5. “. . . the person who is actually convinced that he is “in tune with the infinite” . . . has great advantages in self-confidence and poise. . . . Thus the convinced Taoist would have personal charac­ter­istics well calculated to impress others . . .” (Creel 111)
2. **political philosophy**
   1. According to early Taoism, “The more laws there [107] are, the more thieves and bandits will multiply.” (Creel 107-08)
   2. But in later Taoism, political philosophy concentrated on the attainment of power. We find “a number of passages devoted to telling how one may “get control of the world.” Quite evidently the Taoists were human enough to join the competi­tion that was going on among the various philoso­phies, and each of which undertook to point the way to uniting the Chinese world into an empire. . . . usually the Taoist sage is himself cast in the ruler’s role.” (Creel 111)
   3. “. . . it was natural for the Taoist to wish to rule. He [111] knew how the people ought to act to be happy; they should simply remain in a state of primal simplici­ty. Therefore, the *Lao Tzŭ* says, “the sage, in govern­ing, emp­ties the people’s minds and fills their bellies, weakens their wills and strengthens their bones. He constantly keeps the people without knowledge and without desire.”“ (Creel 111-12)
   4. “. . . In some passages we are told that the sage is compas­sion­ate, but in others . . . the *Tao*, which is his model, is above such emo­tion.” (Creel 112)
   5. “. . . the enlightened Taoist is beyond good and evil; for him these are merely words used by the ignorant and foolish. If it suits whim, he may destroy a city and massacre its inhab­itants with the concentrated fury of a typhoon, and feel no more qualms of con­science than the majestic sun that shines upon the scene of desolation after the storm. After all, both life and death, beget­ting and destruc­tion, are parts of the harmonious order of the universe, which is good because it exists and because it is itself.” (Creel 112)
   6. “. . . some of the more despotic Chinese emperors were in­spired, not to say intoxicated, by this ideal. It is ironic that Taoism, at root so completely anarchis­tic, should have become so greatly associated with government. . . . some Legal­ists claimed Taoism as the philosophic background for their doc­trines. To do this they had to ignore the Taoists’ condemnation of war and oppression, but they found a good deal in the “pur­posive” aspect of Taoism that was very useful to them.” (Creel 113)
   7. “The Taoists condemned the Confucians roundly. . . . In the first place, they were probably the most successful philo­sophical school at the time when Taoism developed; this made them a natural target. Furthermore, the Confucians were the chief exponents of a carefully ordered system of government . . . Thus we find Confucian ideas . . . repeatedly made fun of and attacked. Another, and more subtle method was to assert that Confucius had renounced Confucianism and been converted to Taoism, and then to quote his alleged attacks on his own philosophy at great length.” (Creel 113)

## Overview of Taoism

1. **concept of *tao***
   1. “Literally, *tao* means “road,” or “way.”“ (Baldrian 289)
   2. “There are many derivative meanings: “way to follow, method, utterance, doctrine,” and “rule of conduct.”“ (Baldrian 289)
   3. “*Tao* was also the efficacious power of kings and magicians . . .” (Baldrian 289)
   4. “If in Confucian parlance *tao* had a strong ethical connotation, in the current language it nonetheless retained the sense of doctrine or method; thus, each philosophical [289] school had its *tao*, that is, its doctrines and rules of conduct. While the *tao* of Lao-tzu was a metaphysical principle, the expression was often used in Taoist texts to refer to a body of particular prescriptions.” (Baldrian 289-290)
   5. “As a primordial and eternal entity, the Tao exists before all visible things, including *ti*, the superior divinities of the official religion, such as Shang-ti (“lord on high”) and T’ien-ti (“lord of heaven”). The Tao is beyond the grasp of the senses and is imperceptible. But from “nothingness” (*wu*) the visible world (*yu*) is born and particularized phenomena are produced. Tao is formless, limitless, and nameless: the term *tao* is not a name but a practical referent.” (Baldrian 291)
   6. The Tao “is transcendent with respect to the world of phenomena, where diversity and change prevail; on the other hand, it becomes immanent as it manifests itself, penetrating the beings that it animates and orders. In the *Tao-te ching*, the Tao is a feminine principle, the mother of the world. It gives birth to all beings, and its *te*, or nourishing virtue, preserves them and brings them to maturity.” (Baldrian 291)
   7. The Tao is “the regulator of the rhythms and balances of nature.” (Baldrian 291)
   8. “. . . while the Tao is not a divinity, it is undoubtedly the object of religious feelings.” (Baldrian 291)
2. ***yin* and *yang***
   1. “The original meanings of *yin* and *yang* seem to refer to the shaded and sunny slopes of mountains, respectively. Eventually, the two terms came to describe the two . . . aspects of the Tao as natural order: a shady aspect and a luminous aspect; a cold, passive aspect and a warm, active aspect; and finally, the feminine aspect and the masculine aspect.” (Baldrian 290)
   2. “The terms are therefore relative classificatory headings only; any one thing can be either *yin* or *yang* in relation to another.” (Baldrian 290)
3. **the *I Ching***
   1. “The *I ching*, originally a manual of divination, became a philosophical treatise included in the Confucian classics as a result of the appendices that were added to it. . . . it was much used by the Taoists, especially for the symbolic interpretation it received at the hands of Han commentators.” (Baldrian 290)
4. **ethics**
   1. “The Taoists in fact condemn all discursive knowledge, for, they maintain, it introduces multiplicity into the soul, which should . . . be unified in the Tao. This unity is preserved through the mastery of the senses and passions. . . . [Self-denial] aims at the harmonious use of the sense faculties, not as their suppression.” (Baldrian 291)
   2. “The Taoist should be especially careful not to intervene in the course of things. This non-intervention is called *wu-wei* (nonaction), a term that suggests not absolute nonaction but an attitude of prudence and respect for the autonomy of other things. Through nonaction the Taoist does nothing other than conform to the Tao, which itself is “always without action but nevertheless brings about everything.”“ (Baldrian 291)
   3. immortality
      1. “Some passages of the *Tao-te ching* allude to longevity practices that were assuredly being used among quietist circles.” (Baldrian 291)
      2. “By living in accordance with the principle of *wu-wei* one can preserve the suppleness and energy of an infant and, consequently, one may hope to live the longest possible life. Lao-tzu goes so far as to assert the invulnerability of the saint.” (Baldrian 291)
      3. “Lao-tzu is far from explicit regarding the mystical experiences to which he alludes. . . . Chuang-tzu is more explicit, describing in detail the stages that lead to union with the Tao and to ecstasy.” (Baldrian 291)
         1. “. . . the Tao is veiled in our consciousness by the artificialities of civilization. Hence, a critical reflection on the relativity of commonly received ideas is the necessary first stage on the way to salvation. Under the silent direction of a master, the adept gradually sheds . . . his social self.” (Baldrian 291)
         2. “Thereafter, he loses awareness of his body, and his sense perceptions are no longer differentiated—[291] he hears with his eyes and sees with his ears.” (Baldrian 291-292)
         3. “Finally, the adept’s . . . vital essence seems to have left him: it has gone “to gambol at the beginning of things.” . . . By identifying his vital rhythm with that of the natural forces he participates in the infinity and persistence of the universe. He thus attains a superior life that is no longer biological; he lives the very life of the Tao.” (Baldrian 292)
      4. “. . . the Taoists sought the vegetal or mineral drugs of longevity deep in the mountains . . . They sometimes had to penetrate labyrinthine grottoes in their quest for medicinal substances as well as for the talismans and salvific scriptures said to have been hidden there by ancient heroes.” (Baldrian 293)
5. **the 8 immortals**
   1. “Chuang-tzu describes [the] *shen-jen* (“divine men”). These immortals dwell on a certain mythical mountain. They abstain from eating cereals, feed on the wind and dew, and can operate in the air borne by the clouds or flying dragons. The early mythology of the immortals . . . developed independently of Taoism.” (Baldrian 292)
   2. Most scholars place the earliest traditions of the Eight Immortals in the T’ang dynasty (ad 618-906), at its end. Most of the legends about them developed during the Sung dynasty (ad 960-1260) and reached their official form by the Yuan dynasty (ad 1260-1368). (Ho and O’Brien 23)
   3. Each of the eight is lively and funny, with a personality all his or her own. Each has an emblem through which he or she is able to work magic. They have the power to raise the dead, to become visible or invisible, and to change whatever they touch to gold. They have no temples dedicated solely to them, but each one has his or her own legend and each is a patron of some aspect of life.
   4. The Eight Immortals are:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Immortal*  Lu Tung Pin  Han Chung Li  Lan Ts’ai Ho  Han Hsiang Tzu  Ti Kuai Li  Ho Hsien Ku  Chang Kuo Lau  Ts’ao Kuo Chiu | *Symbol*  Sword and Fly Swatter  Fan  Basket of Flowers  Jade Flute  Iron Crutch  Lotus Flower  Bamboo Tube Drum  Castanets/Imperial Tablet | *Patron*  Barbers  Immortality and Good Fortune  Florists  Musicians  Pharmacists  Management of the House  Male Offspring and Children  Theatrical Profession |

# Truth in World Religions

## On Truth

### Western Logic

1. **origin of logic**
   1. The concept of logic probably arose early in the study of geometry (*geos* + *metros*, “land measurement”).
   2. But the systematic study of logic probably arose with Pythagoras (c. 570-495 bc).
2. “**truth**” **and** “**falsity**”
   1. Aristotle: “it is true to say of that which is that it is or of that which is not that it is not.” So truth is an assertion’s correspondence with reality.
   2. Aristotle: “it is false to say of that which is that it is not or of that which is not that it is . . .” So falsity is an assertion’s lack of correspondence with reality.
   3. Notice that these definitions presuppose a distinction between assertions (mental re­al­i­ties) and realities (ex­tra­men­tal realities).
3. **types of utterance**
   1. There are many types of utterance: exclamations, prayers, implor­ings, exhortations, wishes, questions, etc.
   2. But only one type of utterance can be true or false: a de­clar­ative sen­tence (i. e., an as­ser­tion).
4. **sentences and propositions**
   1. It is not the sentence or form of words which is true or false, but what is ex­pressed by it. The meaning of a sentence is called a “proposition.”
   2. If “The snow is white” is true, then “Der Schnee ist weiß” is also true. Both sen­tences express the same proposition, and only the proposition (not the sentences expressing it) is true.
   3. A person makes a true statement when uttering a sentence that expresses a true pro­posi­tion. (The person need not be sincere: one can make a true statement by mistake, be­lieving one­self to be lying.)
   4. Beliefs, thoughts, or opinions are true when they express true propositions.
5. **three theories of truth**
   1. correspondence theory
      1. Truth is a relation between an assertion and the reality it refers to.
   2. pragmatic theory
      1. The usefulness of a conclusion is evidence of its truth.
      2. The pragmatic theory builds on the correspondence theory, though it is sometimes erroneously thought to mean that whatever is useful to believe is therefore true.
   3. coherence theory
      1. Beliefs that cohere with a system of propositions known to be true may be accepted as true.
      2. The coherence theory builds upon the correspondence theory, though it is sometimes erroneously thought to mean that any system of beliefs that cohere is there­fore true.
6. **three self-evident truths**
   1. the law of noncontradiction
      1. Plato: “It is obvious that the same thing will not be willing to do or undergo oppo­sites in the same part of itself, in relation to the same thing, at the same time.”
      2. Aristotle: “it is impossible simultaneously to be and not to be”; “it is impossible for the same thing to belong and not to belong to the same thing at the same time in the same respect.”
      3. Immanuel Kant said we are born with a knowledge of the law of noncontradiction; John Stuart Mill said we infer it from our earliest experiences.
   2. the law of excluded middle
      1. Aristotle defines a “contradiction” as “a pair of state­ments in which the same thing is respective­ly asserted and denied of the same thing.” He then states the law of excluded middle: “It is not possible that there should be anything between the two parts of a con­tra­­dic­tion, but it is necessary either to affirm or deny one thing of any one thing.”
      2. In other words: “Either P or not-P,” where “P” stands for a proposition.
   3. the law of identity
      1. Aristotle: “Only to things that are indistinguishable and one in being is it general­ly ag­reed that all the same attrib­utes belong.”
      2. In other words: A is A, where A is any thing.
      3. Leibniz put it this way: if everything which is true of A is true of B, then A and B are identical. (Since A and B refer to the same thing, everything one says of A can equally be said of B.)
7. **validity and syllogisms**
   1. Whereas “truth” is a characteristic of a proposition, “validity” is a characteristic of a chain of reasoning (a chain of reasoning reduced to its simplest form is called a “syllogism”). Three very common syllogisms are (means “therefore,” and ~ means “not”):
      1. the categorical: A = B. B = C.  A = C. (Or: A is in B. B is in C.  A is in C; etc.)
      2. the conditional: If A, then B. A.  B. (Or: If A, then B. ~ B.  ~ A.)
      3. the disjunctive: Either A or B. A.  ~ B. (Or: Either A or B. ~ A.  B.)
   2. The condi­tions of proof are therefore two: true premises and valid reasoning.
8. **propositions and judg­ments**
   1. Propositions are “true” or “false,” but judgments about them are “correct” or “in­cor­rect.”
   2. Propositions are unchangeably true or false; but judg­ments about them some­times change.
   3. Example: “Atoms are indi­visi­ble.”
      1. This proposition was always false.
      2. It was judged correct before c. ad 1900.
      3. It has been judged incorrect since c. 1900.
9. **the unicity of truth**
   1. the theory of double truth
      1. Averroës (in *The Destruction of the Destruction*) “proclaimed that there were two different bodies of truth . . . [He] as­signed a superior status to the truths of reason and an inferior status to the truths of faith—the one belonging to the sphere of intellect, the other to the sphere of the imagination.” (Ad­ler 24)
      2. To avoid contradictions between a religious truth and a factual truth, Averroës put them in “logic-tight compart­ments . . .” (Ad­ler 28)
      3. Against Latin followers of Averroës, Aquinas (in *The Trinity and the Unicity of the Intellect*) “condemned as false the claim that a propo­sition could be factually true in philosophy or science and at the same time factually false in religious faith.” (Ad­ler 25)
   2. the theory of single truth
      1. According to Aquinas, “truth is one comprehensive, integral, and coherent whole in which there are many parts, each part differing in the methods by which truth is pursued and also in the aspects of reality with which that pursuit is con­cerned.” (Ad­ler 27)
      2. “For Aquinas, the truths of faith, coming from God, were superior to the truths of reason . . .” (Ad­ler 26)
      3. “The crucial and indispensable premise in this line of reasoning [is] the unity of truth. In the realm of all truths consisting of propositions that can be affirmed or denied, incom­patible truths cannot coexist.” (Ad­ler 32)

### Eastern Logic

1. It is sometimes asserted that logic cannot be used to assess the truth of Eastern religions, because Eastern cultures do not accept Western logic. But logic developed in the East as well as in the West. The *Nyāya* school of Hinduism, for example, developed two forms of syllogism. Here is the three-proposition form:

1) There is smoke on that hill. (This can be reduced to a conditional

2)  there is fire on that hill. syllogism: (*1*) If there is smoke, there is fire.

3) Because where there is smoke there is fire. (*2*) There is smoke. (*3*)  there is fire.)

Here is the five-proposition form:

1) Tom is a rational animal. (the assertion to be established)

2) Because Tom is a man. (the reason for the assertion)

3) All men are rational animals—e.g., John. (the universal proposition [always with exam­ples] that connects the as­ser­tion to be established and the reason)

4) Tom is a man. (subsumption of the present case under the un­i­versal proposition)

5)  Tom is a rational animal. (same as 1, but now as a conclusion: “”.)

1. It is also sometimes asserted that Eastern cultures do not believe in the law of noncontradic­tion; therefore, it is parochial of us to demand that they adhere in their religious assertions to that log­i­cal principle. But Eastern cultures do recognize the principle of noncontradiction. Here are ex­am­ples from three different Eastern religions.
   1. Advaita Vedanta (a branch of Hinduism)
      1. “There is an apparent infringement of the law of contradiction in Non-Dualist doctrine. . . . ac­cord­ing to the classical Non-Dualist theory of ignorance and illusion, it had to be said that the world of appearance is both real and not real. Its reality is seen in the fact that appear­ances exist; they are not just a blank. Its unreality is seen in the fact that the ignorance which projects appearances on to pure being is not itself pure being. Thus the world as illusion (i.e. conceived as distinct from the holy Power) is not pure being, but not pure nothing either. Now in principle a contradiction could be avoided here by interpreting the two statements ‘It is real’ and ‘It is not real’ differently, and this was indeed sometimes done by the Non-Dualists. The two interpretations can be brought out by saying ‘It exists but it is not pure being’. However, the Non-Dualists held that the world-appearance is indefinable precisely on the ground that it still has a contradictory aspect—since being and existence ought to be equivalent. But as a Rāmānujist [op­ponent of Non-Dualism] re­marked, if you are going to admit the self-contradictory, why not say that things in ordinary experience are real, and not illusory? It would contradict the doctrine of illusion, to be sure, but what is the trouble with a contradiction?” (Smart 198-99)
   2. Jainism
      1. The Jain theory of relativism “is not strictly the doctrine that the law of con­tra­diction fails to hold; since the possibility of affirming both p and not-p depends on interpret­ing the left-hand p different from the right-hand one. That is, when we say ‘The jug is’ and ‘The jug is not’ the words ‘The Jug is’ are given different interpretations in the two sentenc­es. Thus it is correct to say ‘The jug is’ in the sense that the jug is; but it is incorrect if it be taken to imply that the jug is identical with being, for being includes flowers and the jug is not identical with flowers—and so on.” (Smart 197)
   3. Buddhism
      1. The Buddha was once asked, “Does a saint who has achieved *nirvana* exist after death?” In reply, he “compared the question to ‘Which direction does a flame go when it goes out?’ In regard to the latter, it is neither right to say ‘It goes North’ nor ‘It does not go North’. . . . the Buddha was meaning to bring out the point that the question ‘Does a Buddha or saint survive his decease?’ was unanswerable, because an improper or defective question. . . . the Buddha analysed the individual into a sequence of psycho-physical states [that disappears upon achieving *nirvana*.] . . . it is no longer possible to refer to the individ­ual—whether as surviving or not surviving. . . . this did not put the Buddha in the position of implicitly affirming that the law of contradic­tion, for instance, does not everywhere hold . . . the laws do not *apply* in these cases; but this does not mean that they fail to hold, i. e. that these cases consti­tute genuine exceptions to the laws.” (Smart 197)
2. **addendum**: **Hardon on the universality of noncontradiction**
   1. For St Thomas Aquinas, “the indispensable point of departure for all thought, desire and action [was] the principle of contradiction.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   2. “To understand this principle, ask yourself: How could a mother teach her child the names of things if the child did not already have the capacity to perceive that things exist as individual beings, different from himself and distinct from each other?” (Hardon “Principle”)
   3. “Who gave this primary and elementary discernment of reality to the child? Surely no teacher. Man is born already predisposed to unequivocally apply what are called the first principles of natural reason, which he begins to use spontaneously as soon as he enters into contact with the world around him. These first principles are evident, and, as such, do not need to be demon­strated or taught to the child.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   4. “Among these principles is the first notion, the most simple and universal of notions, without which intelligence cannot conceive anything. It is the generic notion of being, on which depends the first principle of reasoning. Saint Thomas, following Aristotle, defines it [the first principle of reasoning] as the first and supreme principle of thought. It is the principle of contradiction, the most simple and universal of all judgments, which can be stated in the following truth: It is impossible for a thing to be and not to be at the same time.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   5. “Without realizing it, we use this principle all the time. Without it, we could not distinguish what is from what is not, nor one being from another. We would not know we are different from a table, an elephant or an ant. . . . Everything would be confused. We would sink into the greatest absurdities.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   6. “With the principle of contradiction, man, by connaturality, also knows the universal correlative concepts of truth and error. Truth is identified with being, since it lies in the faithful correspon­dence between the idea and reality. So also, error lies in falsehood, since it is the noncor­res­pond­ence between the idea and reality; it is the absence of truth and, as such, is identified with non-being.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   7. “From the principle of contradiction and the other first evidences linked to it, reason not only knows the universal distinction between truth and error; it is also capable of going from the knowledge of one thing to another. It acquires successive truths, always contrasting, explicitly or implicitly, what is with what is not . . .” (Hardon “Principle”)
   8. “The principle of contradiction is also the first natural moral principle. As Saint Thom­as explains, this is so because good—like truth—identifies itself with being. . . . And evil is the absence of good.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   9. “The principle of contradiction shows man that he should seek what is connatural with his being, what strengthens and benefits him (good), and avoid what harms or weakens his being (evil). From this comes the precept that must rule human conduct: Do good and avoid evil.” (Hardon “Principle”)
   10. “Everyone agrees that good should be done and evil avoided. But some object: “Who, con­cretely, can show us what good is?” Saint Thomas, answering this objection, . . . explains that God endowed natural reason not only with the capacity to make the universal distinction between good and evil, but also with the capacity to know the operative general principles that permit man to practice good and avoid evil.” These are “the Natural Law impressed on his soul, of which his own conscience gives testimony, and which, moreover, is summarized in the Ten Commandments. . . . by exercising prudence, man can apply the general moral principles to concrete circumstances.” (Hardon “Principle”)

## Four Positions on the Plurality of Religions

1. **exclusivism**: my religion is true, all others are false.
   1. But this position ignores the many ways in which other religions are like one’s own.
2. **inclusivism**: all religions are equally true.
   1. But this position ignores the many ways in which religions really do contradict.
3. **pluralism**: your religion is true for you, mine is true for me.
   1. But this position ignores the basic principles of truth.
4. **fulfillment** **theory**: one of the religions is the fulfillment of all the others.
   1. “. . . the fulfillment theory [is that] What is positive in other religious tradi­tions can be brought to full realization in Christianity.” (Lucien 43)
   2. The *Declaration on* . . . *Non-Christian Religions* affirms Chris­tian­i­ty’s abso­lute­ness. “. . . it is seen as the plenitude and fulfill­ment of all other religions which are seen as stages, as “anticipa­tory phases” on the way to fulfill­ment.” (Lucien 28)
   3. “This position is very much in evidence in Jean Daniélou’s treatment of the relation­ship between Christianity and non-Christian religions . . .” (Lucien 80 n. 115)
   4. Cardinal Jean Daniélou (“The Transcen­dence of Christianity.” In *Introduction to the Great Religions*. Notre Dame: Fides, 1964. 155): “The Church has never treated the doctrines of the pagans with contempt and disdain: rather, it has freed them from all error, then completed them and crowned them with Christian wisdom.” (Qtd. in Lucien 80 n. 115)

## Some Scriptural Passages Relevant to Religious Pluralism

John 1:1-4, 9, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 He was in the beginning with God. 3 All things came into being through him, and without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being 4 in him was life, and the life was the light of all people. . . . 9 The true light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world. (The nrsv offers an alternate reading of the last verse: “He was the true light that enlightens everyone coming into the world.”)

Acts 17:22-28, “Then Paul stood in front of the Areopagus and said, “Athen­ians, I see how extremely religious you are in every way. 23 For as I went through the city and looked carefully at the objects of your worship, I found among them an altar with the inscription, ‘To an unknown god.’ What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you. 24 The God who made the world and everything in it, he who is Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by human hands, 25 nor is he served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all mortals life and breath and all things. 26 From one ances­tor he made all nations to inhab­it the whole earth, and he allotted the times of their existence and the boundaries of the places where they would live, 27 so that they would search for God and perhaps grope for him and find him—though ­indeed he is not far from each one of us. 28 For ‘In him we live and move and have our being’;[[2]](#footnote-2) as even some of your own po­ets have said, ‘For we too are his offspring.’[[3]](#footnote-3)“

Rom 1:19-20, “For what can be known about God is plain to them [wicked per­sons], because God has shown it to them. 20 Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been under­stood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse; 21 for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened.”

Rom 2:6-16, “For he will repay according to each one’s deeds: 7 to those who by patiently doing good seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; 8 while for those who are self-seeking and who obey not the truth but wickedness, there will be wrath and fury. 9 There will be anguish and dis­tress for everyone who does evil, the Jew first and also the Greek, 10 but glory and honor and peace for everyone who does good, the Jew first but also the Greek. 11 For God shows no partiality. 12 All who have sinned apart from the law will also perish apart from the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law. 13 For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous in God’s sight, but the doers of the law who will be justified. 14 When Gentiles, who do not posses the law, do instinctively what the law re­quires, these, though not having the law, are a law to themselves. 15 They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, to which their own conscience also bears witness; and their conflicting thoughts will accuse or perhaps excuse them 16 on the day when, according to my gospel, God, through Jesus Christ, will judge the secret thoughts of all.”

1 Tim 2:4, God “desires everyone to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth.”

## Vatican II, *Declaration on the Relationship of the*

## *Church to Non-Christian Religions* (*Nostra Aetate*)

Vatican II. Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non‑Christian Rel­i­gions (Nostra Aetate). In Vatican II. The Conciliar and Post‑Conciliar Documents. Ed. Austin Flannery, OP. North­port NY: Cos­tello, 1975.

October 28, 1965

1. **introduction**
   1. The Church “gives primary [emphasis added] consideration in this document to what human beings have in common and to what promotes fellowship among them.” This approach does not deny or ne­glect differences.
   2. “. . . all peoples . . . have a single origin [and a single] final goal: God.”
   3. “His provi­dence, His manifesta­tions of goodness, and His saving designs extend to all men . . .”
   4. mysteries: religions propose “answers to those profound myster­ies of the human condition which, today even as in olden times, deeply stir the human heart:
      1. What is a man?
      2. What is the meaning and the purpose of our life?
      3. What is good­ness and what is sin?
      4. What gives rise to our sorrows and to what intent?
      5. Where lies the path to true happi­ness?
      6. What is the truth about death, judgment, and retribution beyond the grave?
      7. What, finally, is that ultimate and unutter­able mystery which engulfs our being, and whence we take our rise, and whither our journey leads us?”
2. **primitive religions**
   1. Primitie religions show “a certain perception of that hidden power which hovers over the course of things and over the events of human life; at times, indeed, recogni­tion can be found of a Supreme Divinity and of a Supreme Father too. Such a perception [caus­es] a profound religious sense.”
3. **Hinduism**
   1. “in Hinduism men contemplate the divine mystery and express it
      1. through an unspent fruitfulness of myths
      2. and through searching philosophical inquiry.”
   2. “They seek release from the anguish of our condition through
      1. as­ceti­cal practices
      2. or deep medita­tion
      3. or a loving, trusting flight toward God.”
   3. [Editor’s footnote:] “similarities between Hindu and Christian be­liefs [in­clude]
      1. the concept of God’s appearance on earth;
      2. the concept of grace;
      3. sacraments;
      4. and similari­ties between the Christian Trinity and the Hindu ultimate reality . . .”
4. **Buddhism**
   1. It “acknowledges the radical insufficiency of this shifting world.
   2. It teaches a path by which men, in a devout and confi­dent spirit, can
      1. either reach a state of absolute freedom
      2. or attain supreme enlighten­ment
         1. by their own efforts or
         2. by higher assistance.”
5. **the Church**’**s attitude toward other religions**
   1. “The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions. She looks with sincere respect upon . . . those rules and teachings which, though differing in many particulars from what she holds and sets forth, never­theless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men.” (Editor’s footnote: “According to the Declaration, world religions are not simply “natural” realities but the bearer of God’s word and presence.”)
   2. Christ is “‘the way, the truth, and the life’ (John 14:6), in whom men find the fullness of religious life . . .”
   3. “The Church therefore has this exhortation for her sons: prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve, and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture.”
6. **Islam**
   1. “Upon the Moslems, too, the Church looks with esteem.
   2. They adore one God, living and enduring, merciful and all-powerful, Maker of heaven and earth and Speaker to men.
   3. They strive to submit wholeheartedly even to His inscru­table decrees . . .
   4. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet.
   5. They also honor Mary, His virgin mother; at times they call on her, too, with devotion.
   6. In addition they await the day of judgment when God will give each man his due after raising him up.
   7. Conse­quently, they prize the moral life, and give worship to God especially through prayer, almsgiving, and fasting.”
   8. “let them [Christians and Muslims] make common cause of safeguarding and fos­tering social justice, moral values, peace, and freedom.”
7. **Judaism**
   1. “. . . what happened in His pas­sion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living, without distinction, nor upon the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God . . .”
   2. “The Church repudiates all perse­cu­tions against any man.”
   3. “. . . the Church rejects, as for­eign to the mind of Christ, any dis­crimi­nation against men or harassment of them because of their race, color, condi­tion of life, or religion.”
8. **main passages in other Vatican-II texts**
   1. Vatican II. Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium). §§ 16-17.
   2. Vatican II. Decree on the Church’s Missionary Activity (Ad Gentes). §§ 7-8.
   3. Vatican II. Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (Dei Verbum). §§ 3, 14.
   4. Vatican II. Declaration on Religious Freedom (Dignitatis Humanae). Esp. § 4.
   5. Vatican II. Decree on Ecumenism (Unitatis Redintegratio).
   6. Vatican II. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes).

## Vatican II, *Declaration on Religious Freedom* (*Dignitatis Humanae*)

Vatican II. *Declaration on Religious Freedom* (*Dignitatis Humanae*). *Vatican*.*va*. 7 Dec. 1965. 26 July 2002. Web.

December 7, 1965

1. A sense of the dignity of the human person has been impressing itself more and more deeply on the consciousness of contemporary man, and the demand is increasingly made that men should act on their own judgment, enjoying and making use of a responsible freedom, not driven by coercion but motivated by a sense of duty. The demand is likewise made that constitutional limits should be set to the powers of government, in order that there may be no encroachment on the rightful freedom of the person and of associations. This demand for freedom in human society chiefly regards the quest for the values proper to the human spirit. It regards, in the first place, the free exercise of religion in society. This Vatican Council takes careful note of these desires in the minds of men. It proposes to declare them to be greatly in accord with truth and justice. . . .

First, the council professes its belief that God Himself has made known to mankind the way in which men are to serve Him, and thus be saved in Christ and come to blessedness. We believe that this one true religion subsists in the Catholic and Apostolic Church . . . all men are bound to seek the truth, especially in what concerns God and His Church, and to embrace the truth they come to know, and to hold fast to it.

. . . The truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth, as it makes its entrance into the mind at once quietly and with power.

Religious freedom, in turn, which men demand as necessary to fulfill their duty to worship God, has to do with immunity from coercion in civil society. Therefore it leaves untouched traditional Catholic doctrine on the moral duty of men and societies toward the true religion and toward the one Church of Christ. . . .

2. This Vatican Council declares that the human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits.

The council further declares that the right to religious freedom has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person as this dignity is known through the revealed word of God and by reason itself. This right of the human person to religious freedom is to be recognized in the constitutional law whereby society is governed and thus it is to become a civil right.

It is in accordance with their dignity as persons—that is, beings endowed with reason and free will and therefore privileged to bear personal responsibility—that all men should be at once impelled by nature and also bound by a moral obligation to seek the truth, especially religious truth. They are also bound to adhere to the truth, once it is known, and to order their whole lives in accord with the demands of truth. However, men cannot discharge these obligations in a manner in keeping with their own nature unless they enjoy immunity from external coercion as well as psychological freedom. Therefore the right to religious freedom has its foundation not in the subjective disposition of the person, but in his very nature. In consequence, the right to this immunity continues to exist even in those who do not live up to their obligation of seeking the truth and adhering to it and the exercise of this right is not to be impeded, provided that just public order be observed.

3. . . . every man has the duty, and therefore the right, to seek the truth in matters religious in order that he may with prudence form for himself right and true judgments of conscience . . . The inquiry is to be free, carried on with the aid of teaching or instruction, communication and dialogue, in the course of which men explain to one another the truth they have discovered, or think they have discovered, in order thus to assist one another in the quest for truth.

. . . In all his activity a man is bound to follow his conscience in order that he may come to God, the end and purpose of life. It follows that he is not to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his conscience. Nor, on the other hand, is he to be restrained from acting in accordance with his conscience, especially in matters religious. The reason is that the exercise of religion, of its very nature, consists before all else in those internal, voluntary and free acts whereby man sets the course of his life directly toward God. No merely human power can either command or prohibit acts of this kind. The social nature of man, however, itself requires that he should give external expression to his internal acts of religion: that he should share with others in matters religious; that he should profess his religion in community. Injury therefore is done to the human person and to the very order established by God for human life, if the free exercise of religion is denied in society, provided just public order is observed.

There is a further consideration. The religious acts whereby men, in private and in public and out of a sense of personal conviction, direct their lives to God transcend by their very nature the order of terrestrial and temporal affairs. Government therefore ought indeed to take account of the religious life of the citizenry and show it favor, since the function of government is to make provision for the common welfare. However, it would clearly transgress the limits set to its power, were it to presume to command or inhibit acts that are religious.

4. The freedom or immunity from coercion in matters religious which is the endowment of persons as individuals is also to be recognized as their right when they act in community. Religious communities are a requirement of the social nature both of man and of religion itself.

Provided the just demands of public order are observed, religious communities rightfully claim freedom in order that they may govern themselves according to their own norms, honor the Supreme Being in public worship, [and] assist their members in the practice of the religious life . . . Religious communities also have the right not to be hindered in their public teaching and witness to their faith, whether by the spoken or by the written word. However, in spreading religious faith and in introducing religious practices everyone ought at all times to refrain from any manner of action which might seem to carry a hint of coercion or of a kind of persuasion that would be dishonorable or unworthy, especially when dealing with poor or uneducated people. Such a manner of action would have to be considered an abuse of one’s right and a violation of the right of others. . . .

6. . . . The protection and promotion of the inviolable rights of man ranks among the essential duties of government. Therefore government is to assume the safeguard of the religious freedom of all its citizens, in an effective manner, by just laws and by other appropriate means.

Government is also to help create conditions favorable to the fostering of religious life, in order that the people may be truly enabled to exercise their religious rights and to fulfill their religious duties . . .

If, in view of peculiar circumstances obtaining among peoples, special civil recognition is given to one religious community in the constitutional order of society, it is at the same time imperative that the right of all citizens and religious communities to religious freedom should be recognized and made effective in practice.

Finally, government is to see to it that equality of citizens before the law, which is itself an element of the common good, is never violated, whether openly or covertly, for religious reasons. Nor is there to be discrimination among citizens.

It follows that a wrong is done when government imposes upon its people, by force or fear or other means, the profession or repudiation of any religion, or when it hinders men from joining or leaving a religious community. All the more is it a violation of the will of God and of the sacred rights of the person and the family of nations when force is brought to bear in any way in order to destroy or repress religion, either in the whole of mankind or in a particular country or in a definite community.

7. . . . In the exercise of their rights, individual men and social groups are bound by the moral law to have respect both for the rights of others and for their own duties toward others and for the common welfare of all. Men are to deal with their fellows in justice and civility.

Furthermore, society has the right to defend itself against possible abuses committed on the pretext of freedom of religion. It is the special duty of government to provide this protection. However, government is not to act in an arbitrary fashion or in an unfair spirit of partisanship. Its action is to be controlled by juridical norms which are in conformity with the objective moral order. These norms arise out of the need for the effective safeguard of the rights of all citizens and for the peaceful settlement of conflicts of rights, also out of the need for an adequate care of genuine public peace, which comes about when men live together in good order and in true justice, and finally out of the need for a proper guardianship of public morality.

These matters constitute the basic component of the common welfare: they are what is meant by public order. For the rest, the usages of society are to be the usages of freedom in their full range: that is, the freedom of man is to be respected as far as possible and is not to be curtailed except when and insofar as necessary. . . .

9. . . . What is more, this doctrine of freedom has roots in divine revelation, and for this reason Christians are bound to respect it all the more conscientiously. Revelation does not indeed affirm in so many words the right of man to immunity from external coercion in matters religious. It does, however, disclose the dignity of the human person in its full dimensions. It gives evidence of the respect which Christ showed toward the freedom with which man is to fulfill his duty of belief in the word of God and it gives us lessons in the spirit which disciples of such a Master ought to adopt and continually follow. [There are references to Isa 42:1-4; Matt 4:8-10, 9:28-29, 11:20-24, 11:28-30, 11:29, 12:20, 13:30, 22:21, 26:51-53; Mark 6:5-6, 9:23-24, 10:45, 16:16; John 6:15, 6:44, 6:67-68, 12:32, 13:13, 18:36, 18:37; Acts 4:19-20, 4:31, 5:29; Rom 1:16, 12:19-20, 13:1-5, 14:1-23; 1 Cor 2:3-5, 8:9-13, 10:23-33; 2 Cor 10:3-5; Eph 1:5, 6:11-17, 6:19-20; 1 Thess 2:3-5, 5:8-9; 2 Thess 1:8; 1 Tim 2:4; 1 Pet 2:13-17.]

12. In faithfulness therefore to the truth of the Gospel, the Church is following the way of Christ and the apostles when she recognizes and gives support to the principle of religious freedom as befitting the dignity of man and as being in accord with divine revelation. Throughout the ages the Church has kept safe and handed on the doctrine received from the Master and from the apostles. In the life of the People of God, as it has made its pilgrim way through the vicissitudes of human history, there has at times appeared a way of acting that was hardly in accord with the spirit of the Gospel or even opposed to it. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the Church that no one is to be coerced into faith has always stood firm.

Thus the leaven of the Gospel has long been about its quiet work in the minds of men, and to it is due in great measure the fact that in the course of time men have come more widely to recognize their dignity as persons, and the conviction has grown stronger that the person in society is to be kept free from all manner of coercion in matters religious.

13. . . . In turn, where the principle of religious freedom is not only proclaimed in words or simply incorporated in law but also given sincere and practical application, there the Church succeeds in achieving a stable situation of right as well as of fact and the independence which is necessary for the fulfillment of her divine mission. . . .

The disciple is bound by a grave obligation toward Christ, his Master, ever more fully to understand the truth received from Him, faithfully to proclaim it, and vigorously to defend it, never—be it understood—having recourse to means that are incompatible with the spirit of the Gospel. At the same time, the charity of Christ urges him to love and have prudence and patience in his dealings with those who are in error or in ignorance with regard to the faith. All is to be taken into account—the Christian duty to Christ, the life-giving word which must be proclaimed, the rights of the human person, and the measure of grace granted by God through Christ to men who are invited freely to accept and profess the faith.

15. The fact is that men of the present day want to be able freely to profess their religion in private and in public. Indeed, religious freedom has already been declared to be a civil right in most constitutions, and it is solemnly recognized in international documents. The further fact is that forms of government still exist under which, even though freedom of religious worship receives constitutional recognition, the powers of government are engaged in the effort to deter citizens from the profession of religion and to make life very difficult and dangerous for religious communities.

This council greets with joy the first of these two facts as among the signs of the times. With sorrow, however, it denounces the other fact, as only to be deplored. The council exhorts Catholics, and it directs a plea to all men, most carefully to consider how greatly necessary religious freedom is, especially in the present condition of the human family. All nations are coming into even closer unity. Men of different cultures and religions are being brought together in closer relationships. There is a growing consciousness of the personal responsibility that every man has. All this is evident. Consequently, in order that relationships of peace and harmony be established and maintained within the whole of mankind, it is necessary that religious freedom be everywhere provided with an effective constitutional guarantee and that respect be shown for the high duty and right of man freely to lead his religious life in society. . . .

## A Summary of Vatican II’s *Declaration on Religious Freedom*

1. “**religious freedom**”
   1. Freedom here means “immunity from coercion” (§ 1, 2 *bis*, 4, 9). (See § 4: “freedom or immunity from coercion . . .”)
   2. Freedom here includes “immunity from external coercion as well as psychological freedom.” (§ 2)
2. **Catholicism’s basic position on religious freedom**
   1. “. . . no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs . . .” (§ 2)
   2. In “history, there has at times appeared a way of acting that was hardly in accord with the spirit of the Gospel or even opposed to it. Nevertheless, the doctrine of the Church that no one is to be coerced into faith has always stood firm.” (§ 12)
3. **reasons for religious freedom**
   1. “The truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth, as it makes its entrance into the mind at once quietly and with power.” (§ 1)
   2. “. . . men explain to one another the truth they have discovered, or think they have discovered, in order thus to assist one another in the quest for truth . . .” (§ 3)
   3. “. . . religious freedom has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person . . .” (§ 2)
   4. Religious freedom “has roots in divine revelation . . .” (§ 9)
      1. “. . . to it [the gospel] is due in great measure the fact that in the course of time men have come more widely to recognize their dignity as persons, and the conviction has grown stronger that the person in society is to be kept free from all manner of coercion in matters religious . . .” (§ 12)
4. **government promotion of religion in general**
   1. “Government [ought] to take account of the religious life of the citizenry and show it favor . . .” (§ 3)
   2. “Government is also to help create conditions favorable to the fostering of religious life . . .” (§ 6)
5. **government promotion of religious freedom**
   1. “. . . government is to see to it that equality of citizens before the law . . . is never violated . . . for religious reasons. Nor is there to be discrimination among citizens.” (§ 6)
   2. “. . . religious freedom is to be recognized in the constitutional law . . .” (§ 2)
      1. If “special civil recognition is given to one religious community in the constitution . . . religious freedom should be recognized and made effective in practice . . .” (§ 6)
      2. profession of religious freedom vs. practice of religious freedom
         1. “. . . religious freedom is not only [to be] proclaimed in words or simply incorporated in law but also given sincere and practical application . . .” (§ 13)
         2. “. . . forms of government still exist under which, even though freedom of religious worship receives constitutional recognition, the powers of government are engaged in the effort to deter citizens from the profession of religion . . .” (§ 15)
6. **government should neither *promote* nor *hinder* a given religion**
   1. A person “is not to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his conscience. Nor, on the other hand, is he to be restrained from acting in accordance with his conscience . . .” (§ 3)
   2. Government must not “command or prohibit acts of this kind.” (§ 3)
   3. Government must not “command or inhibit acts that are religious.” (§ 3)
   4. “. . . a wrong is done when government imposes . . . the profession or repudiation of any religion . . .” (§ 6)
   5. (See the “religion clause” of the first amendment to the US Constitution [1791, concerning religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition]: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .”)
7. **limits to religious freedom**
   1. The practice of religious freedom must be “within due limits” (§ 2), i.e., “provided that just public order is observed . . .” (§ 2, 3, 4)
   2. “just public order”
      1. “. . . the function of government is to make provision for the common welfare.” (§ 3)
      2. “These matters [listed below] constitute the basic component of the common welfare: they are what is meant by public order”:
         1. “the effective safeguard of the rights of all citizens” [The “equality of citizens before the law . . . is itself an element of the common good . . .” (§ 6)]
         2. “the peaceful settlement of conflicts of rights”
         3. “genuine public peace”
         4. “good order”
         5. “true justice”
         6. “guardianship of public morality . . .” (§ 7)
         7. “These matters constitute the basic component of the common welfare: they are what is meant by public order. For the rest, . . . the freedom of man is to be respected as far as possible and is not to be curtailed except when and insofar as necessary.” (§ 7)
   3. “Furthermore, society has the right to defend itself against possible abuses committed on the pretext of freedom of religion.” (§ 7)
   4. Finally, “everyone ought at all times to refrain from any manner of action which might seem to carry a hint of coercion or of a kind of persuasion that would be dishonorable or unworthy, especially when dealing with poor or uneducated people. Such a manner of action would have to be considered an abuse of one’s right and a violation of the right of others . . .” (§ 4)

## Catholicism on Its Relation to Other Religions

In the *Declaration on Religious Freedom* (December 1965), Vatican II states that the “one true religion subsists in the Catholic and Apostolic Church . . .” (§ 1)

In the *Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions* (October 1965), however, Vatican II says that “The Catholic Church rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions.” (§ 2)

Dictionaries define “subsist” as “to exist” or “to live.” By itself, the statement that the “one true religion subsists” in the Catholic Church could be an exclusivist claim: the one true religion exists there and nowhere else.

But since in the second quotation the “true” and the “holy” extend into other religions, “subsists” in the first statement must mean something like “especially exists in,” “has the root of its being in,” “finds its fullness in.” This broader meaning is enhanced by another statement in the *Declaration* . . . *on Non-Christian Religions*, that in Christ “men find the *fullness* of religious life” (§ 2, emphasis added).

Furthermore, the *Declaration on* . . . *Non-Christian Religions* organizes its treatment of other religions according to their degree of similarity to Catholicism. It treats them from least to most similar: primitive religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism. By combining the two statements quoted above with the order in which religions are treated, many people have derived a spatial metaphor from Vatican II’s teaching:

the true religion subsists in Catholicism and exists in decreasing degrees in other religions, like a center with concentric circles spreading outward.

The submerged metaphor, whether consciously intended by the Vatican Fathers or not, is remarkable, evoking as it does the image of the solar system. Perhaps this metaphor was at work when the Fathers chose to add, immediately after the above statement acknowledging the “true” and the “holy” in other religions, that those religions “often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men.”

# The Spread of World Religions

Bentley, Jerry H. *Old World Encounters*: *Cross-Cultural Contacts and Ex­­changes in Pre-Modern Times*. New York: OUP, 1993.

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## Background

## Introduction

1. **thesis**
   1. “. . . this book argues [that] large-scale conversion to foreign cultural standards occurred only when powerful political, social, or economic incentives encouraged it—and even then it led universally to syncretism rather than to outright, wholesale adoption . . .” (Bentley 19)
   2. Bentley constantly de-emphasizes spiritual motives for conversion and emphasizes material motives. Notice his repetition of “political,” “social,” and “economic.”
   3. “political, social, or economic” (Bentley 7)
   4. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 8)
   5. “poli­tical, military, and economic” (Bentley 10)
   6. “political, social, or economic” (Bentley 13)
   7. “politically and economically, later culturally and socially” (Bentley 22)
   8. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 19, twice)
   9. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 25)
   10. *et passim*
2. **pre-modern social conversions**
   1. “social conversion”
   2. “. . . Solomon allowed his wives and concubines to observe their native cults . . .” (Bentley 4)
   3. “This book [5] . . . concentrates attention on the establishment and penetration of cultural boundaries . . .” (Bentley 5-6)
   4. “. . . pre-modern individuals often enough accepted alien cultural traditions in a thorough­going way and underwent a deep spiritual or psychological conversion experi­ence. It was perhaps more common, though, for pre-modern peoples to adopt or adapt foreign cultural traditions for political, social, or economic pur­poses.” (Bentley 7)
   5. “Thus it strikes me as reasonable to use the term *social conversion* to signify a process by which pre-modern peoples adopted or adapted foreign cultural traditions. . . . in this book, the term *conversion* rarely refers to an individual’s spiritual or psychological experience but, rather, to the broader process that resulted in the transformation of whole societies.” (Bentley 8)
   6. Social conversions “depended upon more than personal decisions. They also presup­posed the establishment of institutions to support new cultural alternatives, and these institutions always required a great deal of time to work their effects [often] three to five centuries . . .” (Bentley 8)
   7. three patterns of social conversion: “conversion to foreign beliefs, values, or cultural standards took different forms—fol­lowed different patterns—according to the various sets of political, social, and economic in­flu­ences that governed the processes of conver­sion. [8] . . . [The] analysis of cross-cul­tural con­version in its larger social context turns up three patterns,” [9] three types of “social con­version . . .” (Bentley 9, 13)
   8. “conversion through voluntary association” (Bentley 9, 13)
   9. Here “individuals abandon a religion or cultural tradition . . . and embrace another . . .” (Bentley 9)
   10. “Indeed, the principal instigators of voluntary conversion in pre-modern times were merchants engaged in long-distance trade. . . . merchants commonly established diaspora communities . . . Over time they brought in cultural authorities such as priests, monks, and *qadis* (Islamic judges) . . .” (Bentley 9)
   11. “But why did their hosts voluntarily associate themselves with the traditions of the foreign merchants?” (Bentley 9)
   12. “. . . adoption of foreign ways facilitated cross-cultural dealings by ensuring that all parties involved recognized a common code of ethics and values that shaped their expectations of each other.” (Bentley 10)
   13. “. . . voluntary association offered benefits especially to ruling elites [viz.] poli­tical, military, and economic alliances with foreign powers.” (Bentley 10)
   14. “. . . recognition from afar often carried great prestige and authority . . .” (Bentley 10)
   15. Did “voluntary association indicate a genuine exchange of cultural commitments or a tactical maneuver intended to attract additional support for a ruling elite? In the absence of good information on elites’ mental states and personal motives, it seems to me quite impossible to offer a definitive answer to this question.” (Bentley 11)
   16. “Quite often transformation of the larger society came about only with the applica­tion of force . . . [Nevertheless,] voluntary association . . . [often initiated] pro­cesses of social conversion.” (Bentley 11)
   17. “conversion induced by pressure” (Bentley 13)
   18. “. . . conquerors had ways to encourage large-scale social conversion”:
   19. “differential taxation,
   20. “diversion of financial resources from established institutions to those associ­ated with a new cultural alternative,
   21. “preference of adherents to a particular tradition when recruiting military and political officials,
   22. “limitation of access to religious services or rituals, . . .
   23. “the closure or destruction of temples . . .
   24. “[and] the direct coercion of individuals.” (Bentley 12)
   25. “. . . conversions induced by pressures have most often followed from mass migra­tions of peoples or from campaigns of conquest.” But in some cases, “states chose as a matter of policy to support one cultural or religious alternative . . . [An example is Rome after] the conversion of Constantine . . .” (Bentley 12)
   26. “Campaigns of conversion by pressure resulted in a good many cases of faked con­version: external observance . . . to escape persecution or to take advantage of po­lit­i­cal, social, or economic opportunities.” But “over several generations [a trad­i­tion] came to seem quite natural . . .” (Bentley 13)
   27. “conversion by assimilation” (Bentley 13)
   28. Here “a minority group adapted to the cultural standards of the majority . . .” (Bentley 13)
   29. “In some cases, minority peoples actively and enthusiastically sought assimilation [e.g., when] Germanic peoples entered the Roman empire . . .” (Bentley 13)
   30. “In other cases, assimilation brought about the conversion of people who were per­haps unaware quite what was happening to them. If they lost regular communi­ca­tions with cultural authorities of their native traditions, merchants, migrants, and even missionaries sometimes fell into the orbit of foreign cultural traditions.” (Bentley 14)
   31. “Like the other modes of conversion, so also conversion by assimilation takes on a dif­ferent aspect when examined from the viewpoint of an individual rather than a so­ciety. An individual [might] have abandoned or lost contact with the native cul­tural tradition, yet [be] socialized at best to a limited extent in the new alternative . . . [But here too] later generations took new ways as their native traditions.” (Bentley 14)
   32. syncretism
   33. “The three modes of conversion thus served as roads penetrating cultural boundar­ies . . . [Widespread acceptance] of foreign cultural traditions is difficult or even im­possible to explain in the absence of syncretism. Though analytically dis­tin­­­guished from conver­sion, syncretism often [was] the principal agent that facilitated the large-scale conver­sion of whole societies . . .” (Bentley 15)
   34. “Actually, the simple effort to communicate beliefs and values across cultural boundary lines almost inevitably entailed a certain amount of syncretism, since the explanation of foreign concepts [15] required some degree of comparison and assimilation to familiar ideas. . . . explaining an alien cultural tradition, they [converts] fractured its original elements, restated them in new terms, [and] endowed them . . ., consciously or not, . . . [with] elements of their inherited traditions . . .” (Bentley 15-16)
   35. “. . . the three modes of cross-cultural conversion and syncretism rarely worked their effects in isolation . . .” (Bentley 17)
   36. resistance
   37. “Alongside conversion and syncretism, resistance stood among the most prominent responses . . .” (Bentley 18)
   38. “. . . resistance took several forms . . .” (Bentley 18)
   39. “Sometimes, peoples resisted rather passively by simply . . . ignoring foreign cul­tural alternatives . . .” (Bentley 18)
   40. “Other times, they aggressively attacked representatives of an alternate cul­tural tradition.” (Bentley 18)
   41. “But cultural resistance could also inspire flight . . .” (Bentley 18)
   42. “The ultimate form of resistance, however, was suicide or self-martyrdom.” (Bentley 18)
   43. “Many studies have shown that disease, technology, [and] weapons . . . diffused easily . . . Beliefs and values, however, crossed [boundaries] with much greater difficulty.” (Bentley 19)

## Eras of Cross-Cultural Encounter in Pre-Modern Times

1. **introduction**
   1. “Human groups embarked on long-distance travels alomst as soon as *Homo sapiens* em­erged as a species some 40,000 years ago. . . . travels no doubt led them into cross-cultural encounters even in prehistoric times. Analyses of language families, blood types, and material remains have enabled scholars to trace the movements of at least some prehistoric peoples with remarkable precision.” [20] See Irving Rouse, *Migrations in Prehistory*: *Inferring Population movement from Cultural Remains* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1986). (Bentley 20, 186 n. 10)
   2. “. . . for all early civilizations: Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Indian, Chinese, and Mesoameri­can . . ., neighboring peoples became increasingly linked—first politically and economically, later culturally and socially . . .” (Bentley 22)
   3. transportation
      1. “. . . developments in the technology of transportation quickened the tempo of cross-cultural contact [20] . . . The establishment of roads, sea routes, and communication net­works obviously figures as a precondition for intense cross-cultural contacts. The work of merchants and traders in opening highways and arranging accomodations along these routes quite literally paved the way for the encounters . . .” (Bentley 20-21)
      2. “. . . around 3200 b. c. e., central Asian nomads brought the horse under domestica­tion.” (Bentley 20)
      3. “Not long thereafter—probably between 3000 and 2500 b. c. e.—Arabian peoples domesticated the camel.” (Bentley 20)
      4. “About that same time, Egyptians developed sailing craft . . .” (Bentley 20)
      5. In the 2000s bc, “trade passed regularly between Mesopotamia and the Harap­pan civilization of the Indus River valley.” (Bentley 21)
      6. By the 1100s bc, “well-established donkey caravans linked Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.” (Bentley 21)
2. **early spread of civilizations**
   1. Mesoamerican contacts
      1. “Thor Heyerdahl . . . holds that Phoenicians . . . introduced civilization to . . . Meso­am­erica.” (Bentley 21)
      2. Joseph Needham “locates the source of inspiration [for Mesoamerica] in China . . .: from about 1000 b. c. e., he argues, Chinese fishermen and traders intermittently crossed the Pacific Ocean and introduced into the Americas a wide range of Asian technologies and cultural elements, including metallurgy, sailing rafts, paper production, religious art, music, and folklore . . .” (Bentley 21)
      3. These are “extreme diffusionist arguments . . . most scholars prefer independent inven­tion as an explanation . . .” (Bentley 21)
      4. “Cross-cultural encounters no doubt shaped the experiences of . . . peoples throughout the pre-Columbian Americas. Given the lack of information about them, however, [analysis] must concentrate on . . . Eurasia and Africa.” (Bentley 26)
   2. Phoenicians
      1. “. . . the Phoenicians were energetic seafarers who dominated trade in the Mediterra­nean from about 1100 to 800 b. c. e. They even ventured into the Atlantic Ocean in order to carry on trade with tin-producing regions of southern England, and some evidence suggests that one of their navigators circumnavigated Africa.” (Bentley 22)
      2. They “spread Middle Eastern culture . . . broadly and efficiently . . . [most notably] the alphabet, which like most of their culture they borrowed from others.” (Bentley 23)
3. “**barbarism**”
   1. “A second result of ancient encounters [was] the notion of barbarism. In Greek usage, the term *barbarian* originally was a linguistic [category] . . . about the eight century b. c. e., the term *barbarian* took on strong connotations of cultural inferiority.” (Bentley 23)
   2. The “Chinese soon came to regard nomadic steppe peoples as barbarians . . . as in the western case, ancient encounters led to progressive cultural differentiation and to the designation of less settled, less agricultural peoples as barbarians.” (Bentley 24)
4. “**axial age**”
   1. The “axial age” is “the period about 800 to 200 b. c. e. when ethical and reflective thought flourished independently in China, India, the Middle East, and Greece. Axial thinkers included Confucius, Laozi, the authors of the Upani­shads, the Buddha, Zarathus­tra, the Hebrew prophets, Socrates, and Plato, among others. Their works all manifest deep con­cern for political and social stability, for ethics and personal morality, for the recognition of standards that would regularize human relationships and place them on rational, predictable courses. The various cultural traditions that flowed from axial thought [included] Confu­cianism, [24], Daoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoro­as­trianism, Judaism, and Greek rational thought . . .” (Bentley 24-25)
   2. “Karl Jaspers once argued that the nomadic threat to settled societies helped to account for the so-called axial age . . . it certainly is conceivable that axial thought . . . represented a cultural response to the political, social, and economic disruption of settled lands by no­madic invaders.” [25] (See Jaspers, Karl. *The Origin and Goal of History*, trans. M. Bullock (New Haven: Yale UP, 1953), esp. pp. 1-21.) (Bentley 25, 186 n. 16)
5. **four periods**
   1. “Despite their significance over the long term, cross-cultural encounters that resulted in the early spread of civilizations, the emergence of the category of the barbarian, and axial thought do not lend themselves to deep analysis, since very few materials survive [25] . . . [Therefore,] this book will concentrate on four periods . . .” (Bentley 25-26)
   2. first period (200 bc-ad 400)
      1. “For practical purposes, sustained analysis . . . can begin only about the time of the Roman and Han [206 bc-ad 220] empires [i.e., the] era of the ancient silk roads—rough­ly 200 b. c. e. . . . large imperial states pacified enough of Eurasia that trading networks could safely link the extreme ends of the landmass.” (Bentley 26)
      2. “This era came to an end, though, with the collapse of the Roman and Han em­pires . . . and with the outbreak of devastating epidemic diseases . . .” (Bentley 26)
   3. second period (ad 600-1000)
      1. “Beginning about the sixth century, however, a revival [26] . . . depended again on the foundation of large imperial states, such as the Tang [618-907], Ab­basid [750-1258], and Carolingian [751-987] empires . . .” (Bentley 26-27)
      2. “. . . trade in the sixth century benefitted also from much more frequent use of sea lanes across the Indian Ocean.” (Bentley 27)
   4. third period (ad 1000-1350)
      1. “This second period did not so much come to a end as it blended into a new era—roughly 1000 to 1350 . . .” (Bentley 27)
      2. “Long-distance trade over both land and sea increased dramatically . . .” (Bentley 27)
      3. “The distinctive feature of this era, however, [was] expansion of nomadic peo­ples, principally Turks and Mongols [27] . . . The centuries from about 1000 to 1350 c. e. did not witness the establishments of new trade routes such as . . . the ancient silk roads [111] . . . [But] the Eastern Hemisphere became more tightly integrated . . . [Integra­tion] enabled individuals to undertake long-distance travels on a scale never before possible. . . . [Two] warrant special mention . . .” (Bentley 111, 114)
         1. Marco Polo “left his native Venice in 1271 in order to accompany his fa­ther and uncle on a commercial expedition to China. The party traveled through Mesopota­mia, Persia, and Turkestan, reaching the court of Kubi­lai Khan in 1275. They remained in China until 1292, when they sailed from Quanzhou and returned to Venice, arriving in 1295 by way of Sumatra, Ceylon, India, Arabia, and Asia Mi­nor.” (Bentley 114)
         2. Ibn Batuta “in 1325 departed his home in Tangier [Morocco] in order to make his pilgrimage to Mecca. Instead of returning immediately, however, he proceeded on to Mesopotamia, Persia, India, the Maldive Islands, Ceylon, and China. In 1346 he left China and returned to Morocco by way of India, the Persian Gulf, Syria, and Egypt, arriving at Fez in 1349. The following year he made a quick trip to the kingdom of Gran­ada but still had not ended his travels; in 1351 he crossed the Sahara and began a visit of more than two years to the kingdom of Mali. [He] logged some sev­en­ty-three thousand miles . . .” (Bentley 114)
      4. “During the eleventh century, . . . the Saljuq Turks built an empire extending from An­a­tolia through the Middle East and Persia into Central Asia.” (Bentley 115)
      5. “Beginning about the early eleventh century, Chinese merchants sailed regularly to India and perhaps even visited east African ports. . . . [Muslim traders’] ubiquity in the Indian Ocean helps to account for the spread of Islam to east Africa and southeast Asia.” (Bentley 115)
      6. “During the thirteenth century, the Mongols established the largest empire in all human his­tory,” from Korea to the Danube. [115] “Mongol hegemony in Eurasia facilitated the ef­ficient spread not only of trade goods and cultural traditions but also [of the] bubonic plague . . .” (Bentley 115, 27)
   5. fourth period (ad 1350-1500)
      1. “Recovery from the plague began already in the fifteenth century . . . western Europe­ans in par­ticular discovered that they possessed the capacity to bring sus­tained power to bear in their dealings with many of the peoples they encountered.” (Bentley 27)
      2. “This fourth era of cross-cultural en­counters thus represents the early stage of the vast expansion of European power [27] . . . from 1500 to 1900.” (Bentley 27-28)
6. **the era of the ancient silk roads**
   1. “Well before 3000 b. c. e., Mesopotamians had begun to organize long-distance trading ventures . . . roads and highways were fragile links, liable to . . . political instability [and] banditry . . . [However,] large states and empires took form . . . and trade became a less risky proposition.” (Bentley 29)
      1. “The Qin dynasty unified China (221-207 b. c. e.), and the Han (206 b. c. e.-220 c. e.) provided a framework for centralized imperial rule there over the long term.” (Bentley 29)
      2. The Maurya dynasty was 320-183 b. c. (Bentley 29)
      3. There was also the Parthian Empire. (Bentley 32)
      4. There was also the Roman Empire. (Bentley 32)
   2. Among barbarian peoples, “Control of trade with settled peoples could provide chieftains with enormous [leverage] . . . nomadic peoples themselves generally served as middlemen . . .” (Bentley 32)
   3. silk roads
      1. “At the eastern end [of the silk roads] lay Changan, capital of the Han dynasty. From there the road went west through Mongolia and Turkestan (modern Xinjiang). [At the] Takli­makan desert, the road split into northern and southern branches that skirted the desert and passed through the numerous oasis towns on its fringes. The [32] road continued through Ferghana to Transoxiana—the wealthy region between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers (today called the Amu Darya and Syr Darya)—where a branch led to northwestern India by way of the Khyber Pass. The principal road continued [to] the Roman empire.” (Bentley 32-33)
   4. Indian Ocean
      1. By the first century bc, “sea lanes in the Indian Ocean . . . linked ports in southeast Asia, India, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and east Africa. . . . Silk and lacquerware went west from China; southeast Asia and India exported coral and pearls; western lands traded horses, wool, linen, aromatics, glass, and precious stones.” (Bentley 33)
7. **end of the Mongol era** (c 1350)
   1. “By pacifying vast regions and facilitating overland travel throughout their empire, the Mongols made it possible for humans and their animal stock to transport microorganisms . . . the bubonic bacillus attacked . . . In China, the Middle East, and Europe . . . half, two-thirds, three-fourth . . . of the population succumbed to the plague. . . . [It] thoroughly disrupted the political, social, economic, and cultural orders of all the peoples it attacked.” (Bentley 163)
   2. Disruptions included “an acute shortage of labor, steep declines in agricultural and industrial production, and financial crises with large political and social ramifications . . .” (Bentley 163)
   3. “Long-distance trade probably did not disappear completely, but it . . . declined precipi­tously during the late fourteenth century.” (Bentley 163)
   4. “. . . the plague encouraged introspection—a search for explanation or solace within one’s own system of beliefs or values—rather than concern with alternative cultural traditions.” (Bentley 164)
   5. By the early 1400s, “epidemic outbreaks decreased . . .” (Bentley 164)

# Eastern Religions

## Hinduism in Southeast Asia

1. **200 bc-ad 400**
   1. During the era of the ancient silk roads, c. 200 bc-ad 400, India “witnessed the ela­bor­ation of an influ­en­tial cultural tradition . . . [Indian cultural traditions] sparked a good deal more interest in foreign lands than did the Chinese . . .” (Bentley 42)
   2. “During the late centuries b.c.e., Indian travelers began to sail the seas and visit the coastal towns of southeast Asia. . . . By the early centuries c.e., southeast Asian mariners themselves traveled to India as well as to other southeast Asian sites.” (Bentley 51)
   3. “The ruler of an important trading site was no longer a “frog under a coconut shell,” as the Malay proverb has it . . . Trade and external alliances enabled local rulers to organize states . . .” (Bentley 52)
      1. “The first of these well represented in historical sources . . . was Funan, founded along the Mekong River in the first century c.e.” (Bentley 52)
      2. “By the end of the second century, similar trading states had appeared in the Malay peninsula and Champa (south­ern Vietnam).” (Bentley 52)
2. **succeeding Indian­ized states of southeast Asia**
   1. These states, and their successors for more than a thousand years, are called the “Indian­ized states of southeast Asia.” “In a land previously governed by charismatic individuals of great per­sonal influence, for example, rulers adopted Indian notions of divine kingship. They as­sociated themselves with the cults of Siva, Visnu [*sic*], or the Buddha, and they claimed both foreign and divine authority to legitimize their rule. They built walled cities with tem­ples at the center, and they introduced Indian music and ceremon­ies into court rituals. They brought in Hindu and Buddhist advisers . . . and they used Sanskrit as the language of law and bureaucracy. . . . the quality of Sanskrit literature produced in southeast Asia argues for the presence there [52] of many sophisticated and well-educated representatives of Indian cul­tural traditions.” (Bentley 52-53)
   2. “. . . Indian traditions worked their influence mostly at the courts of ruling elites, and not much beyond. Over a longer term, however, Indian and native traditions combined to fashion syncretic cultural configurations and to bring about social conversion on a large scale—processes dis­cussed in the next two chapters.” (Bentley 53)

## Buddhism in India

1. **external reasons why Buddhism flourished**
   1. “In the first place, Buddhism arose at a time of great change in the social and economic order of ancient India. During the sixth and fifth centuries b.c.e., commerce and cash became increasingly important in an economy previously dominated by self-sufficient production and bartered exchange. Merchants found Buddhist moral and ethical teachings an attractive alternative to the esoteric rituals of the traditional brahmin priesthood, which seemed to cater exclusively to brahmin interests while ignoring those of the new and emerging social classes. Natural allies, Buddhists and merchants soon developed a mutually beneficial, even symbiotic relationship. Merchants generously supported Buddhist monas­teries and other foundations. Meanwhile, Buddhists established their communities along trade routes linking important political and economic centers, where they could provide hospitality for merchants and other travelers. As a result of this relationship, the Buddhist faith was well positioned to spread dramatically whenever Indian merchants expanded the geographical range of their commercial activity.” (Bentley 43)
   2. A “second feature of early Buddhism . . . also helps to explain its widespread dissemina­tion: the importance that early Buddhists attached to monastic communities and mis­sion­ary activities. The two in fact go hand in hand. Monks provided many social and spiritual services but did not contribute directly to agricultural or industrial production. For their subsistence the relied instead on alms and gifts donated by lay followers. Maintenance of a monastic tradition thus entailed the attraction of a large laity to Buddhist values and alle­giance.” (Bentley 43)
   3. “Finally, Buddhism benefitted from its doctrinal flexibility. . . . The basic doctrine of Bud­dhism was quite simple, and Buddhist scriptures required several centuries to acquire canonical status. In the meantime, disciples of the Buddha emphasized various elements of his teaching that appealed to them. This development raised the possibility that schism would divide or weaken or even destroy the fledgling faith. Indeed, early Buddhists proba­bly held two councils—one immediately following the Buddha’s death [“about 486 b.c.e.,” 44] and another about a century thereafter—in a relatively unsuc­cessful effort to determine the elements of orthodox Buddhist belief and practice. From one point of view, then, variety in early Buddhist values posed a threat to a religion that had not yet securely established itself. Over the long term, however, its relatively simple doctrine enabled Buddhism to [adapt] to other cultural regions.” (Bentley 44)
2. **Asoka** (emperor, 269-232 bc)
   1. “By the third century b.c.e., Buddhism had established a solid presence in northern India, where it offered a practical and ethical alternative to the cults of the brahmins. It had also spread along the trade routes into southern In­dia—pre­sumably by a process of voluntary conversion—where it increasingly attracted the allegiance of merchants engaged in trade with the north. Then, during the middle decades of the third century, King Asoka (reigned 269-232 b.c.e.) promoted Buddhism energetically and supported it morally, materially, and legally. As a result, Buddhism became consolidated as a major religion throughout India, and it even began to spread tentatively beyond the subcontinent.” (Bentley 44)
   2. “Asoka converted gradually to Buddhism, beginning about 263 b.c.e. at the latest. By his own testimony, he did not develop a deep sense of piety in the years immedi­ately following his profession of the faith. About 260, though, he waged a bitterly destructive war against the state of Kalinga (modern Orissa). The death and suffering of Kalingans deeply affected Asoka, and he began [44] to heed the moral and ethical teachings of Buddhism much more seriously than before. For the remainder of his long reign he sought to implement a policy of *dhamma*: virtue, benevolence, and humanity. [45] . . . his policy of *dhamma* [was that] henceforth he would seek conquest by virtue, benevolence, and humanity rather than arms.” (Bentley 44-46)
   3. “Some elements of this policy had nothing specifically to do with Buddhism. Aso­ka’s avoidance of war, maintenance of roads, and provision of comforts for travelers on Indian highways signal a sense of enlightened self-interest as much as Bud­dhist piety. But other elements of the policy of *dhamma*—such as increasingly strict prohibitions against slaughter and sacrifice of animals—reflect Buddhist values clearly enough. Indeed, in many ways Asoka promoted specifically Buddhist interests. He made pilgrimages to holy Buddhist sites and built numerous temples and monasteries. He protected the integrity of Buddhist doc­trine and ordered the expul­sion of schismatics from their monasteries. He dispatched ambassadors of goodwill and missionaries to all parts of India and to neighboring lands. It is possible that he presided over a council of Buddhist leaders held at his capital of Patali­putra about 250 b.c.e. This council also sent out missions—some to central and southern India, others to Burma, Ceylon, the Himalayan region, and even to Greek-speaking lands, probably the Greek states in Bactria.” (Bentley 45)
   4. “His grandfather Candragupta had established the Mauryan empire less than forty years before Asoka’s coronation in 269 b.c.e. In Asoka’s time it remained a polyglot realm of enormous cultural diversity. It seems reasonably clear that Asoka regarded Buddhism as a doctrine that could serve as a cultural foundation for political unity. Buddhist ethics re­placed locally or ethnically based value systems with a universal standard of morality.” (Bentley 46)
3. **Buddhism and the West**
   1. After Alexander the Great conquered Bactria, “Greeks immediately became intrigued by Indian culture and civilization. An early Greek ambassador, Megas­­then­es, composed a work entitled the *Indika*, which described Indian geography, society, customs, and culture; though now lost, its deep influence is apparent from many other ancient Greek works that cited it or quoted from it.” (Bentley 46)
   2. “At least by the first century c.e., Buddhist communities had become established in the eastern part of the Parthian empire. . . . through the diaspora communities of foreign merchants. . . . Parthian traders were especially prominent among the early Buddhists in central Asia and China. [46] . . . Later on, the Sassanian kings did not tolerate any religion except [Zoroastrianism,] and eventually the establishment of Islam precluded” Buddhism. (Bentley 46-47)
   3. “the possibility that Buddhism influenced” Christianity
      1. There are “many parallels concerning the births, lives, doctrines, and deaths . . . [But,] While acknowledging the possibility or even the likelihood that Bud­dhism influenced certain, individual, specific stories or practices of early Chris­ti­anity [scholars] generally find no reason to suspect foreign influence on the formation of the essential doctrines of the two faiths.” (Bentley 47)
      2. “Only in the case of Manichaeism [is] there clear evidence that Buddhist beliefs and values decisively influenced the development of religious doctrines in lands west of Bac­tria.” (Bentley 47)
4. **art**
   1. early art
      1. “The earliest Buddhist artists had considered it improper to depict the Buddha himself in human form. They repres­ented him instead [53] by means of an appropriate symbol: a pipal tree (under which he had gained enlightenment), a footprint (which sug­gested his pere­grinations), an empty throne (which he had abandoned in favor of enlighten­ment), or the wheel of the law (which he had set in motion).” (Bentley 53-54)
   2. Gandhara school
      1. In “the north Indian kingdom of Gandhara, [the] Gandharan school of Buddhist art . . . clearly reflected the influence of Mediterranean styles [53] . . . As Greeks es­tab­lished diaspora trade communities in Bactria and Gandhara, they brought works of art” and perhaps even western artists. “By the first century c.e., . . . Gan­dharan ar­tists portray the Buddha in human form; they also dressed him in Mediterranean gar­ments . . .” (Bentley 53-54)
5. **Mahayana Buddhism**
   1. “During its earliest days, Buddhism had taught a rather severe doctrine: it offered personal salvation, but only to those who followed a strict code of ethics and behavior. During the early centuries c.e., however, Buddhists in northern India elaborated a more accessible doctrine. They held that certain Buddhists had merited nirvana but delayed their entry in order to aid their fellow mortals seeking salvation. They came to be known as boddhisat­vas—Bud­dhas-to-be—and like Christian saints, they had the power to intervene in worldly affairs, help less accomplished Buddhists to merit salvation, and even perform worthy acts on behalf of individuals.” (Bentley 76)
   2. “This school of thought came to be known as the Maha­yana (“the greater vehicle”), since it envisioned the salvation of much larger numbers of individuals in a much shorter period of time than the earliest Buddhists had thought possible. Maha­yana Buddhists sometimes referred to other schools by the unflatter­ing term Hinayana (“the [76] lesser vehicle”), since they restricted salvation to smaller numbers of especially devout individuals.” (Bentley 76-77)
6. **decline**
   1. Buddhism “waned in its original Indian homeland, beginning about the tenth century . . .” (Bentley 89)

## Buddhism in Central Asia

1. **introduction**
   1. Buddhism, “generally despised by Chinese during its early centuries there, . . . exer­cised a kind of countercultural appeal to nomads who loathed the Chinese . . . [Yet nomads] did not have traditions of literacy to accommodate Buddhist moral and theological teachings, and their mobility made it impossible to maintain fixed mon­as­tic communities. As a result, many nomadic peoples held to their native shamanist cults, and others turned to Manichae­ism or Nestorian Christianity. Meanwhile, some of those [48] who adopted Buddhism did so at a very late date. Among the Mongols, for example, Buddhism did not become a popular faith until the sixteenth century. When nomadic peoples became involved in com­merce, however, [or] rulers of settled lands . . ., they frequently adopted Buddhism . . .” (Bentley 48-49)
   2. “Fotudeng probably came from Kuqa, an oasis town on the silk road in modern Xinji­ang. He became a priest at an early age [and] set out to do missionary work in northern China . . . There he caught the attention of . . . the nomadic Jie people (western allies of the Xiongnu), who controlled most of northern China during the fourth century. . . . he had a reputation for working miracles, which he used to the advantage of his mission[:] . . . producing bright blue lotus blossoms from his monk’s begging bowl and by looking into his palm to see the reflection of distant events. Among his more utilitarian talents were rain­making, healing, and prophecy. . . . When he died about the year 345, he reportedly had ten thousand disciples and the erection of 893 temples to his credit.” (Bentley 49)
   3. “Once it arrived on the trade routes, Buddhism found its way very quickly indeed to distant lands. [ 47] [Mer­chants] established diaspora communities in the string of oasis towns—Merv, Bukhara, Samar­kand, Kashgar, Khotan, Kuqa, Turpan, Dun­hu­ang . . . The oases depended heavily on trade for their economic survival, and they quickly accomo­dated [the merchants] . . . They became centers of high literacy and culture; they organized markets and arranged for lodging, care of animals, and storage of mer­chandise; and they allowed their guests to build monasteries and bring large contin­gents of Buddhist monks and copy­ists into their communities. Before too long—perhaps as early as the first or even the second century b.c.e.—the oasis dwellers themselves converted to Buddhism.” (Bentley 47-48)
   4. Buddhist temples and monasteries were built “in the oasis communities of central Asia. . . . [Translators rendered] sutras from Sanskrit or Prakrit . . . At Dunhuang, where the northern and southern branches of the silk roads came together and entered China . . . Thousands of manuscripts represent the observance of Buddhism . . ., while at least a few [represent] Manichaeans and Nestorian Christians.” (Bentley 73)
   5. Buddhist monks carved 492 “cave-temples in the vicinity of Dunhuang, many of them lavishly [73] illustrated with murals depicting scenes from the Buddha’s life and experiences of the various boddhisatvas recognized in the Mahayana Buddhist tradition. The construc­tion and illumination of these caves stretched over the mil­len­nium from the fourth to the fourteenth century, but the vast majority [from] 600 to 1000 . . .” (Bentley 73-74)
2. **the Uighur Turks**
   1. The Uighur Turks “lived for several centuries under the domination of various no­­madic peoples in Mongolia. About the middle of the seventh century, as the Tang empire [ad 618-907] extended its influence in central Asia, they fell un­der Chinese protection.” (Bentley 74)
   2. “From an early date, the Uighurs allied with the Chinese against other nomadic peoples . . . they helped Tang authorities put down the serious rebellion of An Lushan, a maverick Tang general. In the year 757 they recaptured the capital cities of Changan and Luoyang . . . in exchange for saving the Tang dynasty [618-907], the nomadic warriors looted and pillaged Luo­yang for three days.” (Bentley 74)
   3. “. . . because of their military prowess they were able to negotiate favorable terms of trade. During the [74] mid-eighth century, they received forty rolls of silk for each of the old, broken-down horses that they herded to Changan. (On the steppes, by contrast, a horse was generally worth a single roll of silk.)” (Bentley 74-75)
   4. “In light of their rather abrupt entry into a large and cosmopolitan world, . . . the Uighurs encountered Buddhism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity. Large numbers of Ui­ghurs opted for each of these faiths. . . . Through the Uighurs’ agen­cy, Buddhism first established a foothold in the steppes.” (Bentley 75)
3. **the Tang dynasty (618-907)**
   1. The largest Chinese dynasty, the Tang empire (618-907), “abutted almost directly on the recently established Abbasid empire in Persia . . . and peoples of central Asia stimulated the Tang sense of the exotic.” (Bentley 87-88)
   2. “The effective spread of Confucian values depended on permanent establish­ment of Chinese bureaucratic and educational institutions, supported when necessary by political and military power. The Tang presence in central Asia simply did not last long enough for Chinese culture to work much influence there. In any case, though, the peoples of central Asia had become attracted [88] to different cultural traditions. Many of them had already converted to Buddhism, Manichaeism, or Nestorian Christianity.” (Bentley 89)
   3. “Indeed, during the period 600 to 1000, Chinese culture made its influence felt in central Asia more under the guise of Buddhism than in the form of indigen­ous Chinese traditions such as Confucianism or Daoism.” (Bentley 89)
   4. “Until about the eighth century, the dominant school of Buddhism in central Asia was the Sar­vastivada (one of the schools sometimes referred to by the unflattering term “Hina­yana”). But Chinese Buddhists inclined from a very early date to the school of the Maha­yana. Chinese pilgrims and Chinese Bud­dhist theologians became so active, however, that be­tween the eighth and eleventh centuries they virtually converted central Asians to Maha­yana Buddhism.” (Bentley 89)
   5. Bud­dhists and Taoists ultimately absorbed “Christians and Manichaeans who migrated to central Asia and Chi­na.” (Bentley 14)
4. **Ding Henian**
   1. “Ding Henian (1335-1424) . . . came from a family of Muslim merchants who traded across central Asia during the period of Mongol domination there. Though quite wealthy, he closely studied the Confucian classics with a prominent teacher . . . he wanted to honor his family, which never before had produced distinguished scholarly or literary figures. But the fall of the Mongols’ Yuan dynasty (1368) seems to have shaken his intellectual confidence, and he became progressively interested in [147] Buddhism. Eventually, he even opened a Buddhist school and composed several sets of verses announcing his allegiance to the new faith.” (Bentley 147-148)

## Confucians and the Xiongnu

1. **introduction**
   1. “The teachings of Confucius have about them an air of moderation and good sense . . . Like most codes of political and social ethics, the Confucian tradition places high value on order, stability, and regularity. It deeply honors literature and formal education, and it emphasizes especially strongly the point that a conscientious, highly educated class of men ought to play the principal role in government. During the Han dynasty (206 b.c.e. to 220 c.e.), the Chinese state sponsored the development of a formal educational system based on Confucian texts and values to produce administrators and bureaucrats. This policy significantly advanced the cultural integration of the settled, agricultural regions of the Han empire.” (Bentley 35)
2. **South China**
   1. “Toward the margins of agricultural society, however, . . . [tribal] and clan loyalties, con­fus­ing marriage and family relationships, hunting-and-gathering or mixed agricultural economies, the authority of shamanistic leaders, and a wide variety of local supersti­tions—all hindered the extension of Chinese civilization into the valley of the Chang Jiang (Yangzi River) and beyond.” (Bentley 35)
   2. “Nevertheless, over the long term, a variety of policies brought the south securely into the orbit of Chinese civilization. These policies included promotion of settled agriculture, institution of patriarchal family relationships, education of [35] local notables in Confucian values and Chinese ritual, and even the promotion of Chinese dress. By the eighth or ninth century c.e., aided by large-scale migration and centuries of Chinese presence, these policies had effectively sinicized the southern regions of China.” (Bentley 35-36)
3. **steppes**
   1. Since “the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 b.c.e.), Chinese states had experienced tense relations with the nomadic peoples of the steppes.” (Bentley 36)
   2. C. 300 bc, “King Wu Ling of Zhao forced his reluctant army to develop the “bar­bar­ian” skills of horsemanship and mounted archery . . .” (Bentley 38)
   3. “Most prominent of the nomads bordering the Han empire were the Xiong­nu, a Turkish-speaking people from the Mongolian steppes. Soon after the founding of the Han dynasty, Maodun (reigned 209 to 174 b.c.e.), organized the Xiongnu into a vast confederacy that extended from the Aral Sea [to] the Yellow Sea.” (Bentley 36)
   4. Han diplomats “arranged dynastic marriages, sending Han princesses [and] valuable gifts—essentially tribute . . . they established a series of border markets where [36] Xiongnu could trade . . . Xiongnu continued to carry out border raids . . . Han law prohibited the sale of iron, crossbows, and other weaponry to barbarians . . . in 121 b.c.e., the emperor Han Wudi ordered the execution of five hundred merchants who had traded in contraband . . .” (Bentley 36-37)
   5. “Chinese forces sometimes mount­ed surprise attacks on Xiongnu who had gathered in large numbers at border markets for purposes of peaceful trade.” (Bentley 37)
   6. Tension “ultimately led to outright war . . . The “Martial Emperor,” Han Wudi (140-87 b.c.e.), . . . pacified a large central Asian corridor from Mongolia to Tur­kestan. . . . By the late first century c.e., the Xiongnu . . . never again posed a serious” threat. (Bentley 37)
4. **purveyors**
   1. Meanwhile, cross-cultural encounters “included traders, ambassadors, hostages, prisoners, slaves, partners in cross-cultural marriages, and the offspring . . .” (Bentley 37)
   2. “The Xiongnu received silk and other fine goods from their trade and tributary dealings with the Han dynasty. They redistributed these products throughout the realm, which helped to create a demand for Chinese goods in central Asia. Event­ually, Chinese products found their ways to India, the Middle East, and the Roman empire, which led to accelerated demand for silk in particular. Xiongnu and other nomads served as the most important transporters [41] . . . Western demand for Chinese silk and other fine products combined with Chinese interest in western hor­ses to produce a powerful commercial dynamic,” and central Asian peoples quickly moved “to serve as carriers of Chinese products . . .” (Bentley 41)
   3. Zhang Qian, a Han ambassador, “twice traveled as far as Bactria and Ferghana in search of allies against the Xiongnu. . . . During his first trip, which began in 139 b.c.e., he spent more than ten years in Xiongnu captivity. . . . in Bactira, about 128 b.c.e., Zhang Qian had noticed Chinese bamboo and textiles offered for sale. Upon inquiry, he learned that they had come from southwest China by way of Bengal. From his observation, Zhang Qian deduced the possibility of establishing safe roads from China through India to Bactria . . .” (Bentley 41)
5. **cross-cultural influences**
   1. “Some Xiongnu adopted Chinese agricultural techniques . . . wore silk, ate with chopsticks, [or even] took Chinese names . . .” (Bentley 38)
   2. “Toward the end of the Han dynasty, Emperor Ling and many aristocrats went so far as to adopt barbarian dress and to promote performances of the nomads’ music and dance.” (Bentley 38)
   3. “Yet there was no mass conversion of either Chinese or Xiongnu society. . . . Chinese experience with the Xiongnu thus differed entirely from their encounter with the native peoples of south China. . . . [The steppes] would support neither intensive agriculture nor large populations.” (Bentley 40)
   4. “Especially after about 200 c.e., the roads traveled by material goods figured also as routes serving long-range cultural as well as commercial exchange. . . . missionaries, pilgrims, and other cultural mediators soon began to make use of them [the silk roads] . . . “The real significance of the silk road was cultural rather than commercial . . .”” (Qtd. from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*. 6 vols. to date. Cam­bridge: CUP, 1954-. 4.540-553.) (Bentley 42)

## Buddhism in China

1. **north China**
   1. “Buddhism traveled the silk roads [to] China.” (Bentley 47)
   2. “By the first century c.e., at the latest—probably in the first century b.c.e.—Bud­dhist teachings had found their way to the heart of China. . . .” (Bentley 42)
   3. “In the north, where Buddhism first established its presence in China, voluntary conversion reflected the political interests of ruling elites. In most cases they were no­mads, such as the Jie whom Fotudeng served so well, or the Toba rulers of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534). [50] . . . Buddhist monasteries provided . . . sup­port for established ruling houses: they recognized the legitimacy of Jie and Toba rule; they facilitated long-distance trade . . .” (Bentley 51)
   4. “Like the oasis dwellers of central Asia, then, the ruling elites of northern China made com­mon cause with representatives of a foreign cultural tradition who had extensive political and commercial links in the larger world. This sort of voluntary conversion was the only way by which Buddhism could find a place in Chinese society. Buddhists entered China in numbers too small to bring about a massive social transformation by way of pressure or assimilation.” (Bentley 51)
   5. In northern China, “traders found its universal ethics an attractive alternative to traditional value systems arising from the foundation of intense loyalty to family and clan.” (Bentley 83)
   6. “As northern Buddhists established links with the representatives of gentry Buddhism in the south, the appeal of Buddhism [83] extended throughout China.” (Bentley 83-84)
2. **gradual establishment**
   1. difficulty
      1. “The establishment of Buddhism in China was [difficult and] required half a millen­nium . . .” (Bentley 50)
      2. “Buddhism encountered determined resistance from Confucian and Daoist quarters. Representatives of the native Chinese traditions charged that Buddhism detracted from the authority of the state, that monasteries were unproductive and useless drags on the economy, that Buddhism itself was a barbarian faith inferior to Chinese traditions, and that the monastic life violated he natural order of society and disrupted family life. . . . During the second century c.e., for example, the Buddhist monastery at Luoyang included among its inhabitants two Parthi­ans, two Sogdians, three Indians, and three Scythians, but no known Chinese.” (Bentley 50)
      3. “. . . it is difficult to understand why Chinese would find any attractions in an alien faith that espoused strange ideas in an unfamiliar language.” But major reasons include: the development of Mahayana Buddhism; miracles; and syncretism with Taoism. (Bentley 76)
3. Mahayana Buddhism
   1. “Part of the explanation for the appeal of Buddhism in China has to do with a development internal to Buddhism itself”: Mahayana Buddhism (see 15 above). [76] . . . Particularly after the collapse of the Han dynasty [206 bc-ad 220], when nomadic in­cursions and political maneuvering unsettled Chinese society, the offer of personal salva­tion on relatively easy terms held a certain appeal for the popular masses in China.” (Bentley 76-77)
   2. miracles
      1. Statues of the Buddha “often indicated the onset of political tur­moil by spontane­ously shedding tears, moving about, or even departing their posts altogether. It is not difficult to see that widely reported incidents of this sort could impress a restive populace—especially in the per­iod before the Sui and Tang [618-907] dynasties restored political order in China.” (Bentley 78)
   3. syncretism with Taoism
      1. “When seeking to communicate unfamiliar beliefs and values in China, Buddhists found Daoism the most important bridge between Indian and Chinese cultures.” (Bentley 77)
      2. “During their early days in China, . . . Buddhists frequently situated their com­munities close to Daoist temples, and they allowed Chinese to worship the Buddha as a god alongside Dao­ist deities.” (Bentley 77)
      3. “Furthermore, Dao­ism provided a vocab­u­lary by which missionaries and translators could express Bud­dhist concepts in language familiar to Chinese.” (Bentley 77)
         1. “Early translators of Bud­dhist texts represented the concept of *d­har­ma* (the basic doctrine of Bud­dhism) with the Chinese term *dao* (“the way,” as understood in the Dao­ist sense—that is, as the principle of universal order).” (Bentley 77)
         2. “The Buddhist no­tion of *nirvana* (state of ultimate bliss) appeared in Chinese as *wuwei* (the Daoist social ethic of quietude and non-competition).” (Bentley 77)
         3. “The Confucian and other Chinese traditions also supplied terminology for early translators of Buddhist works—the Sanskrit term *sila* (ethics or morality) was translated as *xiao­xun* (Confucian concept of filial piety) . . .” (Bentley 77)
      4. “From a very early date, the two most popular schools of Buddhism in China were the Chan and Pure Land sects, both of which were deeply influenced by Daoism. Chan and Pure Land exponents had limited interest in the texts and doctrine that engaged the imagination of Indian Buddhists. Instead of textual study and formal reasoning, they emphasized the impor­tance of disciplined meditation, unswerving faith, spontaneous intuition, and instantaneous enlightenment—all interests that Daoists had long cul­tiv­ated.” [80] Chan Buddhism “represented a thoroughly sinicized form of the Buddhist faith.” (Bentley 80, 146)
      5. Buddhism’s “Daoist associations were so many and so strong that Chinese sometimes mistook Buddhism as a sect of Dao­ism.” [77] In “the villages and countryside, . . . there remained little to distinguish Buddhist priests or temples from their Daoist counter­parts.” (Bentley 77, 84)
      6. But “Daoist and Buddhist doctrines differed in many funda­men­tal respects, and over the long term there developed a spirit of com­pe­tition and even hostility between the two traditions.” (Bentley 77)
4. **south China**
   1. gentry Buddhism
      1. In “the southern regions, well-educated aristocrats de­veloped the so-called gentry Buddhism . . . until the late fourth or fifth century, they mostly emphasized aspects of Buddhism that ran parallel to Confucian and Daoist interests. Their emphasis on moral­ity and ritual appealed to Confucians, for example, while their desire to cultivate inner wisdom or insight was a concept familiar to Daoists.” (Bentley 78)
      2. “In some ways gentry Buddhism was a superficial and artificial construct: the early gentry Bud­dhists excelled in the witty repartee popular in courtly circles and salon society, but most had little interest in Buddhist doctrine and none in the broad dissemi­nation of their faith.” (Bentley 78)
      3. “Gradually, though, gentry Buddhist attracted courtly and even imperial support, and by the early fifth century it had become securely established in south China.” (Bentley 78)
5. domination by north China
   1. Emperor “Sui Yangdi (605-616) organized the construction of the Grand Canal—really a series of canals linking Huangzhou, Changan, and Zhuo (near mod­ern Beijing)—and brought the valley of the Chang Jiang [Yangzi River] within effective reach of imperial bureaucrats and tax collectors . . ., and south China fell increasingly within the orbit of Chinese civilization.” (Bentley 85)
6. **Northern Wei dynasty (386-534)**
   1. “Meanwhile, political elites also discovered an interest in Buddhism. Especially important in this connection were the Toba, a Mongol or possibly Turkish people who ruled northern China during the Nor­thern Wei dynasty (386-534). The Toba emperors did not abandon their traditional shamanistic cults but added Buddhism as a religious alternative in their realm. They closely supervised the Buddhist establishment, though, and had themselves worshipped as incarnations of the Buddha. Their cap­i­tals at Pingcheng and Luoyang were the sites where Buddhism first be­came established as a state institution in China. Thus Toba emperors lav­ishly patronized Buddhism by building temples and monasteries, award­ing land grants, and leading popular rituals and festivals, all in exchange for re­ligious endorsement and legitimization of their rule.” (Bentley 78)
7. **Sui (589-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties**
   1. emperors
      1. “The Sui and early Tang emperors largely continued the Toba policy of patroniz­ing Buddhism in return for political support. [78] Indeed, several of these emperors were enthusiastic devotees of Buddhism. . . . Buddhists in many ways received especially favor­able treatment from the late sixth to the mid-eighth century. They received vast landhold­ings . . . the Sui and Tang emperors organized feasts on behalf of Buddhist monks; they supported the copying and distribution of Buddhist texts; they encouraged princes and courtiers to take vows as lay Buddhists; they introduced Buddhist rituals into court ceremo­nies and state observances. As a result of this official attention and patronage, Buddhism became something very like a state religion in China during the Sui and early Tang [618-907] dynasties.” (Bentley 78-79)
   2. populace
      1. “. . . an enthusiastic popular response to Buddhism [was] not so much a conversion to an Indian faith as an adaptation of Buddhism . . .” (Bentley 79)
      2. Buddhist “village clergy generally had little or no education in Bud­dhism and continued to serve their clients in a most traditional way. They conducted weddings and funerals, predicted the future, cured illnesses, performed magic tricks, and related exemplary tales of moral significance.” (Bentley 80)
      3. “Meanwhile, Buddhist shrines often went up at sites already associated with local tutelary deities. Gradually, the identities of indigenous deities became confused with boddhisatvas, while images of the Buddha acquired an increasingly Chinese cast.” (Bentley 80)
      4. “Festivals and rituals likewise blended Indian and Chinese elements. The Feast of All Souls, for example—one of the most prominent rituals of popular Bud­­dhism—acknow­ledged the strong . . . family and ancestor cults.” (Bentley 79-80)
   3. monasteries
      1. “When Buddhists obtained land grants, [they eventually] gained con­trol over vast tracts of land, as well as the grain produced . . . [They] helped many people to avoid starvation in times of famine . . . beginning already in the late fifth century, large numbers of Chinese entered Buddhist mon­as­teries . . .” (Bentley 79)
8. **later fortunes**
   1. retention of basic character
      1. Buddhism did not “completely lose its own basic character.” (Bentley 80)
      2. “Between the third and the ninth century, thousands of Indian missionaries traveled to central Asia and China . . .” (Bentley 80)
      3. “Meanwhile, thousands of Chinese pilgrims traveled to India, where they learned Sanskrit, collected and copied religious texts, and visited sites holy to Buddhists.” (Bentley 81)
         1. ad 518: “the monks Song Yun and Huisheng embarked on a four-year trip to India; they returned with 170 texts of the Mahayana school . . .” (Bentley 81)
         2. 629-645 “the monk Xuanzang traveled throughout India . . . he returned to China with 124 new M­aha­yana texts . . .” (Bentley 81)
         3. 671-695: “The monk Yijing . . . collected more than 400 Buddhist texts; . . . after reutnring to China he translated some 56 works in 230 volumes.” (Bentley 81)
      4. “Except for the communication between India and China sustained over a long term, it seems inevitable that Buddhism would have been [absorbed] . . .” (Bentley 82)
   2. decline: see below, “The Decline of Buddhism, c ad 1000-1350.”
   3. permanent effect on culture
      1. Buddhism “clearly made its mark on Chinese language and cul­ture, introducing new words, deities, rituals, festivals, and concepts, such as karma and the no­tion of an afterlife, that long continued to have a place in Chinese culture.” (Bentley 84)
      2. “Equally important was its role in shaping Neo-Confucian thought, which became in essence the official philosophy and ideology of China during the Ming and Qing dynas­ties.” (Bentley 84)

## Buddhism in Southeast Asia

1. **syncretism**
   1. Buddhism accommodated “the cultural traditions in southeast Asia. In courtly circles it had to make room also for the cults of Siva and Visnu; Hindu values appealed strongly to ruling classes because of their emphasis on a hierarchical social order.” (Bentley 73)
   2. “Meanwhile, in­di­genous values honoring beneficent deities and spirits—such as those associated with sun, soil, and water—not only survived but also blended with” the Indian pantheons. (Bentley 73)
2. **island empires**
   1. “In southeast Asia, Buddhism began to flourish as the declining [Hindu] kingdom of Funan gave way before island empires that controlled the sea trade between India and China. Most im­portant of these empires was Srivijaya, centered on Palembang in southeastern Su­matra, which dominated the region’s seas from the late seventh to the thirteenth century. . . . The eighth century in particular witnessed an impressive expansion of Maha­yana Buddhism throughout . . . southeast Asia, just as Srivijayan commercial and pol­it­ical weight spread over the region.” (Bentley 72)
   2. According to the Chinese pilgrim Yijing, who was at Palembang in ad 671, “one thou­sand Buddhist monks . . . studied the same subjects and observed the same practices as In­dian Buddhists . . .” (Bentley 72)
3. **trade with China**
   1. “The exotic products of the south attracted Chinese attention from the earliest days. Qin Shi Huang­di, first emperor of China, [sent] half a million troops—to guarantee access to such items . . .” (Bentley 84)
   2. “During the Han dynasty [206 bc-ad 220], Chinese iron went south in exchange . . .” (Bentley 84)
   3. “Political instability disrupted Chinese trade with southern regions for several centuries following the collapse of the Han empire [ad 220].” (Bentley 85)
   4. “The revival of imperial unity under the Sui and Tang [618-907] dynasties . . . lent new impetus to the southern trade . . .” (Bentley 85)
   5. during the Sui (589-618) and Tang (618-907) dynasties
      1. Vietnam
         1. “The aggressive emperors of the early Tang dynasty [618-907] extended Chinese authority even further south, well into Vietnam. . . . Rarely did Tang Chinese find good things to say about Vietnam. For the most part, they despised the land, the food, the animals, the climate, the malaria, and the lack of culture they encountered in the south. They also despised the native peoples of the region.” (Bentley 85)
         2. “. . . throughout the Tang dynasty the native peoples of Vietnam offered spirited political and military resistance to the Chinese expansion, even as they maintained their beliefs in traditional spirits and deities and continued to partici­pate in family-or­i­ented cults. But Buddhism—arriving both from the west, along with Indian and In­donesian merchants, and from the north, in the cultural bag­gage of Chinese im­mi­grants—eventually established a secure foothold in Vietnam.” (Bentley 87)

## Decline of Buddhism, c. ad 1000-1350

1. **India**
   1. “The waning of Indian cultural influence did not result exclusively from foreign develop­ments such as the Turkish expansion and the spread of Islam. To the contrary, indigenous developments worked toward the same end. Most significant of these was the decline of Buddhism in India—or to put it more properly, the absorption of Buddhism into the Hindu tradition from which it had originally emerged.” (Bentley 132)
   2. After c 1100, “India progressively ceased to be a source of intellectual and cultural lead­er­ship for Buddhism. Indian missionaries no longer spread the buddhist message in foreign lands, and pilgrims no longer found it worthwhile to visit India, for lack of opportunities to learn Buddhist doctrine or to observe rituals at sites of genuine religious authority. Bud­dhism no longer served to carry Indian cultural influence to foreign lands. Meanwhile, since Hindus had never developed much interest in pro­selytization, Islam became the principal missionary religion reaching out from the Indian subcontinent.” (Bentley 132)
2. **China**
   1. Tang dynasty (618-907)
      1. “. . . in China, Buddhism suffered an absolute decline in popularity and influence. . . . in the lack of continuing contact with Indian sources of authority and inspiration, . . . Buddhism especially came to reflect the interests and values of other peoples much more than those of its original Indian creators.” (Bentley 132)
      2. Buddhists “had to defend their faith from a variety of charges: that the buddhist es­tablishment diminished the authority of the state; that monasteries contributed nothing to economic prosperity; that Buddhism was a barbarian faith in­fer­ior to Chinese cultural traditions; and that monastic asceticism violated the natural social order and disrupted the family. Criticism of this sort followed Chinese Buddhists through the centuries.” (Bentley 82)
      3. “Domestic rebellions and invasions by Turkish nomads strained the Tang treasury and provoked a reaction against foreign cultural traditions. Buddhism was especially vulner­able in this situation because temples and monasteries had accumulated vast tracts of land that did not return tax revenues. Beginning around 841, . . . Buddhists were falling out of imperial favor. . . . In 845 the emperor ordered the suppression of some 4,600 monasteries, the closing of 40,000 temples and shrines, and the return to lay status of more than 260,000 monks and nuns. The persecutions affected Zoroastrians, Nestorian Christians, and Mani­chae­ans, too, but Buddhists absorbed the brunt of the attack. [Buddhism has survived but] has never been able to recover the status and prosperity that it enjoyed during the Sui and early Tang dynasties.” (Bentley 83)
   2. Song dynasty (960-1279)[[4]](#footnote-4)
      1. “During the Song dynasty, Chinese Buddhism experienced even more difficulties than dur­ing the Tang. The revival of the Confucian civil service examination system attracted in­tellectually talented Chinese who might otherwise have [joined] Bud­dhism.” (Bentley 133)
      2. “Meanwhile, the quality of the Buddhist clergy and community declined noticeably, due to Song financial difficulties. Perpetually short of funds, the dynasty sold monastic licenses to individuals who had not undergone thorough education or preparation for their positions.” (Bentley 133)
      3. “Since the flow of Indian m­issionaries to China and Chinese pilgrims to India had diminished, and ultimately ceased altogether, there was no external source of correction or inspiration for more conscientious observance of Buddhism in China.” (Bentley 133)
   3. popular surviving sects
      1. “The Pure Land and Chan schools continued to be the most popular Buddhist sects in China. Both of them deemphasized texts and doctrine in favor of meditation, [thus recalling] Daoism at least as much as . . . Indian Buddhism.” (Bentley 133)
      2. “Among the most popular [Buddhist cults of the Song dynasty] was the cult of Mait­reya, which featured a fat, jovial, worldly monk as the future Buddha. The original Indian Mait­reya had represented the future Buddha as a rather serious and austere figure dedicated to high moral standards and salvation. The Maitreya of the Song dynasty, however, clearly enjoyed life: he ate and drank well, and his generous girth bespoke prosperity and leisure; when not laughing he wore a perpetual smile on his face, and groups of children surrounded him wherever he went. The Song Maitreya thus reflected Chinese interests in food and family, retaining little substantive associa­tion with Indian Buddhism.” (Bentley 133)
3. **southeast Asia**
   1. “Indian culture had sunk deeper roots in southeast Asia than in China, and so Indian influ­ence did not decline so sharply in the southern lands. Indian legal and political culture had accompanied Hinduism and Buddhism on their travels to southeast Asia. [133] Accord­ingly, when Indian religions blended with indigenous traditions, or even went into decline, other Indian traditions continued . . .” (Bentley 133-134)
   2. Java
      1. “Thus an eleventh-century Javanese king, Erlangga, followed the precepts of the *Artha­sastra* and attributed his victories over his enemies to the sound doctrine of the Indian political treatise. As late as the fourteenth century, the law code of the Majapahit dynasty of Java drew its inspiration primarily from the Laws of Manu.” (Bentley 134)
      2. At “the kingdom of Singosari, which ruled much of Java from 1222 to 1293 [the] court was the site of a merger of Hindu, Buddhist, and indigenous traditions. Court sculptures depicted Hindu and Buddhist person­alities, but they represented indigenous magical and divine powers rather than Indian values. Meanwhile, the ritual cement for this cultural blend came from Tantric Buddhism, which supplied Singo­sari syncretism with a variety of magical, mystical, alcoholic, and sexual observances.” (Bentley 134)
   3. Cambodia
      1. “As in Java, the supted images at Angkor represented recognizable Hindu and Bud­dhist personalities, but behind them stood indigenous interests and values. Khmer civ­ilization depended for its survival on a sophisticated waterworks—a complex network of reservoirs and canals that enabled the people to capture the waters that arrived with the monsoons, to store them for months at a time, and to distribute them to fields during the dry season. The principal function of the Khmer kings was to ensure fertility and prosperity by serving as an effective mediator between divine powers and human subjects [134] . . . the society at large placed more value on the indigenous, agricultural religion . . .” (Bentley 134-135)
      2. In the 1200s, “Mongol incursions jeopardized political stability in southeast Asia, while traders established Muslim communities . . .” (Bentley 134)

## Nomads in China

1. **introduction**
   1. Nomadic confederations “organized political life on progressively larger scales . . . that threatened sedentary civilizations in China and the Middle East.” (Bentley 136)
   2. “. . . nomadic peoples in central and east Asia did not spread cultural traditions so much as adopt those that they encountered . . .” (Bentley 136)
2. **overview**
   1. “With the collapse of the Tang dynasty, for example, the Khitan people established the Liao dynasty (907-1125) in the steppelands north of China.” (Bentley 136)
   2. “The Jurchen, a seminomadic people from Manchuria, conquered the Khi­tans, ousted Song authority from northern China, and established their own Jin dynasty (1115-1234) in northern China itself.” (Bentley 136)
   3. “The Mongols conquered the Jin state in northern China in 1234. By 1279 they had toppled the Song dynasty and brought all of China under Mongol control. . . . [They] do­minated political and military affairs in east Asia, especially during the period of their Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) in China.” (Bentley 136)
3. **the Khitan**
   1. “The Khitans largely retained their traditional ways . . . Chinese living in the Liao realm . . . developed a taste for certain Khitan activities such as riding, hunting, and fishing. Mean­while, . . . Imperial ceremonies at the Liao court derived mostly from Chinese practice. In the early tenth century, a Khitan written language and script was elaborated, partly on the model of Chinese and Uighur scripts. With Chinese language, there came also the influence of [137] Chinese values, at least in certain quarters of Khitan society. For the most part, the Khitans held to their traditional reverence for the sun, the heavens, and spirits that they recognized, and they continued to observe ceremonies conducted by their shamans.” (Bentley 137-138)
   2. “. . . Chinese values attracted a few of the Khitan ruling class but did not win widespread allegiance even in elite society. . . . Even after two centuries of encounter, the last emperor of the Liao dynasty did not realize that his Chinese subjects gagged at the thought of drinking kumiss—fermented mare’s milk that was a staple in the diet of steppe peoples and that Liao courtiers continued to enjoy.” (Bentley 138)
   3. A “Khitan noble named Yelü Qucai (1189-1243) . . . received a formal Confucian education [142] . . . [In 1218] Genghis Khan called him into his government. . . . he opposed a party of militant Mongols who wanted to annihilate the Jin dynasty and turn northern China into grazing lands. He argued that a traditional Chinese taxation system would enrich the Mongols far more than would the militants’ radical plans. His arguments persuaded Ögedei, and tax receipts came in as he had predicted. As a result, his credibility rose, and he re­ceived appointments to high offices.” (Bentley 143)
   4. “Yelü often used his influence on behalf of the Confucian cultural tradition. He intervened in the cases of numerous Confucian scholars—including a direct descendant of Confucius in the fifty-first generation . . . He worked also to reinstate the Confucian examination system, which the Mongols had abolished . . . during the last years of Ögedei’s reign, his enemies undermined his position and eased him out of the govern­ment. In the absence of any voice urging moderation, the Mongols embarked upon a policy of harsh and sometimes reckless exploitation of their Chinese subjects and resources.” (Bentley 143)
   5. “In 1253, the Mongol prince Hülegü departed the Mongol capital at Kara­korum with the intention of subduing the Abbasid caliphate. By 1258, he had toppled the dynasty, executed the caliph, ravaged Baghdad, and begun to carve out a state for himself as the Mongol ilkhan of Persia. From this base, Hülegü and his successors menaced much of the Middle East. During the early years of their state, they posed a serious threat especially to the local Islamic establishment, which had vigorously resisted their invasion. The early ilkhans sponsored the reintroduction of Buddhism to Persia, and they allowed Nestorian Christians to practice their faith openly.” (Bentley 144)
   6. “In 1295, however, the Ilkhan Ghazan converted to Islam, and most of his fellow Mongols in Persia followed his lead. Ghazan’s motive was largely political—he needed the support of the local Muslim community against the Egyptian Maluks, who sought to organize an anti-Mongol campaign on the foundation of Islam—and he seems to have retained his interest and commitment to shamanism even after his conversion.” (Bentley 144)
   7. “. . . when the Nestorians lost the protection of the ilkhans, Muslim crowds destroyed their churches, looted their homes, and assaulted individuals, many of whom were killed or enslaved. Meanwhile, the Mongols progressively assimilated into the Islamic culture of Persia. By the fifteenth century, they no longer maintained a distinctive identity in Persia, having long since blended into the Turkish community there.” (Bentley 144)
   8. Apparently, the Tartars were the Mongols. (Bentley 145)
   9. “. . . with the collapse of [145] their [the Mongols’] Yuan dynasty, they returned to the steppes, taking with them many of their Khitan, Turkish, Alan, and other nomadic allies.” (Bentley 146)
4. **the Jurchen**
   1. “. . . the Jurchen were not steppe nomads, like the Khitans, but rather a seminomadic people from Manchuria. They depended heavily upon agriculture, and even before their encounter with Chinese, many of them had settled in villages and [138] even walled towns. For most Jurchen, their nomadic heritage survived principally in the form of hunting, herding, and sometimes migration to more attractive regions. Though highly mobile when compared to Chinese, the Jurchen . . . were able to adapt . . . to Chinese society.” (Bentley 138-139)
   2. “In the twelfth century, their state included not only their native Manchuria but also northern China down to the Huai River. . . . [Governing the Chinese] entailed considerable accommo­da­tion to Chinese cultural standards. The result, over the long term, was the effective absorption of the Jurchen . . .” (Bentley 139)
   3. When “the Jurchen ruled not only their native Manchuria but also north China . . . the most notable development of this period was the absorption of the Jurchen into Chinese culture.” (Bentley 137)
   4. “Almost immediately upon the conquest of northern China, the Jurchen ruling elite sought to legitimize its rule by adopting the symbols and methods of Chinese authority. Imperial ceremonies, political organization, recruitment of scholarly bureaucrats, governance in accordance with Confucian ethics and traditional Chinese law” were the means. (Bentley 139)
   5. “During the century that the Jin dynasty ruled northern China, the Jurchen people there came to speak Chinese, wear Chinese clothes, marry Chinese spouses, raise their children in Chinese society, and convert to Buddhism or Daoism. A few traditional Jurchen customs survived into the period of the Ming dynasty, but [the Jurgen] gradually became absorbed . . .” (Bentley 139)
5. **the Mongols**
   1. “The Mongols came to China with a cultural and social background very similar to that of the Khitans . . ., but like the Jurchen, the Mongols conquered China and soon enough found it necessary to make some accommodations . . .” (Bentley 140)
   2. “When they conquered the Jin dynasty . . ., the Mongols exalted the military virtues of the steppes—riding, hunting, fighting, and the forging of alliances between the noble leaders of the various tribes of Mongolian-speaking peoples. They knew little if anything of Bud­dhism, much less of the Confucian and Daoist traditions. Their religious observances centered on the shaman, who communicated with spirits, offered sacrifices, interceded with the gods on behalf of his companions, and divined the future. The Mongols recognized numerous deities—some of them powerful gods, others lesser spirits but still capable of influencing individual human fortunes—and they suspected the existence of others as well. Their densely populated pantheon perhaps accounts for the toleration they exhibited toward the various institutional faiths that they encountered while building their empire. . . . they certainly had no desire to attack established traditions or to impose their own beliefs . . .” (Bentley 140)
   3. Genghis Khan was the “conqueror of northern China. During the course of a long campaign in Persia and Afghanistan, Genghis felt the pangs of mortality and decided to call the noted Daoist sage Chang Chun to his camp. [In 1222, Chang Chun] met several times with [140] in Afghanistan and Samarkand. Genghis’s main concern was to learn the secret of immortal­ity from the wise man. Chang Chun disappointed him in this respect but nonetheless won the conqueror’s favor and admiration.” (Bentley 141)
   4. “Genghis’s interest in Daoism set the stage for a bitter controversy between Buddhists and Daoists . . . Upon his return to China, Chang Chun received an appointment as super­visor of monks and clergy, including Buddhists, Nestorians, and others as well as Dao­ists. The arrangement was especially offensive to the Buddhists, since Chang Chun seized many of their properties and converted them to Daoist use. His appointment thus helped to bring Buddhists and Daoists into an extended dispute concerning points of doc­trine as well as the disposition of religious properties. The controversy culminated in several formal debates held between 1255 and 1258 in the presence of Genghis Khan’s successors, Möngke and Kubilai. By this time the Mongols had begun to feel more attraction to egalitarian Buddhism than to native Chinese cultural traditions—es­pecially the Confucian but to a lesser extent the Daoist as well—that regarded Chinese as superior and nomads as inferior, barbarian peoples. At one of the formal debates, Möngke Khan expressed his own views in pictur­esque fashion. He recognized the claims of Daoists, Confucians, Nestorians, and Muslims but found none of them so per­sua­sive as those of the Buddhists. Holding up his hand, he then likened Buddhism to the palm and the other religions to the fingers that branched off from the common source.” (Bentley 141)
   5. “During the reign of Kubilai Khan (1260-1294), the Mongol ruling class broadened its cul­tural interests. Kubilai himself observed the traditional Confucian rituals and took pains not to disappoint the educated Chinese elite. He had little appreciation for Dao­ism, but he occasionally sponsored the building of Daoist temples in exchange for public recognition of his authority. He showed special favor to Buddhists: even before becoming great khan, he had sided [141] with Buddhists in their dispute with the Daoists, and he appreciated their efforts to provide ideological justification for his rule. But Kubilai also protected the Muslims, many of whom he employed in his government. He even looked with interest on Christianity, and in his conversations with Marco Polo and other westerners, he went so far as to predict mass conversions of his subjects to their faith. Kubilai patently formulated his cultural policy with political considerations in mind: as lord of an enormous, multicultural, polyglot empire, he sought to win the respect of all the various peoples of his realm, or at least to avoid alienating them through neglect or insult of their cultural traditions.” (Bentley 141-142)
   6. “The single tradition that drew most benefit from Mongol rule in Asia was Buddhism, especially Lamaist Buddhism of Tibetan origin. Deeply tinged by Tantric influences, Lamaist Buddhism featured a variety of ritual sexual practices and a strong interest in magic. It is possible that the Mongols responded to the Lamaist tradition because of its superficial resemblance to their own shamanist culture. In any case, they paid little attention to the fine points of Buddhist doctrine. Instead, the Mongol ruling elite found the Lama­ist tradition attractive primarily because of its political uses. Tibetan princes endeared themselves to Mongol rulers by adopting them into the family of Buddhist universal emperors, thus providing a sense of legitimacy for their rule. Lamaist clergy associated the Mongol khans with boddhisatvas and even recognized them as incarnations of the Buddha. Their reward was strong and consistent support of the Mongol ruling elite for the Lamaist tradition. The Mongol masses showed little interest in Bud­dhism or any other foreign cultural tradition until the sixteenth century, when a Lamaist revival swept the steppes and largely displaced the Mongols’ traditional shamanism.” (Bentley 142)
6. **addendum**: the Mongols in Russia and the Middle East
   1. “By 1240 the Mongols of the Gol­den Horde had im­posed their authority in Russia . . .” (Bentley 136)
   2. In 1258 “the Mongol general Hülegü sacked Bagh­dad, put an end to the Abbasid caliphate, and established the ilkhan­ate of Persia as a kingdom for himself.” (Bentley 136)

# Western Religions

## Missionary Religions in the Middle East and Mediterranean

1. **323-31 bc**: **Hellenistic period**
   1. The Seleucid emperors governed the Middle East from Anatolia to Bactria—”Greeks, Phoenicians, Babylonians, Persians, and Indians, among other peoples.” (Bentley 53)
   2. Hellenistic culture adjusted to this cosmopolitan world. (Bentley 54)
      1. “On the level of popular culture [was] religious syncretism. . . . traders, soldiers, admin­istrators, slaves, and other travelers . . . carried their [faiths] with them. The awareness that many and varied deities had the same or similar functions led to the conflation of cults—those of Zeus and Amon, for example—and sometimes even to a search for a single, universal deity who oversaw the affairs of all nations and races . . . “ (Bentley 54)
      2. Moral philosophers “did not object to this religious syncretism, but they concen­tra­ted their efforts less on the conflation of deities than on the search for moral and ethical standards of universal validity. Most notable [were the] Stoics. Their prime political ideal was a well-governed, cosmopolitan, universal state. Their conviction in the essen­tial equality of all humankind followed from this vision, which did not provide for superior and inferior, dominant and subordinate relations between states. From the ideal of equality there followed the Stoics’ emphasis on virtue, conscience, duty, and abso­lute personal integrity.” (Bentley 54)
   3. “The Hellenistic empires did not survive . . . [As] early as 250 b.c.e., the Parthians carved an independent state from the Seleucid empire, and soon thereafter the Romans progres­sively extended their hegemony over the Mediterranean basin. Nevertheless, Hellenistic culture continued to develop along the lines established in the third century.” (Bentley 55)
   4. There arose “powerful missionary religions [such as] Manichaeism and Christianity . . . “ (Bentley 55)
   5. Roman trade
      1. In the Roman Empire (as in China), “two forces—imperial expansion and long-dis­tance trade—drove the process of cross-cultural encounter. . . . the Roman practice [was] dispatching administrators and soldiers to distant parts of the realm. Their movements help to explain the spectacular diffusion of mystery religions through­out the Mediterra­nean basin during the early centuries c.e..” (Bentley 58)
      2. “Palmyra in Syria served as entry point for trade coming overland from central Asia and China. [Silk] came into great demand among the fashionable women of Rome during the first century c.e. . . . About the second century b.c.e., western sailors became aware of the monsoon rhythms that governed travel on the Indian Ocean. By the first century c.e., Roman demand for pepper and other spices had stimulated a flourishing trade between ports in southern India and the Mediterranean.” (Bentley 59)
2. **the fall of empires**
   1. “As peoples of different races and cultures intermingled, it became desireable or even necessary for them to observe some common standards of ethics and morality. . . . In the [Chinese,] Indian and Mediterranean worlds [during] the era of the silk roads, Confucian, Buddhist, and Christian cultures became solidly established in their homelands, and they began to expand . . . “ (Bentley 65)
   2. “Long-distance trade served as a conduit for the spread of virulent diseases . . . During the second and third centuries [ad], population declined precipitously in the Mediter­ran­ean and China . . . measles, smallpox, and bubonic plague took ferocious human tolls on peoples previously unexposed to their pathogens. Demographic collapse aggravated social and economic difficulties . . . “ (Bentley 65)
   3. “Long-distance travel did not come to a complete halt, but it became far less common . . . the Roman and Han empires . . . both succumbed to nomadic invaders.” (Bentley 66)
3. **missionaries**, **pilgrims**, **and the spread of the world religions**
   1. “Between the late fourth and the late sixth century, turmoil and disorder afflicted most parts of Eurasia.” (Bentley 67)
      1. “The Xiongnu confederation likewise fell apart, opening central Asia to fierce competi­tion between various nomadic peoples, including the Toba, Ruanruan, White Huns, and Avars, among others.” (Bentley 67)
      2. “The Byzantine and Sassanian empires survived, but . . . lost territories to mounted no­madic warriors.” (Bentley 67)
      3. “India enjoyed relative stability during the reign of the Gupta dynasty (320-550 c.e.), but there too nomadic incursions ultimately destroyed central authority and enabled competing princes to pursue their ambitions.” (Bentley 67)
   2. But cross-cultural encounters did not cease. (Bentley 68)
      1. “Beginning in the late sixth century, large-scale political organization returned to several regions of Eurasia.” (Bentley 68)
         1. “The Sui dynasty (589-618) restored imperial unity to China, and the Tang (618-907) maintained it over a long term. Meanwhile, the central Asian steppe­lands fell under the domination of Turkish peoples, most notably the Uighurs.” (Bentley 68)
         2. Two Islamic dynasties, “the Umayyad (661-750) and . . . the Abbasid (750-1258), . . . pacified the Middle East.” (Bentley 68)
         3. “. . . the Carolingian empire (751-987) brought some semblance of order to much of Europe . . . “ (Bentley 68)
      2. “Because the architects of these new imperial structures did not build on foundations laid by their classical predecessors—certainly not in any direct fashion—they could not justify their rule by asserting that they were continuing political legacies of long stand­ing. In seeking to legitimize their rule, they allied with a religious or cultural tradition, which they generously supported . . . “ (Bentley 68)
         1. This caused “conversions induced by political, social, and economic pressures. These material considerations of course did not pre­clude the possibility—or even the likelihood—that many individuals adopted new traditions for spiritual reasons and in good conscience. [And] syncretism naturally helped . . . “ (Bentley 68)
         2. “As political order returned to Eurasia, merchants quickly moved to take advantage of fresh oppor­tunities . . . “ [68] In ad 600-1000, “Merchandise crossed central Asian steppes and the waters of the southern seas in quantities vastly larger than ear­lier times had seen.” (Bentley 68, 109)
            1. By c 1000, “Chinese vessels regularly traveled as far west as India.” (Bentley 68)
            2. “Meanwhile, Persian and Arab sailors visited ports [from] east Africa to India and beyond to southeast Asia . . . “ (Bentley 68)
            3. “Camels bore heavy burdens over long distances at minimal expense, and cara­vans dominated transportation in north Africa, the Middle East, and central Asia well into modern times. In some cases, individual merchants themselves traveled over vast expanses of Eurasia in carrying on their business. By the mid-ninth century, large diaspora communities of Persian and Arab merchants had become established as far away from home as Gunagzhou. Even more dramatic was the network of the Radanite Jews, who . . . stretched from the Mediterranean to China, and they made use of both land and sea routes . . . [They traded in] silk, furs, swords, aromatics, spices, eunuchs, and slaves.” [69] (See Rabinowitz, L. *Jewish Merchant Adventurers*: *A Study of the Ra­dan­ites*. Lon­don: 1948.) (Bentley 69, 190 n. 1)
            4. “The volume of long-distance exchange during the period 600 to 1000 c.e. easily eclipsed trade conducted over the ancient silk roads.” (Bentley 69)
            5. “This period—sometimes called a dark age—saw . . . the promotion of literacy and education in much of Eurasia.” [69] “In light of the traditional charac­terization of this period from 600 to 1000 as a dark age, one point bears special emphasis: the seventh to tenth centuries without doubt witnessed more political and imperial expansion, more commercial and cultural exchange than any previous period of human history. Expansion and exchange in turn brought about the spread of literacy and technology, of faiths and values, and indeed of civilization itself.” (Bentley 69, 110)
      3. China
         1. “Within China proper, the most notable cultural result of Tang expansion into south­east Asia was perhaps the cultivation of a taste for the exotic. Trade in exo­tic and luxury items had long had large political significance, since they served as symbols of status and power for the ruling elites who controlled their use and distribution. But during the eighth and ninth centuries, the Chinese taste for the exotic became much more popular and widespread than ever be­fore.” [87] Such items included “rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks, kingfisher fea­thers, tortoise shells, and pearls,” [84], as well as “aromatics, animals, for­eign finished goods, slaves . . . “ [87] (Bentley 87, 84)
         2. “Most of this trade passed through the South China Sea, but a [87] sizeable portion also came by caravan over land routes. Because of their interest in western trade, the Tang emperors reestablished a Chinese presence in” central Asia. (Bentley 87-88)

## Christianity

1. **early expansion**
   1. “Ramsay MacMullen has recently argued . . . that fear of pain and punishment, desire for blessings, and belief in miracles were the principal inducements that attracted pagans to Christianity in the period before the conversion of Constantine about the year 312 c.e.” [61] [Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (*a*.*d*. *100-400*). New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1984, esp. pp. 17-42.] (Bentley 61, 189 n. 31)
   2. Gregory the Wonderworker studied under Origen, “and he wrote several formal theological treatises. . . . in the Roman province of Pontus north central Anatolia) during the 240s [he exor­cized,] moved boulders, diverted a river in flood, and dried up an inconveniently located lake. By the end of his campaign, Gregory had brought almost every soul of the town of Neo­caes­area into the ranks of the [61] Christians, and surrounding communities soon joined . . . As in the case of Fotudeng in north China, Gregory’s reputation as a miracle workers seized the attention of his audiences . . . “ (Bentley 62)
   3. But “early Christian converts differed from the more common pattern of conversion through voluntary association. Converts came from all ranks of society, not just those of merchants, rulers, and others . . . Moreover, until [Constantine] converts to the new faith had to weigh heavy political, social, and economic risks . . . “ (Bentley 62)
   4. Two other developments “accompanied the process of conversion through voluntary association. In the first place, until the fourth century, Christianity spread largely through a process of syncretism. In the second place, following the conver­sion of Constantine, Christianity gained state sponsorship, and a process of conver­sion by political, social, and economic pressure consolidated the new faith . . . “ (Bentley 62)
   5. “Like devotees of the pagan cults, they offered their sacraments as great mysteries, and here were pagan analogues to many of their rituals, such as the intonation of divine language, the use of special garments and paraphernalia, and even the obser­vance of ceremonies like baptism and a community meal open only to initiates. Christians appropriated the power and authority associated with pagan heroes by emphasizing the virtues of a saint or martyr with similar attributes. Eventually, Christians even baptized pagan philosophy and festivals . . . St. Augustine trans­form­ed Neoplatonism . . . , and the birthdate of the unconquered pagan sun god became Christmas, the birthdate also of Jesus.” (Bentley 63)
2. **Constantine**
   1. “In the year 313 he issued his famous edict of toleration, which for the first time recognized Christianity as a legal religion in the Roman empire.” (Bentley 63)
   2. Constantine “underwrote the construction of churches . . . “ (Bentley 64)
   3. “Christians received preferential consideration for high imperial posts.” (Bentley 64)
   4. “Finally, the legalization of their religion allowed Christians to promote their faith more publicly and more aggressively than ever before.” (Bentley 64)
   5. “. . . by the late fourth century, the emperors had begun to prohibit observance of pagan cults.” (Bentley 64)

## Christian Missions to East and West

1. **factors in the success of Christianity**
   1. “The collapse of the Roman empire and its displacement by Germanic successor states could conceivably have resulted in the disappearance of Christianity . . . Christianity suc­ceeded largely because of syncretism—its willingness to baptize pagan traditions . . . “ (Bentley 100)
   2. “. . . two other especially important developments [were] a strong . . . papacy, and the alliance of the popes with Germanic rulers of the northern lands . . . “ (Bentley 100)
2. **Celtic Christianity**
   1. “. . . Celtic monks of the fifth and sixth centuries . . . established new communities through­out Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, [Brittany,] northern England and Scotland . . . Gaul, Switzer­land, and Italy.” (Bentley 101)
   2. “All of the Celtic missionaries worked inde­pendently of the church and bishop of Rome. They differed from the Romanists in their more pronounced asceticism, looser institutional discipline, and method of calculating the date of Easter, among other points.” (Bentley 101)
3. **Pope Gregory I (590-604)**
   1. Gregory “provided guidance on Roman Catholic observances and institu­tional discipline.” (Bentley 101)
   2. “He established relationships with Franks, Lombards, Visigoths . . . “ (Bentley 101)
      1. Visigoths
         1. “Beginning about the late fourth century, . . . the Visigoths had turned increasingly to Arian Christianity . . . “ (Bentley 102)
      2. English Anglo-Saxons
         1. In 596 “he dispatched a group of forty missionaries under the leadership of St. Augustine of Canterbury [101] . . . Gregory the Great instructed St. Augustine [that] “the idol temples of that race should by no means be destroyed, only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them.”“ (Bentley 101, 104)
         2. The missionaries “soon won a prominent patron with the conversion of King Ethel­bert of Kent, who helped them to establish their churches, monasteries, and episcopal sees in southern England. The tight organization and strict discipline observed by this outpost of Roman Christianity—along with sponsorship of King Ethelbert and his successors—enabled it to grow at the expense of the Celtic church. By the mid-seventh century it had become plain that [101] in order to avoid fruitless competi­tion, the English church needed to decide in favor of either Roman or Celtic obser­vances. At the synod of Whitby (664) English clerics opted for the Roman alterna­tive, and the Celtic church entered a period of decline that led ultimately to its complete disappearance.” (Bentley 101-102)
      3. Franks
         1. “Some of them had lived within the Roman empire since the third century and very likely had converted to Christianity at an early date. Not until the conversion of Clovis, however, did Frankish policy favor specifically Christian interests. A combi­nation of personal and political motives seems to have brought about Clovis’s conversion. His wife, Clotilda, was Roman Catholic and constantly urged Clovis to accept her faith. The turning point, however, came only after Clovis had defeated the Alamanni in the year 496, a victory that he attributed to intervention by the Christians’ God. He delayed his baptism—perhaps until as late as 508, twelve years after his victory over the Alaman­ni—but eventually joined a large number of his fellow Franks in officially converting to Roman Catholic Christianity.” (Bentley 102)
         2. “Royally sponsored missionaries and monks spread the Christian message to rural communities throughout the Frankish realm. They scorned pagan customs and [102] . . . deities and fertility spirits. They also attacked pagan morality . . . They even des­troyed temples and shrines, replacing them with churches and monaster­ies.” (Bentley 102-103)
         3. Charlemagne (768-814)
            1. Charlemagne “protected the papacy from threats posed by Lombards and other Germanic peoples, and he sponsored educational programs designed to prepare priests for their work. Perhaps most important of his services for present pur­poses was his long, intermittent campaign of more than thirty years to impose order in Saxony.” (Bentley 103)
            2. “Thus Widukind, an especially fiery and effective Saxon leader, sought to overthrow Frankish authority, destroy Christian churches, expel missionaries, and restore pagan ways. [In 785 Charlemagne] forced Widukind to accept baptism along with other prominent Saxons, and he imposed on their land a famous and especially harsh ordinance providing the death penalty for those who forcibly entered a church, violated the Lenten fast, killed a bishop or priest, cremated the dead in pagan fashion, refused baptism, plotted against Christians, or disobeyed the Frankish king. Charlemagne’s efforts . . . enabled the Roman church to establish a secure presence [in] Saxony.” (Bentley 103)

## Nestorianism

1. **in the west**
   1. “Because of his arrogance and difficult personality, Nestorius had many enemies, and they gleefully attacked his teachings. Some of them argued that Nestorius overemphasized Christ’s human nature; others held that his distinction between human and divine natures implied a belief in two Christs. In the year 430 Pope Celestine excommunicated Nestorius, and in 431 a church council held in Ephesus deposed him and banished him to his monas­tery.” (Bentley 105)
   2. “Yet Nestor­ius’s ideas survived and for two centuries even flourished in the east. By the late fifth century, Nestorians had become solidly entrenched in Mesopotamia and Persia, where their hostility to Byzantine and Roman churches worked to their advantage, endear­ing them to Christian communities already established in those lands.” (Bentley 105)
   3. decline
      1. “The Sassanian kings persecuted Nestorians and Manichaeans in their efforts to favor of­fi­ci­ally approved Zoroastrianism.” (Bentley 105)
      2. “The arrival of Islam presented even greater difficulties for Nestorians in the Middle [105] East. Islamic rulers allowed Nestorians to keep their faith, and the Abbasid caliphs permitted a Nestorian patriarch to reside at Baghdad and to govern his church, under close supervision of the caliphate. But taxation undercut the economic founda­tions of Nestorian church and society, and most Nestorians eventually converted to Islam.” (Bentley 105-106)
2. **in the east**
   1. However, “Nestorian merchants traded . . . also in India, Ceylon, central Asia, and China.” (Bentley 106)
   2. “The first identifiable Nestorian there [in China] was the missionary Alopen, who visited Chang­an and was received by the Emperor Tang Taizong in the year 635. Alopen brought with him Christian scriptures and other writings, which he had translated into Chinese. The emperor himself read and approved the works, as indicated in a remarkable decree of the year 638 . . . “ (Bentley 106)
      1. Tang Taizong (Qtd. from Saeki, P.Y. *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*. 2nd ed. Tokyo: 1951): The Way had not, at al times and places, the selfsame name; the Sage had not, at all times and place, the selfsame human body. Heaven caused a suitable religion to be instituted for every region and clime so that each one of the races of mankind might be saved. Bishop Alopen of the Kingdom of Persia, bringing with him the sutras and images, has come from afar and presented them at our capital. Having carefully examined the scope of his teaching, we find it to be mysteriously spiritual, and of silent operation. Having observed its principal and most essential [106] points, we reached the conclusion that they cover all that is most important in life. Their language is free from perplexing expressions; their principles are so simple that they “remain as the fish would remain even after the net of the language were forgotten.” This teaching is helpful to all creatures and beneficial to all men. So let it have free course throughout the empire.” (Bentley 106-07)
         1. “Saeki’s work is relatively inaccessible, but includes documents that do not appear in Moule’s collection.” (Moule, A.C. *Chris­tians in China before the Year 1550*. London: 1930.) (Bentley 195 n. 52)
      2. “As a result, in spite of Buddhist and Daoist opposition, Nestorians established a monastery for twenty-one monks in Changan.” (Bentley 107)
   3. Nestorian texts
      1. Several “early doctrinal statements [were] attributed to Alopen . . . The “Jesus-Messia Sutra,” for example, briefly relates Jesus’ birth, life, teachings, and death. The “Dis­course on Monotheism” and “Discourse on the Oneness of the Ruler of the Universe” both emphasize the Christian God as sole creator of all things. The “Lord of the Uni­verse’s Discourse on Alms-Giving” paraphrases Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount.” (Bentley 107)
      2. “The fundamentally Christian character of the Nestorians’ faith emerges clearly also in the inscription of a famous Nestorian monument, erected in the year 781 at Changan.” (Saeki *Nestorian Documents* 53-77; Moule *Christians in China* 34-52) (Bentley 107)
   4. decline
      1. “Unlike Buddhists and Manichaeans, . . . the Nestorians never negotiated the leap from the diaspora community to the host society.” (Bentley 107)
      2. “Nestorians called their treatises “sutras,” in the Buddhist manner, and they used terms like “buddhas” or “devas” as synonyms for saints or angels. But the early Nestorians made little effort to accommodate Asian tastes in certain other respects. Whereas Manichaeans had referred to Mani as the “Buddha of Light,” using a term that reso­nated nicely in both Sanskrit and Chinese, Nestorians devised an awkward and unpol­ished transliteration when they represented the name of Jesus in Chinese as “Yishu”—which could be interpreted to mean “a rat on the move.” And Nestorians persistently emphasized concepts like the corporeality of Christ and the physical resurrection of individual bodies, which Asians found alien and unattractive.” (Bentley 108)
      3. “As a part of its attack on foreign religions in the ninth century, the Tang dynasty [618-907], . . . [an] imperial edict of the year 845 ordered some three thousand Zoroastrians and Nestorians out of their monasteries, returning them to lay society with the stipu­la­tion that “they shall not mingle and interfere with the manners and customs of the Mid­dle Kingdom.”: The policy worked its effects gradually but nonetheless effectively. This is clear from the work of al-Nadim, a Persian encyclopedist of the late tenth cen­tury, who reported the findings of a Nestorian monk who had traveled from Baghdad to China with instructions to oversee the church there. The monk returned with the news that “the Christians who used to be in the land of China have disappeared and per­ished for various reasons, so that only one man remained in the entire country.”“ (Bentley 108)
   5. final resettlement
      1. “Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, . . . Nestorians presumably either departed from China or became absorbed by Buddhist and Daoist communities.” (Bentley 108)
      2. Nestorians “propagated their faith in China a second time during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. . . . willingness to accommodate their message to a Chinese audi­ence—by employing Buddhist and Daoist concepts to represent Christian doctrine—eased the process by which they themselves adopted different [108] beliefs and values.” (Bentley 108-109)
      3. In the “Sutra on Mysterious Rest and Joy,” “attributed to Bishop Cyriacus, a Persian missionary and head of the Nestorian church at Changan during the early eighth century . . . [Jesus teaches doctrines] almost exclusively Daoist. To attain rest and joy, . . . an individual must avoid striving and desire but cultivate the virtues of nonassertion and nonaction. These qualities enable an individual to become pure and serene, a condition that leads in turn to illumination and understanding.” (Bentley 109)

## Manichaeism

1. **Mani**
   1. “The prophet Mani (216-272 c.e.) came from a Zoroastrian family in Babylonia, but he drew most of his inspiration from the ascetic tradition of Christianity that thrived in Meso­pot­amia. He also became acquainted with Hindu and Buddhist thought during a sojourn in northwestern India. He regarded Zarathus­tra as the prophet of the Persians, Buddha as the prophet of the Indians, and Jesus as the prophet of the westerners. Himself he regarded as the heir of all three—as a prophet for the entire world. He did not so much attempt to fuse the elements of various faiths into a syncretic religion as he sought to promote his own, peculiar vision of Christianity . . . “ (Bentley 56)
   2. “Mani took St. Paul . . . as a model for himself. He made numerous trips, corresponded widely, and sent disciples on missions to foreign lands.” (Bentley 57)
   3. “Mani himself died in prison under [57] severe duress. The Sassanian kings took the advice of their Zoroastrian advisers . . . “ (Bentley 57-58)
2. **doctrines**
   1. “It examined faith in the light of critical reason . . . “ (Bentley 57)
   2. Cosmic dualism offered an explanation for evil. (Bentley 57)
   3. “It held out hope of individual salvation for sincere believers . . . [Augustine] spent nine years in the company of Manichae­ans.” (Bentley 57)
   4. “Later dualist movements [like] the Bogomils and Cathari, had little or no relation to the ancient Mani­chaean tradition.” (Bentley 58)
3. **missions**
   1. in general
      1. Manichaeism was “one of the most explosive missionary religions . . . “ (Bentley 56)
      2. Missionaries “retained a few core elements—cosmic dualism, strict asceticism, and high moral standards—[and] adapted local deities and demons to the framework of Mani­chaean doc­trine.” (Bentley 57)
      3. “The Manichaeans’ doctrinal flexibility . . . facilitated syncretism, since Manichae­ans read­ily made accommodations for the beliefs and values, and even for the specific dei­ties and vocabularies of other religious and cultural traditions.” (Bentley 98)
   2. western missions
      1. “Even during his [Mani’s] life, missionaries carried the Manichaean message beyond Meso­po­tamia to all parts of the Sassanian empire, northern India, and the eastern regions of the Ro­man empire.” (Bentley 57)
      2. “Manichaeism was an urban faith—its adherents mistrusted agri­culture but positively encouraged commerce—so that it spread also through the work of mer­chants. By the late third century, [cells] thrived in the trading centers of Syria, Anatolia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and north Africa.” (Bentley 57)
   3. Uighur Turks
      1. “Even before the emergence of Islam, Manichaeans had spread their faith into Transox­iana. . . . In Transoxiana, their faith became popular among Sogdian [95] merchants, who carried it along the restored silk roads throughout central Asia and even into China . . . “ (Bentley 95-96)
      2. “A fair number of Manichaean texts survive from the libraries and scriptoria of Dun­hu­ang . . . “ (Bentley 97)
      3. In 757, “when the Uighur [Turks] liberated Luo­yang from the rebellious army of An Lu­shan, they found some Sog­dian Manichaeans among the grateful survivors. After a long dis­cus­sion with Manichaean priests, the Uighur kha­khan and his army converted to their faith; thus for the first and only time of its career, Mani­chaeism became an official, state-sponsored religion.” (Bentley 96)
      4. The Uighur elite “recognized that Sogdians could help them to flourish in the larger com­mer­cial and diplomatic world. Indeed, during the eighth and ninth centuries, Sog­dian civilization worked a profound influence on Uighur culture and society. Sogdians served as ministers, diplomats, advisers, and secretaries to the Uighurs. They provided the Uighurs with a written language based on their own script.” (Bentley 96)
      5. “Finally, the Uighurs—originally nomads—even built a permanent city. Located on the Orkhon River, Karabalghasun was probably the first genuine city ever to arise on the steppes. It featured an enormous castle and twelve iron gates. It bustled with markets and trades, including those of metalworkers, potters, blacksmiths, sculptors, masons, and weavers, among others. An agricultural belt surrounded the city itself, which became a prominent station on the trade routes—thanks largely to the volume of silk that the Uighurs obtained from China.” (Bentley 96)
   4. China
      1. “During its early days in China, Manichaeism won few if any Chinese converts . . . [but] it became prominent in the diaspora communities [in China] of foreign mer­chants.” (Bentley 96)
      2. Zoroastrian and Buddhist elements “in Manichaeism en­tered the faith largely [through] mis­sionaries . . . “ [57] “Only in the case of Manichaeism [is] there clear evidence that Buddhist beliefs and values decisively influenced the development of religious doctrines in lands west of Bac­tria.” (Bentley 57, 47)
      3. Mani­chae­ans “readily used Buddhist terms and concepts when represent­ing their faith in central Asian and Chinese languages. Mani himself came to be known in eastern regions as the “Buddha of Light.” In C­hina, Mani was associated further with Laozi, the legendary founder of Dao­ism. Their willingness to accommodate Chinese traditions and assimilate to Chinese ways enabled Manichaeans to maintain their culture and commu­nity in east Asia for some eight hundred years. It is clear that they eventually began to attract converts among native Chinese, since popular Buddhist stories warned of evil fortune that befell Manichaean converts.” (Bentley 97)
      4. A “sizeable community of Chinese Manichaeans survived . . . to the sixteenth century in Quanzhou (Marco Polo’s Zaiton) in the bustling commercial dis­trict of Fujian in southern China. The community sought to avoid persecution by de­vel­oping a reputation for respectability and strict observance of the law—also by adhering scrupulously to Chinese ways and assimilating to the Daoists. The Mani­chae­ans of Quanzhou wor­shipped in Daoist temples and even had some of their scriptures included in the offi­cially recognized Daoist canon.” (Bentley 97)
4. **persecutions**
   1. Roman Empire
      1. “Mani­chae­ism ironically suffered from its association with Persia, eastern nemesis” of Rome. (Bentley 58)
      2. The “Roman Catholic church joined forces with the Roman state. Especially during the fifth and sixth centuries, [they] effectively exterminated Mani­chae­ism in the Mediterra­nean world.” (Bentley 58)
   2. Middle East
      1. In Persia, “The Sassanian kings took the advice of their Zoroastrian advisers and at­tacked the movement as a threat to public order and to their own rule.” (Bentley 58)
      2. “The Islamic conquest of Persia encouraged Manichaeans to emigrate in much larger num­bers than before.” (Bentley 95)
      3. “The Islamic conquests later put an end to Manichaeism in the Middle East.” (Bentley 58)
   3. China
      1. c ad 850: “After the Tang dynasty’s [618-907] persecutions of foreign religions in the mid-ninth century, Chinese Manichae­ans lost contact with foreign priests, who were expelled or in some cases even executed for their faith.” (Bentley 97)
      2. the Quanzhou community
         1. “Nevertheless, a sizeable community of Chinese Manichaeans survived from the ninth to the sixteenth century in Quanzhou . . . [But] their small numbers could not sus­tain a permanent and distinctive community, at least not in the face of persecu­tion.” (Bentley 98)
         2. “. . . official persecution and continued assimilation brought an end to the distinc­tively Mani­chaean community ­in China. Bud­dhists took over some of the Mani­chaean shrines in Quan­zhou, and the faithful [97] themselves eventually underwent con­version by assimilation to Buddhism and Daoism.” (Bentley 97-98)
         3. “By the end of the sixteenth century, after especially vigorous efforts of the Ming dynasty to eradicate their community, the Mani­chaeans of Quan­zhou disappeared . . . “ (Bentley 98)

## Zoroastrianism

1. “The establishment of the Parthian empire brought a renewal of state support and patronage for Zoro­astrianism, the traditional religion of Persia from a very early date. The Achae­menid kings had already promoted Zoroastrianism as a national religion.” (Bentley 55)
2. “Zoroastrianism was more a national or ethnic faith than a missionary religion. Even without benefit of active proselytization, though, Zoroastrian beliefs and values exercised a remarkably wide influence. Postexilic Jews adopted and adapted many elements of Zoroastrian belief—including notions that a savior would arrive and aid mortal humans in their struggle against evil; that individual souls would survive death, experience resurrection, and face judgment and assignment to heaven or hell; and that the end of time would bring a monumental struggle between the supreme creator god and the forces of evil, culminating in the establishment of the kingdom of god on earth and the entry of the righteous into paradise.” [55] All these elements influenced the Pharisees. “Indeed, in its original usage, the term *Pharisee* very likely meant “Persian”—that is, a Jew of the sect most open to Persian influence.” (Bentley 55-56)
3. “Some scholars hold that Zoroastrian appeal extended even into India, where the notion of personal salvation would have influenced the early development of the Mahayana school of Buddhism.” [Unfortunately, no footnote.] (Bentley 56)

## Mithraism

1. “Mithra’s remote origins trace back to Indo-European-Aryan mythology and Zoro­as­trianism, where he was a deity associated with sun and light. Scholars once thought that the Roman cult of Mithra represented a case of a Persian [59] cultural tradition extending its influence to the Mediterranean world. For the most part, however, contemporary analysts believe that the Roman cult preserved few if any distinctively Persian elements beyond the name of Mithra.” [59-60] “For the classic argument that Mithra’s cult represented influence of Persian culture in the Roman empire, see Franz Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. T. J. McCormack (New York, 1956). There is by no means scholarly consensus on the origins and signifi­cance of the cult, but most scholars today doubt the presence of genuine Persian in­flu­ence in the Roman cult of Mithra. For two alternative views, see Michael P. Speidel, *Mithras-Orion*: *Greek Hero and Roman Army God* (Leiden, 1980); and David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries* (New York, 1989). On the cults of Orpheus, Iss, Baal, and others, see Grant, *Hellenistic Religions*.” (Bentley 59-60, 189 n. 30)
2. “During the first century c.e., Mithraic altars, temples, and sculpture . . . were especially prominent in military and commercial centers.” (Bentley 60)

## Islamic Expansion, 632-1000

1. **by c 660**
   1. “Within a generation of the prophet’s death, the early caliphs extended Islamic power to all of the Arabian peninsula and expanded north as far as Armenia, east to Afghanistan, and west [to] Tripoli . . . “ (Bentley 90)
2. **Maghrib**
   1. In the Maghrib, Berber nomads “vigorously resisted . . . The militant Almohads enforced the imposition of an orthodox Islam on Berber society during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but Berbers did not embrace Islam warmly until Sufi mystics set in motion a process of syncretism . . . “ (Bentley 94)
3. **Persia**
   1. In 652 “the last Sassanian emperor died, and by then Muslim armies already controlled most of Persia. Beginning about the middle of the eighth century, Persian Zoroastrians con­verted to Islam in large numbers. Some of them no doubt responded to the various incentives to conversion: access to positions of power, exemption from the poll tax, freedom from slavery, and the like. One Arab commander at Bukhara even offered cash payments as rewards for con­verts. Other converts no doubt found Islam an attractive faith and not excessively alien. They were already familiar with many Islamic doctrines—heaven, hell, the end of the world, judgment of individual souls—and they found the transition from Zoroastrian to Islamic ethics a relatively easy one to make. Meanwhile, the establishment of the Abbasid dynasty in the year 750 [elimi­nated] bias toward the interests of Arabs. Meanwhile, the emergence of the Shia sect also served to attract the interest of Persians, since it introduced elements of traditional Persian culture into Islam.” (Bentley 95)
4. **Parsis**
   1. “The Parsis left Iran for India about the early tenth century and settled in Gujarat. They adopted Indian dress and language but retained their Zoroastrian faith and cults, maintaining their sacred fires and performing traditional sacrifices . . . “ (Bentley 95)
5. **Spain**
   1. “. . . to many Iberians, Muslim conquerors brought liberation from the much-despised Visigothic regime. Some cities voluntarily submitted to the invaders, exchanging their allegiance for local autonomy and protection. There was little forced conversion of individ­uals, if any, and the conquerors allowed Christians to continue their observances. Indeed, during the early decades following the conquest, it looked as though the tiny Muslim population might become absorbed by the huge Christian majority. Yet by about the year 1000, most peasants outside the kingdom of Asturias in northwestern Spain had converted to Islam.” (Bentley 98)
   2. “A Christian community survived in Islamic Spain until the twelfth century. Known as the Mozar­abes—Christians subject to the caliphs of Córdoba—its members resisted absorption into Islam and occasionally rose in rebellion against their Muslim lords. Only after the invasions of the Berber Almoravids (1086) and Almohads (1146) did the Mozarabes disappear as an influential force in Spanish society.” (Bentley 98)
   3. “During the ninth century, though, a group of fanatical Mozarabes resisted Muslim rule . . . [In 850,] a crowd [98] in the marketplace at Córdoba goaded the Christian monk Perfectus into a public denunciation of Muhammad, which led to his execution. Shortly thereafter, a series of devout Christians from Córdoba and the surrounding regions deliberately and publicly antagonized Muslim authorities by denouncing Islam and insulting its prophet. Within a decade, at least forty-eight Christians had voluntarily brought about their own martyrdoms in this manner.” (Bentley 98-99)
   4. “Muslim authorities worried that excessively harsh punishment would provoke reaction or even rebellion by the Christian majority population. Moderate Christians, on the other hand, feared that the behavior of their fanatical brethren would bring persecution to the entire com­munity. Church officials and Christians prominent in the business community of Cór­doba seem to have worked diligently [to] defuse the situation. [However,] Eulogius, later bishop of Córdoba, defended their zeal . . . The layman Paulus Alvarus went further: he condemned Christians who acknowledged or cooperated with Muslim rule . . . Eulogius and Alvarus viciously attacked Muhammad as an immoral monster and Islam as an impious creed.” (Bentley 99)
   5. “The principal long-term result of the cultural clash was the inauguration of a tradition [99] of bitter anti-Muslim polemic on the part of western Christians . . . for a millennium and more.” (Bentley 99-100)
6. **west and east Africa**
   1. “Islamic merchants first brought their faith to the kingdoms of west Africa and the cities of the Zanj, the east African region from Mogadishu to Sofala. . . . adoption of Islam enabled the previously isolated rulers to enter more fully into the political and commer­cial life of the larger world. Moreover, it brought recognition from Islamic states . . . “ (Bentley 10)

## Conversion to Islam, ad 632-1000

1. **special causes**
   1. trade routes
      1. The Muslims benefited “from the revival of long-distance trade begun in the late sixth century.” (Bentley 90)
      2. The “Umayyad caliphs brought north Africa and the Middle East into an ever-larger network of long-distance commercial relationships . . . “ (Bentley 90)
      3. The “Abbasid dynasty traded with people from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south to the South China Sea in the east.” (Bentley 90)
   2. tired empires
      1. “The Byzantine and Sassanian empires had both decayed . . . “ (Bentley 90)
   3. state sponsorship
      1. “. . . unlike Buddhism and Christianity, Islam enjoyed almost from its birth the status of a state-sponsored religion [91] . . . [It enjoyed] advantages such as those that favored Buddhism during the reign of Asoka and Christianity after the conversion of Con­stan­tine. As a result, a wide range of political, legal, social, and economic incentives helped to attract converts . . . state sponsorship resulted in a policy that rewarded conversion to Islam and penalized those who preferred not to receive the new faith.” (Bentley 91)
2. **military causes**
   1. militarism
      1. “In its earliest days, Islam was a mil­i­tant, conquering religion.” [91] Muslim forces “fought with an intense zeal.” (Bentley 91, 90)
      2. “Muhammad imposed political and military order on the community of his followers in Medina.” (Bentley 90)
      3. “Both Muhammad and the early caliphs led holy wars in order to bring the Arab tribes under the control of Medina.” (Bentley 90)
      4. “The caliphs also led campaigns to enforce continued loyalty and obedience when sev­eral of the tribes attempted to secede from the Islamic community or otherwise hinder the Islamic enterprise after Muhammad’s death. These wars brought about a sort of poli­tical conversion to Islam on the part of Arab tribal chieftains.” (Bentley 91)
      5. “A similar process of militarily induced conversion took place when Umayyad armies conquered the Maghrib, where they faced stiff resistance from Berber nomads and used Islam as a weapon in their campaign to impose their rule.” (Bentley 90)
   2. camels
      1. “Between about 500 and 200 b.c.e., the camel saddle came into use in Arabia, and during the next several centuries, Arabs developed its commercial and military uses.” (Bentley 90)
      2. “The camel saddle made efficient use of the animals’ energy, while also enabling war­riors to wield swords and spears from their mounts. As a result, early Islamic armies could traverse arid regions in numbers and strength previously unattainable.” (Bentley 90)
3. **conversion incentives**
   1. religious freedom
      1. Generally, “outside Arabia, early Muslims did not coerce individuals to accept their faith.” (Bentley 91)
      2. The Qur’an “often forbade compulsion”—e.g., 2:256, 3:20, 16:82-83, 29:46, 42:48, 73:10-11. (Bentley 91, 193)
   2. material and social incentives for conversion
      1. Non-Muslims lived “in specially designated neighborhoods, which prevented their integration into the new Islamic society.” (Bentley 92)
      2. The *jizya*, or poll tax, was “levied on non-Muslim subjects [and] avoiding the poll tax must have provided a powerful incentive for conversion to Islam. Indeed, within a century of the Hegira, converts had claimed so many exemptions that the Umay­yad state experienced serious financial difficulties.” (But the difficulties did not neces­sarily derive from loss of poll taxes, nor did the conversions necessarily result from the sole motive of avoided the poll tax. This is *post hoc ergo propter hoc*.—Hahn) (Bentley 92)
      3. “Taxation of land and property worked . . . perhaps even more effectively. [In Egypt,] differential rates favoring Arab Muslim[s] [undermined] the Christian elites and the Coptic church. Thus, while not directly coercing individuals to convert, Umayyad tax policy progressively deprived the Coptic tradition of the financial resources it required . . . “ (Bentley 93)
      4. “So effectively were the material and social incentives that whole societies converted to Islam within [92] relatively short periods of time. Between the years 750 and 900, for example, about 80 percent of [Persia converted]. One scholar has recently argued that the earliest converts came largely from the ranks of the especially privileged and the especially oppressed—that is, those who sought to maintain their positions under new circumstances, and those who hoped t take advantage of new opportunities to improve their conditions.” (Bentley 92-93)
      5. “Merchants responded especially warmly to the universalist ethic of Islam and forged . . . commercial links between the various regions . . . “ Islam was good for business. (Bentley 93)
   3. religious incentives for conversion
      1. “. . . saints and Sufis—mystics who elaborated an intensely emotional and spiritual tradition of popular religion in Islam [developed] popular piety and a sense of devotion . . . their mysticism and doctrinal flexibility enabled them to serve as agents of syncre­tism . . . “ (Bentley 94)
      2. Pilgrims to Mecca became “acquainted with Islamic traditions at first hand.” (Bentley 94)
      3. The inherent worth of the Islamic faith.

## Islamic Expansion, 1000-1350

1. **introduction**
   1. “The quickening tempo of cross-cultural encounters and exchanges benefitted Islam more than any other cultural tradition. Two developments in particular promoted the expansion of Islam during the period from 1000 to 1350”: conquests by Turkish peoples, and Islamic traders. (Bentley 117)

### The Turks

1. **central Asia**
   1. “The presence of Islam in Transoxiana had attracted several Turkish tribes to the faith by the late tenth century . . . As Turkish peoples spread south and west from their Central Asian homelands, they took their new faith [to] India and Anatolia.” [117] They “adopted Islam and helped to establish it in India and Anatolia.” (Bentley 117, 135)
   2. “The Turks’ commitment to Islam provided them with a rationale and justification for a spirited attack on the Hindu and Christian cultural establishments . . . “ (Bentley 135)
2. **Anatolia**
   1. Turkish peoples “ruled Anatolia—a relatively compact land compared to India, and one that was culturally well integrated for centuries—much more tightly than did their cousins in India. They also aggressively promoted Islam and penalized those who chose not to con­vert.” (Bentley 117)
   2. The Seljuq Turks “took Anatolia by storm . . . “ In part this was because the Byzantine empire was plagued by “internal dissension . . . “ (Bentley 122)
   3. “Turks first appeared in Anatolia in 1016. By 1071 they had shattered the Byzantine army at the battle of Manzikert. From that point on, Byzantine authority progressively collapsed, as ambitious Byzantines, Turks, Armenians, Normans, and others vied to establish states that would fill the void. During the late thirteenth and fourteenth cen­tur­ies, new rounds of invasions—most notably by Ottomans, as well as by other Turkish peoples—sealed the fate of both Byzantine authority and Christian culture in Anatolia. In effect, all Anatoia fell into the sort of confusion that in India afflicted only the Sind and the Punjab.” (Bentley 122)
   4. “The more serious disruption of Anatolian society helps to account for the more thor­ough cultural transformation that took place there. Famine, disease, and military casual­ties reduced the Christian population. Many survivors fled before Turkish invaders; others fell captive and went into slavery. The conquerors tolerated Christians, if they ob­served their faith quietly, but they imposed discriminatory restrictions upon them: Christians had to wear distinctive dress, and they could not ride saddled horses or carry swords. They also of course paid the obligatory *jizya* in addition to other tax levies. Clergy as well as laity experienced this fate. As in India, the Turkish invaders targeted re­li­gious as well as political sites for destruction. . . . The invaders sometimes forbade clergy to visit their churches, and they often appropriated income from [122] religious pro­perties for their own uses. By the fifteenth century, the Christian clergy had lost its con­fidence and much of its discipline, and the ecclesiastical structure of Anatolia had fallen into ruin. Thus it was far more difficult to remain a Christian in Anatolia than to re­main a Hindu in India following the Turkish inva­sions of the eleventh century. . . . by the late fifteenth century few Christians remained there.” (Bentley 122-123)
   5. “. . . Christians who adopted Is­lam . . . received gifts, grants, and other rewards . . . “ (Bentley 123)
   6. “One of the more distinctive Turkish institutions was the *devshirme*, a levy of Christian children who were removed from their homes to be educated and socialized as Muslims. [123] . . . children so recruited had many more opportunities opened to them than they would otherwise find. Hence, by the fifteenth century, it was not unknown for Chris­tian families to volunteer their offspring for the *devshirme*.” (Bentley 123-124)
   7. “. . . welfare foundations provided food, clothing, shelter, and even money for new converts . . . “ (Bentley 124)
   8. “Meanwhile, several orders of Sufi dervishes took it as a special part of their mission to convert Christians to Islam. . . . they provided charity for Christians who lacked the necessi­ties of life but could no longer rely upon the increasingly mori­bund Orthodox church for support.” (Bentley 124)
   9. The Sufis “emphasized the importance of a general attitude of religious awe and rever­ence . . . rather than acknowledgement of a specific doctrine, or they emphasized the common elements of Christianity and Islam . . . “ (Bentley 124)
   10. “A small minority of Byzantine Christians held to their inherited faith even after adopting Turkish language and customs. In the late fifteenth century, these holdouts accounted for approximately 8 percent of the Anatolian population. . . . Voluntary martyrdom did not become a popular movement in Anatolia, as it had in ninth-century Córdoba, but [124] . . . in numerous recorded cases they suffered martyrdom . . . small Christian communities survive there even in the twentieth century.” (Bentley 124-125)
3. **India**
   1. “In India, a small group of warriors imposed a veneer of Turkish rule on the vast subconti­nent. Their political dominance and fiscal policies naturally encouraged some Indians to convert to Islam, but they did nt promote their faith in an especially active fashion. As a result, Islam attracted large numbers of Indians only after Sufi mystics popularized their faith and syncretized it with native cultural traditions.” (Bentley 117)
   2. “Islam had made an appearance in India as early as the seventh century, when mission­aries and traders began to visit the southern [117] coasts and to win local converts. An Umayyad force conquered the Sind region in the early eighth century. [But Islam] attracted few native converts . . . “ (Bentley 117-118)
   3. “Between 1001 and 1026, Mahmud of Ghazni carved out an enormous state in the Punjab. Later generations of Turkish conquerors established the sultanate of Delhi and extended their political claims to Bengal and the Deccan. [Turkish conquerors] destroyed temples, monasteries, and shrines. They confiscated the wealth that they found in holy places, and they broke the statuary and religious icons that offended pious Muslim sensitivities.” (Bentley 118)
   4. “. . . in India the *jizya* was imposed sporadically at best, so that it did not represent a serious burden for Hindus, Buddhists, or others . . . “ (Bentley 118)
   5. “. . . political incentivies that might have attracted Indian elites to Islam were almost en­tirely lacking. Turkish conquerors completely dominated [and] made little room even for Indian Muslims. Only during the dynasties of the Khaljis (1290-1320) and the Tugh­luqs (1320-1414) did native Indians begin to find places as governors and administrators.” (Bentley 118)
   6. From the first the Turkish conquerors “developed an unattractive impression of the Indian people and their civilization. . . . Hindu religious beliefs, sexual habits, and social customs [demonstrated] the “essential foulness” of Indian culture . . . “ (Bentley 119)
   7. syncretism
      1. Sufi missionaries “worked among the masses . . . They related traditional Hindu and Buddhist stories—traditionally the primary sources of moral and religious instruction in India—but [substituted] Muslim saints . . . They built new shrines on the sites of Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries . . . “ (Bentley 119)
      2. bhaktism
         1. Syncretism also took “the form of the *bhakti* movement, which emerged in southern India during the twelfth [119] century as a cult of love and devotion. In its early decades it represented a purely Hindu develop­ment that drew most of its inspiration from the *Bhagavad Gita*.” (Bentley 119-120)
         2. “As it moved north, especially during the period from the thirteenth to the sev­en­teenth century, the *bhakti* cult progressively encountered the spreading faith of Islam. *Bhakti* pro­pon­ents—tradi­tionally referred to as “saints”—came under the influence of certain Islamic values, especially monotheism and the spiritual equality of individuals. The saints thus elaborated an egalitarian doctrine that trans­cended the caste system and encouraged individuals to seek personal un­ion with the divine. Like Sufis, then, they offered a spiritual alternative that ap­pealed strongly to mem­bers of the oppressed castes. To that extent, it had the po­tential to limit the spread of Islam . . . “ (Bentley 120)
         3. In the 1400-1500s, Kabir and Nanak “popularized the *bhakti* movement in the urban society of northern India.” (Bentley 120)
            1. “Kabir (1440-1518) rejected the exclusive authority of either Muslim or Hindu deities, whom he indeed identified with one another:

O servant, where dost thou seek Me?

Lo! I am beside thee.

I am neither in temple nor in mosque:

I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash [home of Siva]. . . .

Hari is in the East: Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim [Allah] and Ram [incarnation of Vishnu];

All the men and women of the world are His living forms.

* + - * 1. “Nanak (1469-1539) avoided specific Hindu and Muslim connotations alto­gether but seemed instead to envision a new and more universal deity than either of the existing traditions that influenced his thought. His disciples later founded the independent community of the Sikhs, who ultimately rejected both Hinduism and Islam.” (Bentley 120)
  1. resistance
     1. Hindu and Buddhist resistance to Islam “became especially effective during the four­teenth century, as the sultanate of Delhi entered a long period of decline.” (Bentley 121)
     2. “The most notorious case involved Khusrau Khan, an Indian of low caste who con­verted to Islam, then rose to high position as homosexual lover of the Khalji sultan. In 1320 Khusrau turned suddenly, murdered the sultan and his family, seized power for himself, desecrated mosques, reinstituted Hinduism, and ordered the expulsion of Muslims from Delhi. His rule lasted only four months and so had no permanent effect, except to bring the Khalji dynasty to an end.” (Bentley 121)
     3. More significant “was the establishment of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in southern India. . . . in the early fourteenth century, the sultan’s army captured two Hindu princes, Harihara and Bukka, and transferred them to Delhi. There they con­verted to Islam and entered the sultan’s service. Later they returned to the south as the sultan’s service. Later they returned to the south as the sultan’s governors. Ultimately, though, they could not resist the temptation to establish themselves as independent rulers. In 1336 Harihara had himself proclaimed king in [121] his own right. The broth­ers then abandoned Islam and returned to their native Hinduism. They did not mount an anti-Islamic crusade by any means, but the founding of an officially Hindu kingdom helped to limit the expansion of Islam as a political force in India.” (Bentley 121-122)

### Islamic Traders

1. **port cities of the Indian Ocean**
   1. Islamic traders “established small diaspora communities in ports . . . “ (Bentley 125)
   2. “Some of the local inhabitants who dealt extensively with the merchants adopted their faith, which provided them with a set of values and a code of ethics well suited to their participa­tion in the economic activities of a large and cosmopolitan world.” (Bentley 125)
   3. “Small Islamic communities gradually expanded . . . “ (Bentley 125)
      1. “. . . *qadis* arrived to administer justice . . . “ (Bentley 125)
      2. Theologians arrived, promoting “a degree of standardization in the transre­gional cul­ture of Islam . . . “ (Bentley 125)
      3. “Sufis arrived and [spread] Islam broadly among native inhabitants.” (Bentley 125)
   4. “Mean­while, new converts made pilgrimages to Mecca . . . “ (Bentley 125)
   5. “Finally, in many cases, rul­ing elites recognized political or economic advantages in Islam . . . “ (Bentley 125)
2. **southeast Asia**
   1. “The spread of Islam by merchants took place so quietly that the earliest mention of the pro­cess often appeared long after it began. [126] The first clear indication of Islam’s arrival in southeast Asia, for example, appeared only in the late thirteenth century in Marco Polo’s [writings] . . . Only in the fifteenth century did the spread of Islam in southeast Asia pass into written records to the extent that historians can document it today.” (Bentley 126-127) But two processes seem likely during the Middle Ages.
   2. “In traditional southeast Asia, leadership was closely associated not only with personal prowess but also with divine sanction and energy. Islam appealed to the elites, then, as an additional source of divine power that could legitimize their rule. The elites do not seem to have pushed their subjects to convert to Islam in any very zealous manner. Indeed, they most likely maintained their own associations with Hindu and Buddhist cultures, additional sources of divine sanction for their rule, even after adopting Islam.” (Bentley 127)
   3. “Meanwhile, on the popular level, Islam spread in a personalized mystical rather than systematic and doctrinal form.” (Bentley 127)
3. **east sub-Saharan Africa**
   1. “The Swahili—in Arabic, the term means “coasters,” that is, those who traveled up and down the coasts—traded between the fishing and farming villages in the Zanj region, the east African coast between Mogadishu and Sofala. Besides trade goods—pottery, glass, ironware, and textiles exchanged for such local products as gold, ivory, slaves, aromatics, and animal skins—they brought Arabic language, Islamic religion, and sophisticated politi­cal institutions to the east African towns they visited. Trade itself encouraged rapid devel­op­ment in the coast’s major towns—Mogadishu, Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa, Mozambique, and Sofala—which not only grew in size but also organized trade networks in the hinter­land.” (Bentley 128)
   2. All “the major trading sites of east Africa saw the development after about 1100 of an alliance between Islam and kingship. . . . Indigenous culture emphasized the importance of local genealogies, magical abilities, and mastery over the spiritual world, interests of too parochial a nature for those who lived and worked in a cosmopolitan world of trade and travel. Islam, however, supplied a system of values and ethics recognized throughout the Indian Ocean basin, and one moreover that enhanced the legitimacy of local ruling houses.” (Bentley 128)
   3. “By the thirteenth century, stone mosques dominated the larger trading towns. Local rulers . . . introduced Islamic jurisprudence, and publicly observed their ritual and charitable obligations. In return they gained both the endorsement of the local Islamic establishment and a larger legitimacy conferred by the Islamic world as a whole.” (Bentley 129)
4. **west sub-Saharan Africa**
   1. “From about the eighth century, traders crossed the torrid stret­ches of the Sahara by camel caravan in search of west African gold and slaves. In west Africa, trade and Islam became so closely identified that they were virtually synonymous . . . “ (Bentley 129)
   2. By the eleventh century “Most local rulers . . . employed literate Muslims as secretaries and interpreters, and they accepted Islam for themselves, without forcing it upon their subjects. . . . They no doubt found that a common faith facilitated dealings between themselves and merchants from afar. Conversion to Islam [brought] ready access to a group of talented and educated entrepreneurs . . . “ (Bentley 130)
   3. “Mansa Musa, the king of Mali, . . . developed a strong and sincere interest in Islam. In 1324 he made a memorable pilgrimage to Mecca . . . accompanied by thousands of sub­jects, slaves, soldiers, and attendants . . . “ (Bentley 130)
   4. “Like their Swahili counterparts, west African rulers adopted Islam as a cultural bridge to the larger world, but they continued to recognize traditional beliefs [130] and honor estab­lished values in the interests of effective governance in their own societies. Muslim mer­chants generally occupied a separate quarter of west African towns . . . “ (Bentley 130-131)
   5. “The Indian Ocean offered calm waters and regular wind patterns to legions of mariners . . . the Sahara made travel . . . much more difficult . . . Thus, as the kingdom of Mali declined in the fifteenth century, conditions in Timbuktu, Jenne, and other trading centers became uncertain enough that the Muslim merchants departed. The kingdom as a whole returned gradually to paganism . . . The case of west Africa illustrates better perhaps than any other the significance of trade for the spread of Islam to new regions.” (Bentley 131)

# Appendix

## A Classification of Topics in *Encyclopedia of Religion*

Eliade, Mircea, ed. “Synoptic Outline of Contents.” *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 16.97-127.

The first section, “Religions,” gives religions, deities, sects, and so on.

The second section, “Topics,” gives subjects within or across religions.

religions

1. **ancient religions**
   1. prehistoric religions (paleolithic, neolithic, megalithic)
   2. ancient Near Eastern religions
      1. groups (Aramean, Canaanite, Egyptian, Hittite, Hurrian, Israelite, Mandaean, Mesopotamian, Moabite, Nabatean, Philistine, Phoenician)
      2. gods (Adad, Enki, Enlil, Inanna, Marduk, etc.)
      3. concepts (*Enuma Elish*, Gilgamesh epic, ziggurats)
   3. Egyptian religion (Akhenaton, Anubis, goddess worship, Horus, Isis, Osiris, pyramids, Thoth)
   4. Iberian religion
   5. Etruscan religion
   6. Indo-European religions
      1. Indo-European religion itself
      2. Celtic religion (Arthur, druids, Celtic head cult, *Mabinogion*, Merlin)
      3. Germanic religion
         1. regions (Skandinavian religion, etc.)
         2. concepts (berserkers, *Eddas*, runes, Snorri Sturluson, Valholl, Valkyries)
         3. deities (Freyja, Loki, Óðinn, Thor)
      4. Roman religion
         1. concepts (apotheosis, emperor’s cult, flamen, Lupercalia, numen, Sibylline oracles)
         2. deities (Fortuna, goddess worship, Janus, Juno, Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, Priapus, Sol Invictus, Venus, Vesta)
      5. Greek religion (a god; a myth; apotheosis, Asklepios, Delphi, Eleusinian mysteries, mystery religions [Cybele, Mithraism, Hermetism (Hermes Trismegistos)], Neoplatonism, Pythagoras)
      6. Slavic religion
      7. Thracian religion (Geto-Dacian)
      8. Hittite religion
      9. Persian religions (Iranian religions, Manichaeism, Mazdakism, Mithraism)
   7. Manichaeism
   8. Mandaean religion
   9. Sarmatian religion; Scythian religion
   10. Hun religion
   11. Indus Valley religion
2. **primitive religions**
   1. folk religion
   2. arctic religions (Inuit, Khanty and Mansi, Saami, Samoyed, southern Siberian, Yakut)
   3. Altaic religions (Turkic, Mongol, Tunguz)
   4. Finno-Ugric religions (Turkic, Uralic [Finnic, Finno-Ugric religions, Hungarian, Samoyed])
   5. Baltic religion
   6. African traditional religions (Central Bantu, East African, Southern African, West African)
   7. Caribbean religions
      1. periods (Pre-Columbian, Afro-Caribbean)
      2. regions (Afro-Brazilian, Afro-Surinamese, Caribbean)
      3. groups (Santería, Voodoo)
   8. North American Indian religions
      1. regions (far north, northeast woodlands, southeast woodlands, plains, northwest coast, California, southwest)
      2. tribes, people, concepts (Apache, Black Elk, Blackfeet, Ghost Dance, Inuits, Iroquois, Lakota, Navajo, Neolin, Potlatch, Sun Dance, Tecumseh, tricksters)
   9. Mesoamerican religions
      1. periods (pre-Columbian, preclassic, classic, postclassic, contemporary)
      2. groups (Aztec, Huichol, Mayan, Nahuatl, Olmec, Otomí, Tarascan, Tlaxcalan, Toltec, Totonac)
      3. concepts (jaguars, myths, human sacrifice, Quetzalcoatl, Mesoamerican temples, Tezcatlipoca)
   10. South American Indian religions
       1. regions (Andes, the tropical forest, the Gran Chaco)
       2. groups (Afro-Brazilian cults, Inca, Mapuche, Muisca, Quechua, Selk’nam, Tehuelche, Warao)
   11. Australian aborigine religions (dreamtime, bull-roarers)
   12. Oceanic religions
       1. regions (Melanesian [Maori, New Caledonia, New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu], Micronesian, Polynesian [Hawaiian, Maui])
       2. concepts (taboo, mana)
3. **world religions**
   1. Buddhism
      1. regions (India, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, the West)
      2. Buddhism, schools of
      3. martial arts
   2. Chinese religion
      1. Confucianism (Confucian thought, jade)
      2. Taoism (tao, T`ai-chi, Fang-shih)
      3. Buddhism (see above)
      4. related regions
         1. Japanese religion (Shinto)
         2. Korean religion
         3. Tibetan religions (Bon, Buddhism, Avalokitesvara, Dalai Lama, tantrism)
   3. Hinduism
      1. sects (Vedism and Brahmanism, Ajivikas, carvaka, Durga Hinduism, Krsnaism, Saivism, Saura Hinduism, Tantrism, Vaisnavism, Hare Krishnas [International Society for Krishna Consciousness])
      2. concepts (ahimsa, *Bhagavadgita*, bhakti, Brahman, cakras, dharma, Ganges River, kundalini, lotus, *Mahabharata*, mandalas, mantras, om, puja, *Ramayana*, soma, Upanisads, Vedanta, Vedas, yoga)
      3. deities (Agni, Brahma, Ganesa, Hanuman, Indra, Krsna, the Hindu goddess, Prajapati, Sarasvati, Rama, Rudra, Siva, Visnu)
      4. people (Mohandas Gandhi, Kabir, Patañjali, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Ramakrishna, Ramanuja, Sankara, Rabindranath Tagore, Vivekananda)
   4. Judaism (not allowed in “Eastern World Religions”)
   5. Christianity (not allowed in “Eastern World Religions”)
   6. Islam (not allowed in “Eastern World Religions”)
4. **other present-day religions**
   1. Slavic religion
   2. Iranian religions (Zoroastrianism, Zurvanism; Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, *Avestas*, haoma, magi, Parsis, Zarathushtra)
   3. non-Hindu Indian religions (Jainism, Sikhism, Himalayan religions)
   4. inner-Asian religions (Buddhism [in Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet], Finno-Ugric, Southern Siberian, Tibetan, Turkic, Tunguz)
   5. Korean religion (Buddhism, Confucianism, Unification Church)
   6. new religions, cults, and movements
      1. regions (United States, Europe, Japan [Reiyukai Kyodan, Rissho Koseikai, Soka Gakkai])
      2. sects (cargo cults, civil religion, ethical culture)
   7. Southeast Asian religions (Acehnese, Balinese [Balinese dance and drama], Batak, Bornean, Buddhism, Bugis, Burmese, Javanese, Khmer, Lao, Negrito, Sundanese, Thai, Toraja, Vietnamese)

topics

ablutions

aesthetics

affliction

afterlife, geographies of death

ages of the world

agriculture

alchemy

altar

amulets and talismans

ancestors, ancestor worship

ancestors, mythic

angels

animals

anthropology and religion

apocalypse

archaeology and religion

architecture

arts, crafts

astrology

baptism

basilica, cathedral, and church

beverages

binding

birds

birth

blessing

blood

boats

bodily marks

bodily marks

bones

breath and breathing

bridges

calendars

calligraphy

cannibalism

canon

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cinema and religion

circumcision

cities

classification of religions

clitoridectomy

clothing

clothing

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colors

colors

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consecration

conversion

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covenant

creeds

cross

crossroads

crown

cursing

dance

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demons

descent into the underworld

deserts

devils

devotion

diseases and cures

divination

dogs

doubleness

dragons

drama

dreams

drums

ecstasy

election

elixir

enlightenment

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eternity

ethnoastronomy

evil

evolution

exile

exorcism

eye

fairies

faith

fall, the

family

fasting

fate

fire

flood, the

flowers

food

foundation rites

frogs and toads

functionalism

funeral rites

gambling

gardens

gender roles

genealogy

geography

geomancy

ghosts

gift giving

glossolalia

goddess worship

gods and goddesses

good, the

head, symbol and ritual use

healing

heaven and hell

hermeneutics

heroes

history of religions

homosexuality

horns

horses

hospitality

human body, myth & symbol

human sacrifice

iconography

images, veneration of

images, veneration of

immortality

incantation

incarnation

incense

initiation

inspiration

jewelry

judgment of the dead

kingdom of God

kingship

knowledge and ignorance

labyrinth

language, sacred language

law and religion

legitimation

literature (poetry)

love

magic

marriage

martial arts

martyrdom

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masks

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new year festivals

nimbus

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numbers

numbers

oracles

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ordination

otherworld

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phenomenology of religion

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repentance

resurrection

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revelation

revenge and retribution

rites of passage

ritual

rivers

sacred space

sacred time

sacrifice

sainthood

satan

scripture

secret societies

sect

secularization

sexuality

shape shifting

shrines

shrines

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sin and guilt

sky

smoking

snakes

sociology of religion

spells

spiritual discipline

stars

stones

suffering

suicide

sun

temple (synagogue)

temptation

textiles

tombs

touching

towers

tradition

transmigration

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triads

truth

turtles and tortoises

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war and warriors

water

webs and nets

wisdom

wolves

work

yoni

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1. Polynesians developed writing about 2000 bc; their “talking boards” (wooden tables covered with 120 symbols, each of which represents 1 idea, not one phoneme) contain prayers to gods, instructions to priests, and mythologies. Only 21 boards remain. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. A quotation from the Greek poet Epimenides. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. A quotation from the opening lines of *Phaenomena*, by the Stoic poet Aratus. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The Song (or Sung) dynasty (“960‑1279”) was divided “into the North and South Sung by the Jurchen conquest and establishment of the Chin dynasty in the North . . .” (*Random House Encyclopedia*, Random House, 1983, 1990 [software].) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)