|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **✡**  ✠  ☪ |  | *Western* |
| *World* |
| *Religions* |
| Dr Paul Hahn  Theology Department  University of St Thomas  Houston TX 77006  © 2021 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

[Introduction 1](#_Toc505419845)

[Introduction to the Study of Religion 2](#_Toc505419846)

[Background to the Study of Religion 5](#_Toc505419847)

[Religion as a Social Institution 7](#_Toc505419848)

[Religion and Magic 9](#_Toc505419849)

[Religious Poplulations, 2015 10](#_Toc505419850)

[Distributions of World Religions 11](#_Toc505419851)

[Religious Adherents in the United States, 12](#_Toc505419852)

[Prehistoric and Primitive Religions 13](#_Toc505419853)

[A Chronology of Universal History 14](#_Toc505419854)

[Classification of Primates 15](#_Toc505419855)

[Evolution of Living Apes and Humans 15](#_Toc505419856)

[Prehistoric Religion 16](#_Toc505419857)

[Two Early Religious Illustrations 27](#_Toc505419858)

[Shamanism 28](#_Toc505419859)

[Megaliths 32](#_Toc505419860)

[Celtic Chronology 35](#_Toc505419861)

[Judaism 42](#_Toc505419862)

[Early Semitic Gods and Goddesses 43](#_Toc505419863)

[The Religion of the Patriarchs 47](#_Toc505419864)

[The God of the Father 47](#_Toc505419865)

[´El 51](#_Toc505419866)

[Yahweh 55](#_Toc505419867)

[The Religion of Moses and the Religion of the Patriarchs 60](#_Toc505419868)

[Gods that Merged into the Old Testament God 69](#_Toc505419869)

[The God of Judaism 70](#_Toc505419870)

[Major Events in Old Testament History 73](#_Toc505419871)

[The Books of the Old Testament 76](#_Toc505419872)

[in Canonical Order 76](#_Toc505419873)

[Development of the Old Testament Canon 77](#_Toc505419874)

[Development of the New Testament Canon 77](#_Toc505419875)

[Major Jewish Festivals 79](#_Toc505419876)

[Spiritual Leaders in the Old Testament 80](#_Toc505419877)

[Sects in Judaism Jesus’ Day 82](#_Toc505419878)

[Judaism in the Medieval and Modern Periods 85](#_Toc505419879)

[The Mishnah: An Excerpt 89](#_Toc505419880)

[Judaism in the United States 91](#_Toc505419881)

[The Lubavitch Movement 93](#_Toc505419882)

[Reconstructing Judaism 94](#_Toc505419883)

[History of the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle 96](#_Toc505419884)

[Christianity 117](#_Toc505419885)

[Jesus 118](#_Toc505419886)

[A Brief History of the Catholic Church 120](#_Toc505419887)

[Church Councils 141](#_Toc505419888)

[Vatican Council II 142](#_Toc505419889)

[Early or Major Church Fathers 143](#_Toc505419890)

[Doctors of the Church 144](#_Toc505419891)

[Major Differences Between 145](#_Toc505419892)

[Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy 145](#_Toc505419893)

[Eastern Catholic Churches 147](#_Toc505419894)

[The Crusades (1095‑1272) 151](#_Toc505419895)

[The Development of Luther’s Theology 153](#_Toc505419896)

[Major Differences Between 158](#_Toc505419897)

[Catholicism and Protestantism 158](#_Toc505419898)

[Protestantism in the United States 160](#_Toc505419899)

[Liberalism 169](#_Toc505419900)

[Some Less-Orthodox Christian Groups 172](#_Toc505419901)

[Major Forms of Christianity 174](#_Toc505419902)

[Islam 175](#_Toc505419903)

[Islam: An Overview 176](#_Toc505419904)

[Introduction and Life of Muhammad 176](#_Toc505419905)

[Basic Teachings of Islam 178](#_Toc505419906)

[The First Four Caliphs 179](#_Toc505419907)

[The Umayyad Dynasty (661-750) 181](#_Toc505419908)

[Rise of the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258) 181](#_Toc505419909)

[Fall of the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258) 184](#_Toc505419910)

[Sufism 185](#_Toc505419911)

[Shi’ism 186](#_Toc505419912)

[The Ottoman Empire (c. 1299-1922) 188](#_Toc505419913)

[The Saffavid Empire (1501-1736) 190](#_Toc505419914)

[The Mughal Empire (1526-1857) 191](#_Toc505419915)

[The Ka`bah (Ka`abah) 193](#_Toc505419916)

[English Translations of the Qur’an 196](#_Toc505419917)

[Major Denominations in Islam 199](#_Toc505419918)

[The Twelve Imams of Twelver Shi’ism 200](#_Toc505419919)

[Sufi Orders 201](#_Toc505419920)

[The Ahmadiyya Movement 202](#_Toc505419921)

[Bahai’ism 206](#_Toc505419922)

[Islam and Women 207](#_Toc505419923)

[Some Crucial Dates for Christianity 216](#_Toc505419924)

[Some Crucial Dates for Islam 216](#_Toc505419925)

[Some Major Islamic Empires 216](#_Toc505419926)

[Islamic Teaching on Jihad 217](#_Toc505419927)

[European Colonialism in Near-Eastern 227](#_Toc505419928)

[and African Muslim Countries 227](#_Toc505419929)

[The *Satanic-Verses* Controversy 228](#_Toc505419930)

[Islamist Terrorism in the US, 1993-2001 234](#_Toc505419931)

[Women Suicide Bombers 238](#_Toc505419932)

[Intolerance in Christianity and Islam 240](#_Toc505419933)

[Truth in World Religions 246](#_Toc505419934)

[On Truth 247](#_Toc505419935)

[Some Scriptural Passages Relevant 252](#_Toc505419936)

[to Religious Pluralism 252](#_Toc505419937)

[An Outline of Vatican II’s 253](#_Toc505419938)

[*Declaration on the Relationship of the* 253](#_Toc505419939)

[Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate) 253](#_Toc505419940)

[Vatican II, *Declaration on Religious Freedom* 255](#_Toc505419941)

[(*Dignitatis Humanae*) 255](#_Toc505419942)

[A Summary of Vatican II’s 259](#_Toc505419943)

[*Declaration on Religious Freedom* 259](#_Toc505419944)

[Catholicism on Its Relation to Other Religions 261](#_Toc505419945)

[The Spread of World Religions 262](#_Toc505419946)

[Table of Contents 263](#_Toc505419947)

[Background 264](#_Toc505419948)

[Introduction 264](#_Toc505419949)

[Eras of Cross-Cultural Encounter 267](#_Toc505419950)

[in Pre-Modern Times 267](#_Toc505419951)

[Eastern Religions 271](#_Toc505419952)

[Hinduism in Southeast Asia 271](#_Toc505419953)

[Buddhism in India 272](#_Toc505419954)

[Buddhism in Central Asia 275](#_Toc505419955)

[Confucians and the Xiongnu 278](#_Toc505419956)

[Buddhism in China 280](#_Toc505419957)

[Buddhism in Southeast Asia 284](#_Toc505419958)

[Decline of Buddhism, 286](#_Toc505419959)

[c ad 1000-1350 286](#_Toc505419960)

[Nomads in China 289](#_Toc505419961)

[Western Religions 293](#_Toc505419962)

[Missionary Religions in the Middle East and Mediterranean 293](#_Toc505419963)

[Christianity 296](#_Toc505419964)

[Christian Missions to East and West 297](#_Toc505419965)

[Nestorianism 299](#_Toc505419966)

[Manichaeism 302](#_Toc505419967)

[Zoroastrianism 305](#_Toc505419968)

[Mithraism 306](#_Toc505419969)

[Islamic Expansion, 632-1000 307](#_Toc505419970)

[Conversion to Islam, ad 632-1000 309](#_Toc505419971)

[Islamic Expansion, 1000-1350 311](#_Toc505419972)

[The Turks 311](#_Toc505419973)

[Islamic Traders 314](#_Toc505419974)

[APPENDIX 317](#_Toc505419975)

[A Classification of Topics in *Encyclopedia of Religion* 318](#_Toc505419976)

[Bibliographies 324](#_Toc505419977)

[Bibliography 325](#_Toc505419978)

[A Bibliography for Women in Islam 330](#_Toc505419979)

# 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, Jonathan Z., gen. ed. *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion.* New York: HarperCollins, 1995, 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**
   1. 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. “. . . rules regulating adult sexual relationships and procreation . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      2. “. . . provision for the reproduction of new members of the society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 7)
   3. education
      1. “. . . the transmission of values, attitudes, knowledge, and skills from one generation to the next.” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      2. “. . . provision for the adequate socialization of new members of the society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 7)
   4. economy
      1. A “normative system [for] the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      2. “. . . provision for the continued adequate biological functioning of the members of society . . .” (Leslie and Korman 7)
   5. government
      1. “. . . a normative system governing the legitimate use of power in the society.” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      2. “. . . provision for the maintenance of order within the group and with outsiders . . .” (Leslie and Korman 7)
   6. religion
      1. A “normative system regulates our relation to the supernatural . . .” (Leslie and Korman 5)
      2. “. . . provision for maintaining the motivation for group and individual survival and defining the meaning of life . . .” (Leslie and Korman 7)
4. **on the functional requisite**, **religion**
   1. “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.”
      1. “In one society, the purpose of life may be to provide for worship of the Almighty.” (Leslie and Korman 10)
      2. “In a second, the goal may be continuation of the family line.” (Leslie and Korman 10)
   2. “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.” (Leslie and Korman 10)
   3. “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. “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. “First some similarities:
   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; and
   4. both are bona fide elements of the group’s larger culture.” (Johnstone 23)
3. “Some differences or contrasts:
   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.” (Johnstone 23)
4. 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)

[A note from: Phillip Sigal, *Judaism: The Evolution of a Faith,* rev. and ed. by Lillian Sigal (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988, 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.”]

## 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.

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

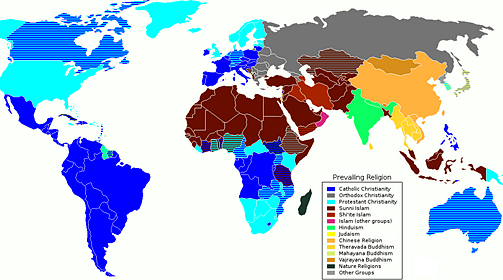
nonreligionists 831,267,000 834,382,000 812,576,000

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

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

## Distributions of World Religions

“Sect.” *Wikipedia*. 9 Jan. 2018. 11 Jan. 2018. Web.



## Religious Adherents in the United States,

ad 2000 and 2025

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2001. 772.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | mid-2000 | | mid-2025 | |
|  | adherents | % | adherents | % |
| Christians | 235,741,652 | 84.7 | 261,348,500 | 80.3 |
| unaffiliated Christians | 43,914,025 | 15.8 | 50,348,500 | 15.5 |
| affiliated Christians | 191,827,627 | 68.9 | 211,000,000 | 64.8 |
| independents | 78,550,000 | 28.2 | 100,000,000 | 30.7 |
| Protestants | 64,570,000 | 23.2 | 69,000,000 | 21.2 |
| Roman Catholics | 58,000,000 | 20.8 | 65,000,000 | 20.0 |
| marginal Christians | 10,080,000 | 3.6 | 17,000,000 | 5.2 |
| Orthodox | 5,762,000 | 2.1 | 7,162,000 | 2.2 |
| Anglicans | 2,400,000 | 0.9 | 2,100,000 | 0.7 |
| doubly-affiliated | -27,534,373 |  | -49,262,000 | -15.1 |
| *trans-megabloc groupings* |  |  |  |  |
| Evangelicals | 139,302,079 | 50.0 | 167,670,000 | 51.5 |
| Pentecostals/Charismatics | 75,156,000 | 27.0 | 104,180,000 | 32.0 |
| nonreligious | 25,077,844 | 9.0 | 40,000,000 | 12.3 |
| Jews | 5,621,339 | 2.0 | 6,100,000 | 1.9 |
| Muslims | 4,131,910 | 1.5 | 5,920,000 | 1.8 |
| Buddhists | 2,449,570 |  | 5,000,000 | 1.5 |
| atheists | 1,149,486 |  | 1,600,000 | 0.5 |
| Hindus | 1,031,677 |  | 1,500,000 | 0.5 |
| new-religionists | 810,859 | 0.3 | 930,000 | 0.3 |
| Baha’is | ‘753,423 | 0.3 | 1,150,000 | 0.4 |
| ethnoreligionists | 434,851 | 0.2 | 500,000 | 0.2 |
| Sikhs | 233,820 | 0.1 | 310,000 | 0.1 |
| spiritists | 138,412 | 0.1 | 175,000 | 0.1 |
| Chinese folk-religionists | 78,497 |  | 65,000 | 0.0 |
| Shintoists | 56,220 |  | 70,000 | 0.0 |
| Zoroastrians | 52,721 |  | 84,000 | 0.0 |
| Taoists | 11,134 |  | 13,500 | 0.0 |
| Jains | 6,959 |  | 7,000 | 0.0 |
| other religionists | 576,767 |  | 800,000 | 0.3 |
| world: unevangelized persons | 4,175,355 | 1.5 | 7,162,606 | 2.2 |
| world: evangelized non-Christians | 38,439,993 | 13.8 | 57,061,894 | 17.5 |
| world: Christians | 235,741,652 | 84.7 | 261,348,500 | 80.3 |
| country’s population | 278,357,000 | 100.0 | 325,573,000 | 100.0 |

# 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)

13.7 b universe if 13.7 b = 24 hrs, then 1 hr = 583,333,333; 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; opposable 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)

3100 Egypt (Nile River)

2500 India (Indus Valley)

1700 China (Yellow River)

American civilizations (none north of Mexico):

1300-400 Olmecs (Gulf of Mexico)

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

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, MA: MIT Press, 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 *Reaching into Thought: The Minds of the Great Apes*. Ed. Anne E. Russon, Kim Bard, and Sue Taylor Parker. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996, p. 111.

Hrdy, Sarah Blaffer. *The Woman That Never Evolved*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 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

(Napier and Napier)

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 24)
      2. “. . . beliefs and ideas cannot be fossilized.” (Eliade 8)
      3. Civilizations based on gathering, hunting, and fishing (in Africa, Australia, the Arctic, the tropical forests) are like “living fossils.” (Eliade 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 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 5, 19)
      2. Neolithic religion was dominated by “the mystical solidarity be­tween man and vegeta­tion.” (Eliade 40)
         1. Humans “shared in the cyclical destiny of vegetation: birth, life, death, rebirth.” (Eliade 116)
         2. “. . . woman and feminine sacrality are raised to the first rank . . .” (Eliade 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 13)
      2. A bear cult was practiced in the Northern Hemisphere until the 1800s ad. (Eliade 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 15-16)
         2. Probably the bears were sacrifices, [14] since sacrificial bone deposits are found among con­temporary arctic hunters. (Eliade 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 8, 34)
   2. burial
      1. Burial is common everywhere by c 50,­000 bc. (Eliade 10)
         1. It implies belief in an afterlife: otherwise, why expend the effort? (Eliade 9)
         2. It also implies belief in souls.
            1. The dead appearing in dreams may have caused this belief. (Eliade 10)
            2. Ecstasies, too, could cause it. (Eliade 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 34)
            4. The soul would be present throughout the body and “constituted in some sort its “double.”” (Eliade 34)
      2. nature of burial
         1. Corpses are often in a bent position. (Eliade 10)
            1. To keep the dead from returning? (Eliade 10)
            2. Fetal position, signifying hope of a rebirth? (Eliade 106)
         2. Dusting corpses with red ochre (hem­a­tite, rust) was practical­ly univer­sal (Europe, Africa, Australia, America). (Eliade 9)
         3. Grave goods included
            1. personal adornments (shells, pendants, necklaces) and
            2. animals (remains of ritual feasts? offerings? provisions?). (Eliade 10)
         4. The heads of corpses were often oriented toward the East. (Eliade 11)
3. **paleolithic religion** (28,000-8,000 bc) (anatomically modern humans)
   1. cave bear cult
      1. 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 15)
   2. rock paintings
      1. Cave paintings are mostly found in S. France and N. Spain. (Eliade 16)
      2. The images change little during the 20,000 years. (Eliade 16)
      3. Since the paintings are usually hundreds of yards from cave en­trances and often almost inaccessible, they must be sanc­tu­aries. (Eliade 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 19)
         2. Shamanism “still dominates . . . hunters and pastoralists in our day.” (Eliade 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 18)
            2. The Lord of Wild Beasts? A sorcerer personifying him? (Eliade 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 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 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 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 17-18)
         3. The Trois Frères “Great Magician” seems to be dancing. (Eliade 18)
      2. X-ray drawings
         1. He cave paintings sometimes depict the interior of animals and men (similar pictures are found in Siberia, Am­erica, India, Ma­lay­sia, New Guinea, and Aus­tralia).
         2. 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 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 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 24-25)
  1. Venus statuettes (Eliade 20)
     1. 2-10 inches (Eliade 20)
     2. stone, bone, and ivory (Eliade 20)
     3. Rhine to Italy, France to Siberia (Eliade 20)
     4. Heads are usually without features, and the breasts and abdomen are usually exagger­ated. (Eliade 20)
  2. myths
     1. Probably paleolithic peoples had a number of myths. (Eliade 26)
     2. myths of origin
        1. cosmogonic myths (origin of the universe, often with a Creator vs. the pri­mor­dial Waters) (Eliade 26)
        2. etiological myths (origin of man, game animals, fire, death, etc.) (Eliade 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 26)
     4. ancestor worship: belief in ancestors “is universally dis­semi­nated and . . . has survived in all reli­gions [except] Hina­yana Bud­dhism.” (Eliade 32)
     5. flight (““universally docu­mented [and] bound up with . . . shaman­ism”) (Eliade 26)
     6. rainbow (“Equally widespread”) (Eliade 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 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 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 27)
  3. rituals
     1. Cave paintings often show “bears, lions, and other wild animals riddled with arrows . . .” (Eliade 17)
        1. Could be a “reactualization of a . . . hunt.” (Eliade 17)
        2. But probably “hunting magic” rites were performed before hunt­ing expeditions. (Eliade 17)
        3. The pictures may also have been used for ceremonies initiating adoles­cents. (Eliade 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 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 25)
        3. Probably, too, the secrets of these men-only groups were “re­vealed to adolescents by means of initiation rites.” (Eliade 25)
           1. Prints of young mens’ feet on the clay floor of the Montes­pan cave is probably evidence of the “circular dance.” (Eliade 25)

The circular dance “is practiced every­where by hunt­ers . . .” (Eliade 25)

Primitives do it “to pacify the soul of the slain animal or to insure the multiplication of the game.” (Eliade 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 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 42)
  1. time notation
     1. Modern humans analyzed the moon’s phases “some 15,000 years before the dis­covery of agri­culture.” (Eliade 23)
        1. “This makes more comprehensi­ble the considerable role of the moon in archaic mythologies.” (Eliade 23)
        2. Probably the calendars, arithmetic, and writing of Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China ­­descended from the early notations. (Eliade 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 22)

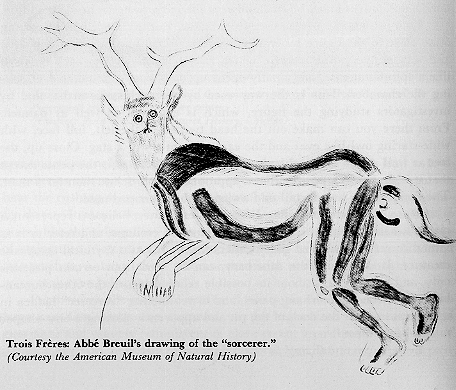
1. **mesolithic period** (c 10,000-7,000 bc)
   1. in general
      1. At the end of the ice age c 10,000 bc, “retreat of the glaciers brought on a migra­tion of the fauna toward the northern regions [and] hunters followed . . . but the diminishing stock of game animals obliged them to settle on the banks of lakes and at the seashore and to live by fishing.” (Eliade 29)
      2. “The new [mesolithic] cultures . . . ­were poorer than the grandiose creations of the Upper Paleo­lithic.” (Eliade 29)
   2. new inventions
      1. the bow (Eliade 34)
      2. cords and nets (Eliade 34)
      3. hooks (Eliade 34)
      4. “boats able to make fairly long voyages.” (Eliade 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 34-35, italics omitted)
   4. Natufian culture (Palestine)
      1. dwellings
         1. Paleolithic hunters lived in caves, but Natufi­ans *settled* in them. (Eliade 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.” (Eliade 37)
      2. farming
         1. The domestication of plants and animals began during the mesolithic but was not general till the neo­lith­ic. (Eliade 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 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 33)
2. **mesolithic religion**
   1. burial
      1. Two types of burial (inherited from the paleo­lithic and passed on to the neo­lithic) are found in meso­lithic Palestine. (Eliade 33)
         1. “inhumation of the entire body in a bent position” (Eliade 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 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 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 32)
   3. orgiastic behavior
      1. “. . . 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 36)
   4. ancestor worship
      1. “. . . 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 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 36)
   6. tundra religion
      1. This was the religion of “the hunters who had fol­lowed the reindeer herds into north­ern Europe . . .” (Eliade 29)
      2. It is exemplified at Stellmoor Lake (near Hamburg).
         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 29-30)
         2. “. . . wooden arrows, bone tools, [and] axes made from reindeer antlers [pro­bably] re­pres­ent offer­ings . . .” (Eliade 30)
         3. A “pinewood post with a reindeer skull set at its summit . . . probably indicates rit­ual meals . . .” (Eliade 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 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 37)
   2. domestication of animals
      1. sheep: 8000 bc (Shanidar, Iraq) (Eliade 33)
      2. dog: 7500 bc (Stan Carr, England) (Eliade 33)
      3. goat: 7000 bc (Jericho) (Eliade 33)
      4. pig: 6500 bc (Jericho) (Eliade 33)
   3. domestication of plants
      1. “Agriculture,” narrowly speaking, is the cultivation of cer­eals (“cereal­iculture,” 37) (*Gra­mina­ceae*, grass­es); it devel­oped in Southwest Asia and Central America. (Eliade 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 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 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 46)
      2. Jericho (Israel)
         1. The mesolithic Natufians built a sanctuary near the great spring of Jericho; it was burned before 7800 bc. (Eliade 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 . . .” [44 n. 31] (Eliade 44, 44 n. 31)
         4. It had fortifications, a massive tower, and large public edi­fices. (Eliade 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 47)
      4. The Obeid culture (at Warka = Uruk = Erech, city in Mesopotamia, c 4325 bc): “No other prehistoric culture exercised a comparable influ­ence.” (Eliade 47)
   5. inventions
      1. Inventions soon after the neolithic revolution were pottery, cloth, metallurgy. (Eliade 34, 37)
   6. calendar
      1. Paleolithic peoples had dis­covered “a rudimentary lunar calen­dar . . .” (Eliade 37)
      2. 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 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 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 38)
            3. “This primordial murder radically changed the human condi­tion, for it intro­duced sexuality and death . . .” (Eliade 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 38)
            5. The pri­mordial murder “justi­fies such sanguinary rites as human sacrifice and cannibalism . . .” (Eliade 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 39)
         2. plants from a primordial theft
            1. 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 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 41)
         2. “The Cosmic Tree is . . . at the center of the world, and it un­ites the three cosmic regions . . .” (Eliade 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 42)
   2. 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 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.” (Eliade 38, 40)
         3. Therefore, “woman and feminine sac­rality are raised to the first rank . . .” (Eliade 40)
         4. “The fertility of the earth is bound up with feminine fecun­dity . . . The soil is assimilated to woman.” (Eliade 41)
            1. There arise myths “concerning the birth of men from the Earth . . .” (Eliade 40)
            2. “Mother Earth gave birth by herself, through par­theno­gen­esis.” (Eliade 40)

“Parthenogenesis [expresses] the religi­ous charac­ter of sexual­ity.” (Eliade 41)

The idea survived into later times: e. g., Hera alone con­ceived and gave birth to Hephaestus and Ares. (Eliade 40)

* + - * 1. 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 41)
      1. the Goddess at Hacilar and Çatal Hüyük (Anatolia, 7000 bc)
         1. 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 46)
         2. 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 46)
         3. “Sexual imagery is absent, but a woman’s bust and a bull’s horn—symbols of life—are sometimes com­bined.” (Eliade 46)
         4. 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 46)
         5. 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 46)
      2. At Jericho (c. 6850 or 6770 bc), “two feminine statu­ettes and a few others representing animals indicate a fertility cult.” (Eliade 45)
      3. 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 45)
      4. 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 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 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 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 45)
  1. rituals
     1. Agriculture imposes “the idea of *circular time* and the *cosmic cycle*,” which is the repetition of birth, death, and rebirth.[[1]](#footnote-1)
     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 42)
        1. “. . . the *hieros gamos* [“sacred marriage”] and the ritual orgy express, on different planes, the religious character of sexual­ity.” (Eliade 41)
        2. “. . . ritual combats [43] between two opposing groups play an important part, especially in the New Year scenar­ios.” (Eliade 43-44)
           1. It may be “the repetition of a mythical combat, as in Meso­po­tamia . . .” (Eliade 44)
           2. Or it may be “simply the confronta­tion between two cos­mogonic prin­ciples (win­ter/­summer; day/night; life/death) . . .” (Eliade 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 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 41)
  2. sanctuaries
     1. Possible temples have been found at Jericho. (Eliade 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 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 46)
     2. cult of skulls
        1. “The cult of skulls is well documented at Hacilar.” (Eliade 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 45)

## Two Early Religious Illustrations



the “Great Magician”



the “Beaked Man”

## Shamanism

Shamanism in General

A shaman is more than a magician or medicine man; he is in some cultures be­lieved to be a priest, mystic, possessor of healing powers, and performer of miracles.

Shamans have extensive knowledge of the natural world—plants and stars, for example. They diagnose illnesses and prescribe cures.

“When viewed collectively, shamans combine, in varying degrees in different cultures, the roles of physician, pharmacologist, psychotherapist, sociolo­gist, philosopher, lawyer, astrologer, and priest—and aspects of other sta­tuses which in our society have become highly specialized.” (Browman and Schwarz 7)

In many tribes, the shaman coexists with the sacrificing priest. But the shaman is dominant in mat­ters concerning the ecstasy experience.

The ecstasy experience is valued for its power. It is a sign of initiation before a shaman is publicly re­­cog­nized as a shaman.

The stages of shamanic initiation are virtually universal. “. . . vocation, with­drawal into solitude, ap­prenticeship to a master, the acquisition of one or more familiar spirits, symbolic ritual of death and resurrection, secret lan­guage, all seem to be evident in shamanistic cultures.” (Eliade 1964)

Sick­­ness, dreams and ecstasies are also frequent initiatory happenings, as are renewal of the internal or­gans, ascent to the sky or descent to the underworld to speak with gods or spirits (especially dead shamans). (Eliade 1964)

Initiations are a renewal of one’s self, almost a death and resurrection. The shaman is stripped of all that he used to be, from his social and mental hab­its to his religious and philosophical ideas.

North American Eskimos and North Asians view the other world as an inverted image of this world. Everything that happens here happens there but in in­verted form. For example, rivers flow upstream instead of downstream; when it is day here it is night there. (Eliade 1964)

Eskimos believe that illness results from violating a taboo. Or sometimes a dead person’s spirit, fearful of making the journey to the other world alone, will steal another person’s soul, thus making him ill. The shaman in this case will escort the soul to where it needs to go.

North American Eskimos and North Asians have a four-tiered universe: the sky, the earth, immedi­ately below the earth, and far below the earth. Spirits of the dead inhabit the first, third, and fourth. In Siberian belief, those who die a violent death or are heroes ascent to the region above the earth. (Eli­ade 1964) The adjacent underworld is the only region of famine and despair. Those who die of diseases reside in the far underworld. Precau­tions are taken to prevent the dead from remaining with the living, but family members who have been dead a long time receive elaborate funerals so that they will become guardians.

A shaman is a witch doctor or a medicine man, because spirits guide him in order to heal. Shamans are thus in constant battle with sorcerers. “Sorcer­ers are ordinary people who, driven by spite or envy, secretly introduce spir­it darts into the bodies of victims. If the dart isn’t removed by a shaman, the victim dies.” The sorcerer works in secret, the shaman in public. (Brown 8)

Only experienced shamans can reach high-level spirits. “Shamans are ranked by their peers and by others of the community on the extent of their knowledge, the efficacy of their cures, and the truthfulness of the advice they give. This ranking is correlated with the proven ability of a shaman to gain access to the several levels of the cosmos, each level being associated with higher and more important spirits and deities.” (Wright 36)

A shaman normally is apprenticed to an already successful shaman; the highest shamans are those who apprentice as children and continue their training into adulthood. Shamans “who in their apprentice­ship learned for only a few years of the usual six to eight” have access only to the lower planes of the cosmos and perform only limited kinds of cures. (Wright 36)

Some people, without training, become shamans by surviving near-fatal illnesses. “Their powers of prescience are formidable, for they are said to know events that occur in other villages outside of the normal means by which these events are communi­cated, and they know of events that will happen in the future.” (Wright 37)

Shamans “have the powers to do a variety of tasks such as weather control, seasonal passage, obtaining food resources . . .” (Wright 36-37) But their primary concern is healing the sick.

Many shamans use hallucinogens to induce trances; the drugs differ, but the images are often similar. In South America, “The most frequent of these are: (1) brightly col­ored, large snakes; (2) jaguars and ocelots; (3) spirits, both of ayahuasca [an hallucinogen] and others; (4) large trees, often falling trees; [and] (5) lakes, frequently filled with anacondas and alligators . . .” (Harner 12)

Anthropologists have had experiences with native hallucinogens. (Harner 9; Wright 33)

Shamanism among the Mongols

The Mongols had a legend to explain their own origin: “In the northern forests there roamed a great blue-grey wolf. By the shores of Baikal he took as his consort a tawny doe; and the pair, wandering south together, settled near the Kentey range . . . From their union the Mongols sprang: the people of the Blue, or heavenly wolf, as the Turks before them had been the people of the Grey Wolf and the Blue Sky.” (Legg 227)

Shamanism began in ancestor worship. Mongols kept images of ancestors in their tents and believed that they provided protection.

The shamanic clergy of Mongolia had a great deal of power in Chingiz Khan’s empire.

Chingiz Khan believed he was the incarnation of Tengri, the supreme sky god (more fully, Qormusta Tengri); consequently, “refusal to acknowledge the Khan’s supremacy was blasphemy and sacrilege.” (Saunders 68)

Shamans develop through two training stages. In the first, they increase perception through, e.g., pain and hyperventilation. In the second, they control internal imagery and thereby learn to control spirits.

“He was the master of ceremonies at feasts and used his powers to prevent drought or storms to achieve military prowess.” (Ratchnevsky 197; see 156-58)

Everything, including suffering and happiness, derives from the heavens.

The number of the spirits is often 99, though this varies from region to re­gion.

If a person were ill, a shaman would seek the patient’s soul, capture it, and make it return to its body.

For Mon­gols, the universe is three-tiered: sky, earth, underworld. Souls re­turn to the sky at death, usually in the form of a bird in flight; shamans escort souls to the underworld. (This is contradic­tory!)

The Mongols believed that atop a four-sided, pyramidal mountain (the cosmic moun­tain, “Sumbur”) grew the cosmic tree (“Zambu”), identified with “the Gold­en Pillar” which upholds the celes­tial tent and at whose apex is the pole star.

A Mongolian shaman would pass through the moun­tain and tree (the earth’s axis) to the spiritu­al realm (sky or under­world).

Mongolians associate fire with purification and power.

The Mongols believed that the blood contained the soul.

Mongols had a vague believe that at the end of time, the sky would collapse.

Additional Bibliography

Arhem, Kaj. “Dance of the Water People.” *Natural History* (January 1992) 47-52.

Black Elk, Wallace H., and William S. Lyon. *Black Elk*: *The Sacred Ways of a Lakota*. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.

Bonnefoy, Yves. *Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1991.

Kakar, Sudhir. *Shamans*: *Mystics and Doctors*: *A Psychological Inquiry into India and Its Healing Traditions*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982.

Lewis, I.M. *Religion in Context*: *Cults and Charisma*. New York: CUP, 1986.

Lewis, Thomas H. *The Medicine Men*: *Oglala Sioux Ceremony and Healing*. Ne­braska: U of Nebraska P, 1990.

Long, Charles H. *Significations*: *Signs*, *Symbols*, *and Images in the Interpre­tation of Religion*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.

## Megaliths

1. **introduction**
   1. The “earliest megalithic monument in the world” is at Einan, Pales­tine, made by the Na­tufian culture. (See Emmanuel Anati, *Pales­tine before the Hebrews* 172.) (Eliade *History* 1.33 n. 13)
   2. “. . . a whole megalithic complex . . . extends from the Mediterranean coast of Spain, covers Portugal, half of France, the western sea­board of England, and continues into Ireland, Denmark, and the southern coast of Sweden.” (Eliade *History* 1.114) There are also mega­lithic cultures in southeast Asia. (Eliade *History* 1.117 n. 6)
   3. “. . . the European megalithic cultures [can] be explained only by dis­semina­tion of the mega­­lithic complex from a center situated at Los Millares, in the province of Almeria.” (Eliade *History* 1.114)
   4. How did Neolithic peasants [115] “manage to set 300-ton blocks in an upright position and lift 100-ton slabs?” [114] (Eliade *History* 1.114-115)
2. **three categories**
   1. menhir (Breton *men*, stone + *hir*, long): a large verti­cal stone. (Eliade *History* 1.114)
      1. The menir near Locmariaquer is more than 21 feet high. (Eliade *History* 1.114 n. 1)
      2. “In Brittany certain isolated menhirs are associated with buri­als.” (Eliade *History* 1.114)
   2. cromlech (*crom*, circle, curve, + *lech*, place): menhirs in a circle or half-circle. (Eliade *History* 1.114)
      1. E. g., Stonehenge. (Eliade *History* 1.114)
      2. Sometimes the menhirs are in several parallel rows—e.g., Carnac (in Brit­tany). (Eliade *History* 1.114-115) Carnac contains 2935 menhirs. (Eliade *History* 1.115 n. 2)
   3. dolmen (*dol*, table, + *men*, stone): several upright stones support a horizontal capstone to form a sort of chamber. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      1. They are found especially in Brittany, the Netherlands, and Ireland. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      2. Dolmens are burial places. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      3. Originally they were covered by a mound. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      4. Later in western Europe and Sweden, a long corridor with cap­stones was added to the entrance. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      5. The dolmen at Soto (near Seville) is 24 feet long. A granite block weighing 21 tons forms a pediment. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      6. the necropolis at Los Millares (Eliade *History* 1.115)
         1. About a hundred covered passages. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
         2. Most graves are under enormous mounds. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
         3. Some graves contain up to 100 dead, probably generations of the same *gens.* (Eliade *History* 1.115)
         4. Some dolmens have a central pillars. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
         5. The walls originally had paintings. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      7. Dolmens in Ireland had walls decorated with sculptures. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
3. **the megaliths**’ **meaning**: **cult of the dead** (Eliade *History* 1.115)
   1. Stones are often religious symbols. (Eliade *History* 1.115)
      1. They have eternal duration; they exist­ outside temporal becom­ing. [115] Deut 32:18, “You are unmindful of the Rock that begot you, and you forgot the God who gave you birth.” (Eliade *History* 1.115, 117 n. 7)
      2. They are also sexual symbols; this “is universally documented . . .” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
         1. Jer 2:27a, Israel says “to a tree, “You are my father,” and to a stone, “You gave me birth.””
         2. Even in the early 1900s, French peasant girls, to ensure fer­tility, slid along a menhir or rubbed their abdomens against one. Here the menhir is not so much a phallic sym­bol [117] as a “reservoir of vitality and power” because inhab­ited by an ances­tor. (Eliade *History* 1.117-18)
   2. the reasoning behind megaliths
      1. Agriculture showed humans to be as ephemeral as plants. (Eliade *History* 1.116)
      2. Yet plants participate in a birth-death-rebirth cycle. The mega­liths affirm that, like plants, humans can grasp perenni­ality through death. (Eliade *History* 1.116)
      3. “The dead [are] mystical­ly associ­ated with the stone blocks of the burial cham­bers and conse­quently become as strong and inde­structi­ble as rocks.” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
      4. Either the menhir was a substitute body for the ancestor, or “an essential element of the dead person—skeleton, ashes, “soul”—­[was incorporated] into the actual structure of the monument. In either case the dead person “animated” the stone; he inhab­ited a new body that, being mineral, was imper­ishable.” (Eliade *History* 1.118)
   3. The megalithic cult of the dead also included “confidence in the power of the ancestors and the hope that they will protect and help the living.” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
      1. By contrast, Hebrews, Greeks, Hittites, and Mesopotamians thought the dead were “pitiable shades, unhap­py and power­less.” Thus, in the Near East (and central Europe) “*separa­tion be­tween the dead and the living* was strictly pre­scribed.” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
   4. rituals
      1. ritual communion with the ancestors
         1. This was the main religious activity of the megalith-builders. (Eliade *History* 1.116)
         2. “. . . stylized figures depicted on the walls of dol­mens . . . proba­bly represented the ancestors.” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
         3. “. . . small idols excavated from the megalith­ic burial places of Spain, probably repre­sented the ancestors.” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
         4. “The perforated stones that close certain megalithic tombs, and which, furthermore, are called “soul holes,” allowed com­munica­tion with the living.” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
      2. other rituals
         1. “various ceremonies (processions, dances, etc.) . . .” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
         2. “offerings (food, bever­ages, etc.) . . .” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
         3. “sacrifices . . . in the vicinity of the monu­ments . . .” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
         4. “ritual meals on the burial pla­ces.” (Eliade *History* 1.116)
      3. stone body
         1. “. . . a stone “substitute” was a body [116] built for eternity.” (Eliade *History* 1.116-117)
         2. “A certain number of menhirs were erected independently of burials. In all probability, these stones constituted a sort of “substitute body,” in which the souls of the dead were incorpo­rated.” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
         3. “Menhirs are sometimes found decorated with human figures; in other words, they are the “dwelling,” the “body” of the dead.” (Eliade *History* 1.117)
         4. “In the megalithic cul­tures of Southeast Asia, the menhir serves as “seat” for souls . . .” (Eliade *History* 1.117 n. 6)

## Celtic Chronology

1. **Celtic chronology**
   1. c 2000s bc Beaker culture (Mac Cana 3.148)
   2. c 2000s Battle-Axe culture (Mac Cana 3.148)
   3. c 1000s Tumulus culture (perhaps proto-Celtic) (Mac Cana 3.148)
   4. Urnfield culture (Mac Cana 3.148)
   5. c 800s-500 Hallstatt culture

generally recognized as Celtic

a warrior aristocracy with char­i­ot burials

not bronze, but iron weapons and uten­sils (Mac Cana 3.148)

* 1. c 500-50 bc La Tène culture: the historical Celts (Mac Cana 3.148)
  2. c 400 Celts invade N Italy (later = Gallia Cisalpina) (Mac Cana 3.148)
  3. c 400 Celts reach Britain (Mac Cana 3.148)
  4. 387 Celts sack Rome (Mac Cana 3.148), their contact with them (Moscati 15)
  5. 279 Celts sack Delphi (Mac Cana 3.148)
  6. 278 3 tribes (Galatae) cross to Asia Minor, later settling in Galatia (Mac Cana 3.148)
  7. c 200s Celts reach Ireland (Mac Cana 3.148)
  8. 58-51 Julius Caesar conquers Celts (Mac Cana 3.148)

1. **present-day Celtic languages**
   1. Goidelic dialect: Irish and Scottish Gaelic (formerly also Manx)
   2. Brythonic (British) dialect: Welsh and Breton (formerly also Cornish)

Breton resulted from British immigrants to France in the 400s ad (Mac Cana 3.148)

1. **ancient names for the Celts**
   1. Greeks generally: *Keltoi*
   2. Polybius: *Galatae*
   3. Romans: *Galli* or *Celtae* (Moscati 15)

DRUIDISM

“Druid” is from two Indo-European linguistic elements: “-uid” is the Aryan root *\*vid* (as in “Vedas”), meaning “wis­dom”; and “dru-” is an intensive particle (“*very* wise”), though it may derive instead from the Aryan “su,” meaning “sage.” (Rolleston 81-82)

The Celts were not one people, but a collection of tribes with similar cul­ture.

We have no written records by the Celts themselves, but the Greeks and Romans mention them. For example, Plato calls the Celts who sacked the temple of Delphi in 273 bc “Galatae,” which resembles “Celtae.”

The inhabitants of the British Isles and Europe before the Celts were the megalith builders. They used stone weapons, hence they were neolithic; the Celts had bronze weapons.

Carbon dating proves that the cromlechs (e.g., Stonehenge) were built by the Celts’ predecessors. (Wernick 160) Druidism, too, was probably the religion originally of the megalith-builders, not of the Celts. (Henig 19)

Dolmens—upright unhewn stones roofed usually with a single huge stone—repre­sented houses for the dead. The dead were buried whole. A priest­hood—perhaps “proto-Druids”—controlled the burial ceremonies. “Funerals, considering Gaulish standards of living, are splendid and costly, [with] everything, even including animals, . . . consigned to the flames.” (Piggott 88)

Dolmens are found from Scandinavia down the west coast of Europe, to North Africa, and from North Africa to Arabia, India, and even Japan. “A map of the distribution of their [the megalithic peoples’] monuments irresistibly suggests the idea that their builders were of North African origin; that they were not first accustomed to traverse the sea for any great distance; that they migrated westward along North Africa, crossed into Europe where the Mediterranean at Gibraltar narrows to a strait of a few miles in width, and thence spread over the western regions of Europe, including the British Islands, while on the eastward they penetrated by Arabia into Asia.” (Rolleston 53-55)

Phoenicia and Egypt traded with the European megalith-builders. Egyptian beads that date to 1300 bc have been found in England, and Phoenician traders described the “dark-skinned peoples” that existed beyond the pillars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar). At a tomb in Newgrange in Ireland is a rockwall carving of a ship carrying a disk; a ship carrying the solar disk is common in Egyptian sepulchers and represents the “Boat of the Sun” in which Ra jour­neyed nightly to the shore of the otherworld, bearing the souls of the dead. (Rolleston 73-74)

“In about 600 B.C., several Celtic tribes crossed the Pyrenees and settled in the mountains of northern and northwestern Iberia. They built complex *castras* (fortified towns of round stone huts and narrow, winding streets) . . .” (Salisbury)

As Indo-Europeans, the Celts had a belief in an afterlife; but they assimi­lated the megalith-builders’ afterlife belief. The Greek and Roman belief tended to see the afterlife as gloomy; the Celts (and Egyptians) saw it as a place of light and freedom. Classical writers tended to attribute a belief in transmigration of souls to the Celts. For example, Julius Caesar wrote, “A lesson which they take particular pains to inculcate is that the soul does not perish, but after death passes from one body to another; they think that this is the best incentive to bravery, because it teaches men to disregard the terrors of death.” (Caesar 141) However, the classical writers’ report that a Celt would lend money on a promissory note for repayment in the next world (Rolleston 80), and burial with possessions, disprove this assumption. (Piggott 119-121)

“. . . when the Celts got to Western Europe they found there a people with a powerful priesthood, a ritual, and imposing religious monuments—a people steeped in magic and mysticism and the cult of the Underworld.” (Rolleston 82)

The Celts had the three social classes typical of Indo-European peoples—­priests and kings, warriors, and commoners. Dio Chrysostom equated the Druids with Persian magi, Egyptian priests, and Indian brahmins. The Druids them­selves were of three classes, according to Strabo: “the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates, diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philoso­phy.” (Strabo 245) Thus the Celts gave the megalithic priests an Indo-European name, “Druid,” and a high rank in their social hierarchy. By the time of the Roman conquest of the Gauls, however, the original system of tribal kings was giving way to a system of annually elected magistrates or an oligarchic council of elders. (Piggott 48) Beside the king, there were three classes: priests, knights (from whom the council was chosen), and free landowners. The Celts in Ireland had a less developed social structure: king, landed nobility, and “men of arts,” includ­ing crafts­men, poets, and the Dru­ids. Since men of arts could travel freely between tribes, they bound the whole society together. (Piggott 50)

“The Druids officiate at the worship of the gods, regulate public and private sacrifices, and give rulings on religious questions. Large numbers of young men flock to them for instruction, and they are held in great honour by the people. They act as judges in practically all disputes, whether between tribes or between individuals; when any crime is committed, or a murder takes place, or a dispute arises about an inheritance or a boundary, it is they who adjudicate the matter and appoint the compensation to be paid or received by the parties concerned. Any individual or tribe failing to accept their reward is banned from taking part in sacrifice—the heaviest punishment that can be inflicted upon a Gaul.” (Caesar 140-141) Only a tribe’s Druids could determine whether it should go to war; only they could stop a battle once begun; and only they could announce the victor at its conclusion. (Piggott 115)

Caesar saw the Druids as the main source of a Celtic rebellion and so may have been biased in his reports concerning them.

Druids were exempt from military service. They may have spent 20 years to become a Druid. (Caesar 141) Instruction took place in secret forest settings where young men memorized genealogies, tribal knowledge, poetry, and laws. (Piggott 113)

“The Druids believe that their religion forbids them to commit their teachings to writing, although for most other purposes, such as public and private accounts, the Gauls use the Greek alphabet. But I imagine that this rule was originally established for other reasons—because they did not want their doctrine to become public property, and in order to prevent their pupils from relying on the written word and neglecting to train their memories; for it is usually found that when people have the help of texts, they are less diligent in learning by heart, and let their memories rust.” (Caesar 141)

Celtic rites were performed in woodland clearings (use of architectural structures occurred only in southern Gaul, influenced by classical culture). (Piggott 56) Pools and springs were also sacred; votive deposits have been found throughout the Celtic world near these. Human skulls have been found in a well near Hadrian’s Wall in Britain, and Posidonius described how the Romans pillaged the “Treasure of Toulouse,” a precinct of sacred Celtic pools with gold and silver deposited in them. Probably all such votive offer­ings—including the 200 wooden sculptures of men and animals found at the source of the Seine—were offerings to gods of the underworld. (Piggott 83-85) Though they believed that spirits inhabit trees, rivers, and streams, the Celts passed beyond simple animism to worship of larger phenome­na, like the moon, the sun, and the sea. (The moon was probably most impor­tant, since their calendar was lunar, and festivals began at the rising of the moon.) There were also tribal gods, gods of war, gods of commerce, of agriculture, etc. Their similarity to his own gods caused Caesar to identify these latter with the Roman gods (according to him, the Celts worshiped Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, etc.). Diodorus Siculus (c. 8 bc) called the Druids “philosophers and theologians . . . learned in the divine nature [and] able to communicate with the gods.” (Piggott 119-21)

A Celtic “cult of the head” is consistently mentioned by classical authors. Heads housed the spirit; they were used to guard tomb entrances. See Strabo (247): “The heads of enemies of high repute, however, they used to embalm in cedar-oil and exhibit to strang­ers, and they would not deign to give them back even for a ransom o fan equal weight in gold . . . When they depart from battle they hang the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses, and, when they have brought them home, nail the spectacle to the entrances of their homes.”

Classical authors emphasized the Celts’ practice of human sacrifice, to show their readers how outlandish these barbarians were. But the purpose was not appeasement of the gods but divination. (Green 27) Diodorus Siculus wrote: “When they attempt divination upon important matters they practice a strange and incredi­ble custom, for they kill a man by a knife—they stab in the region above the midriff, and after his fall they foretell the future by the convulsions of his limbs and the pouring of his blood, a form of divination in which they have full confidence, as it is an old tradition.” (Qtd. in Kendrick 82)

“Lindow Man,” a Druid preserved in England, was found with mistletoe in his stomach, showing that he was sacri­ficed. (Wernick 146) Believing in rebirth, the Celts perhaps would not have seen human sacrifice as so horrid; since it permitted foretelling of the future, human sacrifice would be for the benefit of the whole tribe.

In ad 54 Claudius abolished Druidism. By the 300s, “Druid” had come to mean something like a gypsy fortune-teller. (Wernick [158] cites a passage in which a Roman writer had his fortune told by a Druidess innkeeper.) In Ireland, Christian priests displaced the Druids, who became traveling jurists, settling disputes, or traveling bards, reciting genealogies and stories. The English, however, exterminated the traveling men when they took Ireland in the 1500s. (Wernick 159)

In the Romantic period, Edward Williams forged Welsh histories and Druid beliefs under the name “Iola Morganwg.” Druid ceremonies were revived, based on Williams’ texts. In later Romantic literature, the Druids were depicted as stoic, melancholy figures. These stereotypes persist in the French comic strip, “Asterix le Gaulois,” and in the New Reformed Druids of North America.

YORUBA TRADITIONAL RELIGION

There is no founder of any African religion.

For the most part, African religions lack canons of scripture, because their traditions are oral.

The Yoruba are one of many peoples in Nigeria; they number approximately 10 million. Most live in cities and commute to surrounding farms. Each family is led by a head of house­hold (*olori ebi*), who mediates for the family with the ancestors; each communi­ty is led by a political and religious leader (*oba*), who mediates for the community as a whole; and each god or goddess has its own priests, one of whom must be present at every ceremony involving that particular divinity.

The Yoruba call God *Olurun,* “owner of the sky.” He is creator of all things, and he provides for and looks after his creation, which is infinite in all directions. Olurun is omnipotent, omni­scient, omnipresent, omnibe­ne­vol­ent (therefore merci­ful), holy, infinite, eternal, aseitous, and incompre­hensible.

But Olurun is also distant. When he created the universe, he made it in two parts, *Orun* (sky) and *Aiye* (earth) (other African religions add the underworld). *Orun* is inhabited by Olur­un, the *orisa,* and human ancestors; *Aiye* is inhabited by peo­ple and animals. The *orisa,* or lesser gods, mediate between human beings and Olurun, and they are the Yorubas’ principal objects of worship and sacrifice. Several *orisa* are common to all Yoruba, but others are known only to a particular city or town. Lawson (59) estimates that there are about 400 *orisa.*

The third type of being inhabiting heaven is ancestors. The Yoruba believe that heaven is just like earth, with food, animals, sun, rain, etc.; it just happens to be invisible to the living. The ances­tors, then, live just as we do; they are not in a better or worse state, nor do they live in the presence of Olurun.

The Yoruba, like most Africans, distin­guish between distant ancestors (called “deified” ancestors) and recent ancestors (called “family” ancestors). But unlike most African religions, Yoruba religion does not regard all dead humans as ancestors; only those who lived a righteous life and reached old age live on in *Orun*. Deified ancestors lived too long ago for their individu­al lives to be remem­bered, but they are honored as a group. Family ancestors are consulted when family property is sold or traded, or when a birth or marriage will occur, and they must be appeased when an injustice is done to them. Though the Yoruba consult the dead, offer them sacrifices and, sometimes, even food, they do not worship them; they only show them respect, since the ancestors have influence over the powers of nature and the ability to bestow sickness or luck.

Humans and animals inhabit *Aiye,* the earth. Humankind is the center of the universe. The universe was created for it, but it has a duty to maintain the universe. In the Yorubas’ anthro­pog­o­ny (myth of human creation), Olurun created 16 people in heaven, and an *orisa* (either *Orisa-nla* or *Oduduwa*) transported them to earth, to the Nigerian city of Ife. (Ife remains central in Yoruba religion, and its *oba* is superior in authority to other cities’ *obas*.)

A person’s destiny is predetermined, but an individual forgets it at birth. Therefore, div­in­a­tion—a very solemn ceremony—is used.

When the Yoruba who desires to consult an oracle comes to the diviner, the diviner arranges the ritual elements and prepares for the act of divination. The elements are sixteen palm nuts (or a divining chain), a divining board, and divining powder. If the diviner uses the palm nut method . . . he will place the sixteen nuts in his left hand and then attempt to take as many of them with his right hand as possible. If only one nut remains, then he will make a double mark in the divining powder on the divining board. If two nuts remain, he will make a single mark. If no nuts or more than two remain, he will make no marks. The purpose is to end with two columns with four sets of marks in each column . . . There are 256 possible combinations of such marks. Each set has a traditional set of stories associated with it. . . . When a particular set has been arrived at by the diviner . . . he will inform the consulter what action the story recommends be performed. (Lawson 68-69)

The Yoruba celebrate annual festivals (for example, the New Yam Festival, to determine the success of the yam crop), but there is no custom of regular gatherings in a specific place to practice or study their religion. They also practice “rites of passage,” ceremonies at major life events such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. (Though the Yoruba practice circumcision, it is not an important religious event.)

Prayers follow a definite format: praise; giving thanks; a declaration of one’s state of affairs; and requests (Mbiti 61). Sacrifices are very common, both at annual festivals and in times of distress. Each sacrifice has its own specific regulations concerning what is sacrificed and what gestures and words must accompany the sacrifice.

Additional Bibliography

Awolalu, J.O. *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. London: Longman, 1979.

Eades, J.S. *The Yoruba Today*. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.

Idowu, E. Bolaji. *Olodumare*: *God in Yoruba Belief*. New York: Praeger, 1963.

King, N.Q. *Religions of Africa*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984.

Murphy, Joseph M. *Santeria*: *An African Religion in America*. Boston: Beacon, 1988.

Parrinder, Geoffrey. *African Traditional Religion*. Westport: Greenwood, 1976.

# Judaism

## Early Semitic Gods and Goddesses

1. **syncretism**
   1. 2500 bc: the Semitic and Sumerian religions syncretized (merged).
2. **astral deities** (the most important)
   1. ***Shamash***
      1. Sun god, all-seeing judge who preserves the right. A goddess to the Semites, the sun became a god because the sun was a male to the Sumerians.
   2. ***Sin***
      1. Moon god. Never had a sharply delineated personality.
   3. ***Ashtar***
      1. The planet Venus. A young war-and-sex goddess.
      2. Early Semites worshiped a god ‘At­tar and a goddess ‘Attart or ‘Ashtart. Both names referred to Venus, as morning star (god) and evening star (goddess). West Semites pre­served both deities, but East Semites com­bined them in the goddess, ‘Attar, later “Ishtar” (after Sumerian Ishtar); in Canaan, she was “Ashtarte.” She was so popular that “Ishtar” became a common noun for “goddess.” She is “the independent, willful, and spoiled young noblewoman whose seductive and voluptuous charm hides a fickle heart and a vicious temper.” (Roberts 40)
      3. Why these two incongruous aspects, war and sex, were combined is not clear.
         1. Was ‘Attar originally a war god and ‘Attart originally a love goddess?
         2. Did depicting war as a young goddess make her also a sex object?
         3. Was she “the per­son­i­fi­cation of the rage of battle” because “young women egged on the young warriors” (see 1 Sam 18:6-7 and Deborah in Judg 5-6)? (Roberts 39-40)
   4. ***astral triad***
      1. Shamash, Sin, and Ashtar—sun, moon, and Venus—dominated the Semitic pantheon in the 2000s b.c. Worshiping astral bodies is “typical of semi-nomadic herdsmen or shepherds, but highly untypical of settled farming communities.” (Roberts 57)
   5. minor astral deities
      1. Ayya
         1. Meteor, wife of Shamash (not to be conflised with the major god ’Ayya: see be­low).
      2. Shalim
         1. Twilight, a god kind to men (in the hot Near East, “twilight is one of the most pleasant parts of the day,” 113 n. 417). “Shalim” is from *shalamum*, “to be well, whole, complete”—cf. Hebrew *shalom*, Arabic *salaam*.
3. **parental deities**
   1. **´*El***
      1. Father (also the word for “god”). Of the four great deities (Shamash, ‘Ashtar, ´Ayya, and ´El), he was the most interested in human welfare and was “particularly active in the giving of children.” (34). In Canaan he took on warlike characteristics, perhaps because as “creator and clan leader [he felt] love for the clan and a zeal to defend it,” but perhaps also from syncretism with Baal, “the cosmogonic creator and cosmic warrior.” (Roberts 96 n. 233)
   2. ***Mamma*** (Mammi)
      1. Mother, the power of motherhood.
      2. Giving birth was the deity’s basic role; she too is depicted as a midwife. In the Atrahasīs epic (1.192-197) the gods give Mammi “the task of creating mankind, which she accomplishes by mixing the blood of a slain god with clay.” (Roberts 44)
      3. Mamma has underworld connections: she is wife of Erra (“scorched earth,” Sumerian Nergal) and mother of Ninazu. This fits: fertility god­desses are usually “only particular embodiments of “Mother Earth,” who is not only the mysterious source of new life, but also the womb to which the dying return.” (Roberts 44)
   3. ´El and Mamma, though high gods, were personal gods, with whom individuals felt in­tim­ate relationships.
4. **storm deities**
   1. “Rain is a critical factor for human existence in much of Mesopotamia, and the storrns that bring it are often awesome displays of irresistible power, so it is not surprising to find the early Semites worshipping a large number of storm gods. [Most were local; but Haddad and Dagan] gradually gained a much wider significance, . . . These different local mani­fes­ta­tions grasped the essence of the storm differently, however, as the meanings of their names indicate.” (Roberts 59-60)
   2. ***Haddad***
      1. Thunder (cf. Arabic *hadda*, “to break,” *haddat*, “noise”).
      2. See Gen 25:15, 36:35-36; 1 Kgs 11:14-25, 15:18-20, 20:1-34, 2 Kgs 6:24, 8:7-14, 13:3, 13:24-25, 1 Chr 1:30-51, 2 Chr 16:2-4, Jer 49:27, Amos 1:4, Zech 12:11.
   3. **Dagan**
      1. Rain, grain.
      2. Probably from *dgn*, “to be cloudy, rainy.” (Roberts 18)
      3. *Dgn* as “grain”’ in Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew “probably derived from the name of the god precisely because he was the power that caused the grain to grow.” (Roberts 76 n. 104)
      4. His son is a storm god, called Addu in Akkad, Teshub in Mitanni, or Ba´al in Ugarit.
      5. Like Sumerian Enlil, Dagan has underworld ties (see also “Malik,” p. 7 n. 8): he con­vened the un­derworld deities and received sacrifices for the dead. The underworld aspect probably grew out of “the fructifying role of the rainstorm, since both Enlil and Dagan were thought of as the impregnating power which caused the earth to produce grain.” (Roberts 19)
      6. The Philistines adopted Dagan when they invaded Palestine (Judg 16:23; 1 Sam 5:2), so probably Dagan was worshipped by Canaanites far south of Ugarit. (Roberts 74-75 n. 95)
      7. See Josh 15:41, 19:27, Judg 16:23, 1 Sam 5:2-7, 1 Chr 10:10.
   4. minor storm deities
      1. Khanish
         1. Edge of a storm front. Sometimes identified with Hadad, but Khanish is “the low-hanging first line of clouds in a rapidly approaching storm front, while Adad is the dark, massive thunderhead which follows.” Khanish’s weapon was lightning. (Roberts 30)
      2. Tishpak
         1. Downpour. He defeated the sea dragon by creating a storm and shooting it with an arrow; his statue showed him treading on the dragon with both feet.
   5. Storm and war deities are closely related; see the next god, Zababa.
5. war deities
   1. ***Zababa***
      1. Zababa accompanied the Akkadians into battle. He had sharp horns to gore the enemy. Identified with the Sumerian war gods Ningirsu and Ninurta, he like them can be de­picted as a storm. (Roberts 119 n. 477)
      2. His spouse is ‘Ashtar or Baba. He is city god of Kish. (Roberts 56)
   2. other deities as war deities
      1. ‘Ashtar is in part a war deity.
      2. Also, some storm and under­world deities share the nature of a war deity.
6. underworld deities
   1. ***Ishum***
      1. Fire. “In the Erra epic he is called a torch and is the fore­runrier of Erra, “scorched earth” (see below). (Roberts 40-41)
      2. “As the herald of Erra and the counselor of Nergal, Ishum belongs to the underworld deities. But fire can be a blessing as well as a bane, so Ishum, unlike Erra or Nergal, [is] favorably inclined toward man.” (Roberts 41)
      3. He was brother of ‘Ashtar and husband of Meme (a duplicate of Mamma). (Roberts 41)
   2. ***Erra***
      1. Scorched earth.
      2. That Ishum, “Fire,” walks in front of Erra suggests that Erra personifies the result of a grass or forest fire. (24) “Just as other gods of similar nature, Erra could protect men from the evils he embodied, and it is no doubt for this reason that he was given a cult.” (Roberts 29)
      3. His wife was the fertility goddess Mamma. “Since the burning off of fields is a well-known agricultural device for maintaining a high yield,” the connection is understandable. (Roberts 24)
      4. Erra as a war god also makes sense: war causes “scorched earth.” His main weapon was famine, the result of scorched crops.
   3. lesser underworld deities
      1. *Ishar*: underworld judge.
      2. *Rashap*: plague. In the Old Testament, the plural means “flames” (Sgs 8:6, “flames of love”; Ps 78:48, “lightning”; Ps 76:4, “flames ofthe bow,” i. e., arrows); but the singular means “pestilence” (Deut 32:24; Hab 3:5). As “Flame,” Rashap was perhaps linked to plague because plagues cause high fever. (Roberts 48)
      3. summary: Erra, Ishum, and the rest “show that the chthonic deities played a significant, if com­par­ably modest, role in the early Semitic piety. . . . One should also note the interesting and recurring connection between fire and the underworld.” (Roberts 60)
7. **topographical deities**
   1. “This tendency to deify geographical or topographical phenomena is one of the most striking things about the Old Semitic piety . . .” (Roberts 58)
   2. *´****Ayya***: springs and pools (the Sumerian Ea).
      1. The name may derive from *hayy*(*um*), “alive, living,” used “in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic to describe spring-fed or running water . . .” (Roberts 80 n. 11 7)
      2. ´Ayya was very popular, which may “reflect the concern of semi-nomadic herdsmen to find water for their animals.”
      3. He was seen as “a wise, cunning, and creative deity who is basically favorable to man.” (Roberts 21, 57-58)
   3. *mountains*: e. g., Abih (the Hamrin range) and Tibar (in the Diyala region).
   4. *rivers*: Naru, Balih, Daban, Durul, etc.
   5. *cities*: Abra, Admu, Alum,Ganu, Kesh, Kiti, Tutu, etc. Perhaps “the semi-nomadic Sem­ites were awed by their first encounters with the great cities of Mesopotamia . . . [Or per­haps,] Just as the king could be considered the god of his land or city because of [his] func­tions . . ., so the city, which seen as a legal personality pro­vided protection, com­mun­ity, and legal redress, could be regarded as [a deity] . . .” But no deified city ever became a ma­jor god. (Roberts 59)
   6. *temples*: Bitum (means “temple”), Kharim (from *hrm*, “separate,” cf. Arabic *harīm*, “sac­red inviolable place”), Meslam, etc. “Those places where the numinous was en­countered were separated [by] the awe they acquired as places where the deity had revealed himself. . . . appearance of the deity at that spot indicated a willingness on the part of the deity to be wor­shipped there. Normally they would begin as simple open-air sanctuaries around a sac­red tree, stone, or the like, until finally in the course of time an elaborate temple was built [so that the awe was] heightened by a well-constructed and appropriately lighted temple. Ultimately, however, the quasi-divine character that the temple possessed was derived from the numinous experience of the deity encountered there.” (Roberts 58-59)
   7. *road*: Padan. A “primary experience of awe” may lie behind deification of Padan, “road,” “for who has not sensed the aura of mystery, foreboding, and promise that envelops a road leading to the unknown[?]” (Roberts 58)
8. **deities of social phenomena** (this is similar to the deification of topographical phenomena)
   1. ***Amurru***
      1. West Semites. Personifying “the Semitic nomads from the western steppe [was] probably a creation of the Babylonians. . . . Even his storm god traits may derive from this background, for the Sumerian literature often compares the invasion of Semitic nomads to a storm. . . . since the steppe was thought of as the haunt of demons and other underworld types, Amurru has some ties to the underworld.” (Roberts 16)
   2. ***Illat***
      1. Clan, “probably a personification of the group solidarity felt in the clan.” (Roberts 35)

## The Religion of the Patriarchs

(Translations are nrsv unless quoted from de Vaux or otherwise noted.)

### The God of the Father

1. **introduction**
   1. The pentateuch in its final form, c 400 bc, assumes “that the god of the patriarchs was the same as the god of Moses.” (de Vaux 267)
      1. J assumes that the God of the patriarchs was worshiped as “Yahweh” in patriarchal times. Gen 4:26 (J), “To Seth also a son was born, and he named him Enosh. At that time people began to invoke the name of the Lord [in the nrsv, as in most English translations, “the Lord” translates the Hebrew name, *Yahweh*].”
      2. E assumes that Yahweh is the same as the God of the patriarchs. Exod 3:15 (E), “The Lord, the God of your ancestors, . . . has sent me to you . . .”
   2. But there were differences between the religion of the patriarchs (c 1800-1250 bc) and the religion of Yahwism (c 1250 bc on).
      1. E and P emphasize that, at the time of the exodus (c 1250 bc), “Yahweh was a new name which was to replace those used by the patriarchs.” (de Vaux 268) Exod 6:3 (P), “I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as God Almighty [*El Shaddai*], but by my name ‘The Lord’ [*Yahweh*] I did not make myself known to them.”
      2. Also, the patriarchs worshipped multiple gods.
         1. Gen 31:19, 30-35, “Laban had gone to shear his sheep, and Rachel stole her father’s household gods. . . . [Later, Laban said to Jacob,] 30“why did you steal my gods?” [Jacob said to Laban,] 32“anyone with whom you find your gods shall not live. . . .” Now Jacob did not know that Rachel had stolen the gods. . . . 34Rachel had taken the household gods and put them in the camel’s saddle, and sat on them. Laban felt all about in the tent, but did not find them. 35And she said to her father, “Let not my lord be angry that I cannot rise before you, for the way of women is upon me.” So he searched, but did not find the household gods.”
         2. Gen 35:2, “Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, “Put away the foreign gods that are among you” . . . 4So they gave to Jacob all the foreign gods that they had, . . . and Jacob hid them under the oak that was near Shechem.”
         3. Josh 24:2, 14-15, “Joshua said to all the people, “Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel: Long ago your ancestors—Terah and his sons Abraham and Nahor—lived beyond the Euphrates and served other gods. . . . 14Now therefore revere the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in faithfulness; put away the gods that your ancestors served beyond the River and in Egypt, and serve the Lord. 15Now if you are unwilling to serve the Lord, choose this day whom you will serve, whether the gods your ancestors served in the region beyond the River or the gods of the Amorites in whose land you are living; but as for me and my household, we will serve the Lord.”
   3. In fact, there is evidence, in the Bible and outside it, that the God of the patriarchs was not called “Yahweh,” but “the god of the father.”
2. **the identity of** “**the god of the father**”
   1. ***the*** “***god******of******the******father***” ***outside******the******Bible***, ***in******groups******related******to******the******patriarchs***
      1. 1800s bc: Traders in Assyrian colonies in Asia Minor used two gods as witnesses to their contracts: the god Ashur and a second god. This second god was various “called the ‘god of my father’, the ‘god of your father’, the ‘god of his father’, the ‘god of our father’ or, quite simply, ‘my god’ or ‘your god’. This god might remain anonymous,” but in four cases the formula adds a divine name: “Ilabrat, the god of our father”; “Amurru, the god of my father”; “Ishtar-Star, the deity of our fathers”; “Ishtar-KA.ZAT, the deity of your father.” (de Vaux 270)
      2. 1700s bc: a king of Qatna, an ancient Amorite city 200 km north of Damascus, refers to the “god of my father.” (de Vaux 270-71)
      3. 1500s bc: items in “the temple at Qatna . . . mention offerings to the ‘god of the father’ . . .” (de Vaux 270)
      4. 1300s bc: a king of Qatna refers several times to “Shamash, the god of my father.” (de Vaux 271)
      5. So, “Outside the Bible, [a] ‘god of the father’ may be anonymous or may also be called by a [deity’s] proper name . . .” (de Vaux 271)
      6. “. . . the ‘god of the father’ was originally the god of the immediate ancestor, whom the son recognised as his god, but because this cult was transmitted from father to son, this god became the god of the family and the ‘father’ became perhaps a more remote ancestor, the one from whom the whole clan had descended.” (de Vaux 269)
   2. ***the*** “***god******of******the******father***” ***in******the Bible***: ***anonymous formulas*** (the deity is not named)
      1. In the Bible, sometimes the god of the father was simply called “the god of my father,” “the god of your father,” or “the god of his father.” (Gen 31:5, 29 [corrected according to the Greek]; 43:23; 46:3; 50:17; Exod 3:6; 15:2; 18:4.) (de Vaux 268)
      2. Plural formulas (“the god of our fathers,” “the god of your fathers,” or “the god of their fathers”) are later. (Exod 3:13, 15, 16; 4:5; and frequently in D and the Chronicler’s history.) (de Vaux 268)
      3. Sometimes the god is unnamed, but the patriarch (“the father”) is named.
         1. “the god of Abraham” (Gen 31:53)
         2. “the god of my father Abraham” (Gen 32:9)
         3. “the god of your father Abraham” (Gen 26:24; 28:13)
         4. “the god of Isaac” (Gen 28:13; 46:1; Exod 3:6, 15; 4:5)
         5. “the god of my father Isaac” (Gen 32:9)
         6. “the god of his father Isaac” (Gen 46:1)
         7. “the god of Nahor” (Gen 31:53—Laban is here referring to his father Nahor)
         8. “The god of Jacob” (Exod 3:6, 15; 4:5; 2 Sam 23:1; Ps 20:1; 24:6; 46:7; 46:11; 75:9; 81:1, 4; 94:7; 114:7; 146:5; Isa 2:3; Mic 4:2)
         9. The formulas at the burning-bush scene are “clearly at the end of a process of evolution.” (de Vaux 269)
            1. Exod 3:6, “I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.”
            2. Exod 3:15, “the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob . . .”
            3. Exod 3:16, “the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob . . .”
      4. So “originally, the god of the father was anonymous.” (de Vaux 272)
   3. ***the*** “***god******of******the******father***” ***in******the Bible***: ***formulas that name the god of the father***
      1. Though originally anonymous, the god of the father was later given various titles.
      2. “*Shaddai*” (“the One of the Plain”)
         1. Though many scholars believe “Shaddai” means “the One of the Mountain,” probably *Shaddai* means “the One of the Plain” (from Hebrew *śādheh*/*śâdhay*). (de Vaux 277)
         2. 2000-1600 bc: the god of the fathers as the god Amurru
            1. The god of the father was “called Amurru in the texts of the Assyrian colonies of Cappadocia.” (de Vaux 277)

*Bêl šadê* “is the most common title given to the god Amurru in the early Babylonian texts. This title has been translated as ‘Lord of the Mountain’, but the real meaning is ‘Lord of the Steppe’—the word *šadū* has two meanings in Akkadian . . .” (de Vaux 277)

Amurru “was also called *bêl sêrim*, which could not mean anything other than ‘Lord of the Steppe’. Amurru was the god of the Syrian steppe, where the Amorites lived as nomads.” (de Vaux 277)

* + - * 1. Since “the patriarchs were connected with the Amorites” (de Vaux 277), the partiarchs’ “god of the father” was probably also called *bêl šadê* and *bêl sêrim*, “the god of the steppe.”
      1. Thus, “Shaddai, ‘the One of the Steppe’, was a name—or the name—of the god of the father, brought by the ancestors of the people of Israel from Upper Mesopotamia.” (de Vaux 277)
      2. “Shaddai” by itself (excluding its appearance in the phrase, “El Shaddai”) “occurs five times in the psalms and the prophets, twice in Ruth and thirty-one times in Job . . .” (de Vaux 276)
    1. “*the kinsman of Isaac*” (*paḥadh yiṣ*`*hāq*, sometimes translated “the fear of Isaac”)
       1. Gen 31:42, “the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, [was] on my side . . .”
       2. Gen 31:53 (Laban to Jacob), ““May the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor . . . judge between us.” So Jacob swore by the Fear of his father Isaac . . .”
          1. “. . . Laban suggested that Jacob should place the treaty that they had just concluded under the protection of the god of Abraham, Jacob’s ancestor, and the god of Nahor, Laban’s father, but Jacob preferred to swear by the kinsman—or the fear—of his father Isaac (Gen 31:53).” (de Vaux 269)
    2. “*the Bull of Jacob*” (´a*bhîr ya*`a*qôbh*) (also translated “the Mighty One of Jacob”)
       1. Gen 49:24-25 (an early text, Jacob’s blessing of Joseph), “his [Joseph’s] arms were made agile by the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob, by the name of the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel, 25by the God of your father, who will help you, by the Almighty . . .”
       2. Here “the god of your father” is parallel to “the Mighty One of Jacob.”
       3. “Bull of Jacob” (or “Bull of Israel”—“Israel” is a nickname that God gave Jacob, Gen 32:28) is also in Ps 132:2, 5; Isa 1:24, 49:26, 60:16.
    3. “*the Rock of Israel*” or “*the Shepherd of Israel*” (*´eben yisrā’ēl*)
       1. See immediately above, Gen 49:24-25.
       2. Gen 48:14-15, “Israel [i.e., Jacob] . . . 15blessed Joseph, and said, “The God before whom my ancestors Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who has been my shepherd all my life to this day, 16the angel who has redeemed me from all harm, bless [Ephraim and Manasseh] . . .””
    4. conclusions
       1. Perhaps originally each of several groups had its own ancestor, with its ancestor’s god: Isaac and his “Kinsman” or “Fear,” Jacob and his “Mighty One” or “Bull,” and Israel (an ancestor later merged with Jacob) and his “Rock” or “Shepherd.” (de Vaux 272)
       2. “Each clan had its family god and, if it is accepted that the ancestors of the people of Israel belonged to several of these groups, then they must have had several gods of the father, just as the groups that were related to them [Amorites etc.] had theirs. . . . Each clan worshipped its own god and disregarded others. This was not, of course, monotheism, but rather a form of ‘monolatry’ [*monos* = “one” + *latria* = “worship”].” (de Vaux 272)
       3. “The veneration of a god of the father did not, however, exclude attachment to minor deities or guardian spirits—Laban swore by the god of his father Nahor (Gen 31:53), although he complained that he had lost his ‘gods’ (Gen 31:30).” (de Vaux 272)

1. **The god of the father intervened in clan history**.
   1. “The god of the father was not tied to any sanctuary—he was above all connected with a group of men. He had revealed himself to the ancestor of these men and had been recognised by that ancestor. This link, which extended from the ancestor to the group descended from him, was regarded as a kind of kinship [see *paḥadh yiṣ*`*ḥâq*, “Kinsman of Isaac].” (de Vaux 272)
   2. The god of the father “was deeply involved in the history of the group and guided it.” (de Vaux 273)
      1. Abraham
         1. Gen 12:1, “[In Haran] the Lord said to Abram, “Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you.” . . . 7Then [in Canaan] the Lord appeared to Abram, and said, “To your offspring I will give this land.”” (So Abraham’s God must have accompanied him from Haran to Canaan.)
         2. Gen 12:17, “the Lord afflicted Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram’s wife.” (So Abraham’s God accompanied him from Canaan to Egypt.)
         3. Gen 24:12, “O Lord, God of my master Abraham, please grant me success today . . .” (Abraham’s servant invoked the God of his master while on a trip to Upper Mesopotamia.)
      2. Isaac: Gen 26:3 (God to Isaac), “Reside in this land as an alien, and I will be with you . . .”
      3. Jacob: Gen 28:15 (God to Jacob), “Know that I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you.” (See also Gen 28:20, 31:3, 31:42, 32:12, 35:3.)
   3. “The god of the father, then, was really a nomadic deity, leading, accompanying and guarding the group that was faithful to him, deciding where the people should go and keeping them safe on their way.” (de Vaux 273)
2. **The god of the father committed himself to his group by promises**. (de Vaux 273)
   1. “The theme of the promise recurs frequently in the stories of Genesis, appearing in various forms—as the promise of posterity, the promise of land or the promise of both posterity and land at the same time.” (de Vaux 273)
      1. Abraham: Gen 12:1-3 (God to Abraham), “Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you. 2I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. 3I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.” (See also Gen 12:7; 15:5-7; 17:1-8, 15-16.)
      2. Isaac: Gen 26:3-4, “to you and to your descendants I will give all these lands, and I will fulfill the oath that I swore to your father Abraham. 4I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven, and will give to your offspring all these lands; and all the nations of the earth shall gain blessing for themselves through your offspring . . .” (See also Gen 26:24.)
      3. Jacob: Gen 28:13-14, “And the Lord stood beside him and said, “I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring; 14and your offspring shall be like the dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and all the families of the earth shall be blessed in you and in your offspring.”
   2. “These promises are completely in accordance with two fundamental desires experienced by semi-nomadic herdsmen—the desire for posterity which will ensure continuity in the clan and the desire for land where they hope to settle.” (de Vaux 274)
3. **conclusion**: “This religion of the god of the father is the earliest form of patriarchal religion of which we can have any knowledge. It is the religion which the ancestors of the people of Israel brought with them into Canaan.” (de Vaux 272)

### ´El

1. **syncretism of the god of the father with another god**
   1. Whenever the nomadic clans (whether ancestors of the Israelites, or related peoples like the Amorites) “came into contact with the settled people, they used their [the settled people’] sanctuaries and worshipped the gods of the country, even though they did not give up the cult of their own god as their patron and protector.” (de Vaux 274)
      1. “In Cappadocia, for instance, the early Amorite nomads, who had become merged with the Assyrians . . . used to invoke both the great god Ashur and the god of their father or fathers.” (de Vaux 274)
      2. “The god of the [274] father was identified by the Amorite dynasty at Qatna with the great god Shamash.” (de Vaux 274-275)
      3. “The Benjaminites of Mari, for instance, concluded a treaty in the temple of Sin at Haran . . .” (de Vaux 279)
      4. “. . . a Sutaean [279] Amorite, camped in the vicinity of Ur, made an offering to the goddess Ningal in her temple.” (de Vaux 279-80)
      5. “The Nabataeans, who had become a settled state with a monarchy, made Dushara their national deity and this god was recognised by the Nabataean kings as the god of their ancestors.” (de Vaux 275)
   2. “The patriarchs undoubtedly encountered El in the sanctuaries of Canaan.” (de Vaux 280) Consequently, when the patriarchs came to Canaan, they syncretized their “god of the father” with the high god of the Canaanites, El.
2. **El in the ancient Near East**
   1. “El” just meant “god” in most Semitic languages, but it was also the personal name of the supreme god, El, in the Canaanite religion. (de Vaux 147)
   2. According to Canaanite religion, El copulated with two women, who gave birth to Dawn and Dusk. He also copulated with his spouse, Asherah,[[2]](#footnote-2)1 who gave birth to seventy gods; the other gods “used her to mediate between them and El.” (de Vaux 147) El was also “creator of the earth.” (de Vaux 281)
   3. El was “an old man with a white beard.” (de Vaux 147)
   4. He was “the supreme judge and the guardian of the cosmic order . . .” (de Vaux 147) Hence he was called “Bull El” to indicate his power. (de Vaux 281)
   5. “As the head of the pantheon, he was also given the title of king and he presided over the assembly of the gods in his palace, which was situated at the farthest limits of the world.” (de Vaux 281)
   6. He was “wise and kind, showing sadness and happiness, but never anger.” (de Vaux 281)
3. **El in the Bible**
   1. “The process of becoming settled led to a religious syncretism and to the giving of a personal name to the god of the father. [274] . . . the stories of the patriarchs include names formed with the element ´*el* followed by a noun.” (de Vaux 274-75) These names are: El Shaddai (God of the Plain), El Elyon (God Most High), El Roi (God Who Sees), El Olam (El the Eternal), and El Bethel (El of the sanctuary at Bethel).
   2. ***El Shaddai***  (God of the Plain)
      1. Gen 28:3 (Isaac to Jacob), “May God Almighty bless you and make you fruitful and numerous, that you may become a company of peoples.” (See also Gen 17:1, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3, 49:25, Exod 6:3.)
      2. We have already seen that probably “Shaddai” (god of the plain) was a name given to the god of the father, before the patriarchs came to Canaan.
      3. If “Shaddai” was originally the name of the god of the father (as hypothesized above), then “the name El Shaddai must mean that Shaddai, the god of the father, was identified with El.” (de Vaux 278)
      4. “The identification of Shaddai and El might already have taken place in Upper Mesopotamia, where the cult of the great god El is attested by reliable evidence, at the beginning of the second millennium b.c.” (de Vaux 278)
         1. “El Shaddai” is itself “a very old name,” since it appears in very early biblical texts. (de Vaux 276)
         2. It is “found in Jacob’s will (Gen 49:25).” (de Vaux 276)
         3. It “appears twice in the oracles of Balaam” (Num 24:4, 16). (de Vaux 276)
      5. But it is more likely that the combined name, “El Shaddai,” would have come into existence when the ancestors of the people of Israel entered the Holy Land and came into contact with the Canaanites’ worship of El. In the Bible “the god El is never associated with any other land but Canaan and it is probably there that the relationship was established.” (de Vaux 278)
      6. If “Shaddai” was the name of the god of the father, this would “explain why, unlike El Roi or El Olam, El Shaddai was not linked to a special sanctuary.” (de Vaux 277)
   3. ***El Elyon*** (God Most High)
      1. Gen 14:18-22, “And King Melchizedek of Salem brought out bread and wine; he was priest of God Most High. 19He blessed him [Abraham] and said, “Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth; 20and blessed be God Most High, who has delivered your enemies into your hand!” And Abram gave him one tenth of everything. 21Then the king of Sodom said to Abram, “Give me the persons, but take the goods for yourself.” 22But Abram said to the king of Sodom, “I have sworn to the Lord, God Most High, maker of heaven and earth, 23that I would not take a thread or a sandal-thong or anything that is yours . . .”
      2. “. . . El Elyon has to be eliminated from the religion of the patriarchs, since in Genesis the name only occurs in the incident involving Melchizedek (Gen 14), which is of late date, and, apart from Genesis, in Ps 78:35. Used alone without ´*el*, the word `*el*`*yôn*, most high, is common in the rest of the Bible as a title or a substitute for Yahweh. There is no evidence anywhere of El Elyon outside the Bible. In fact, El and Elyon are two different deities in the Canaanite-Phoenician pantheon and were arbitrarily combined in Gen 14.” (de Vaux 275)
   4. ***El Roi*** (God Who Sees)
      1. Gen 16:13, Hagar “named the Lord who spoke to her, “You are El-roi”; for she said, “Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?””
      2. “El-roi”: “Perhaps *God of seeing* or *God who sees* . . .” (Metzger & Murphy ot 20)
      3. “El Roi may possibly mean ‘El of the Vision’ or ‘El sees me’.” (de Vaux 276)
      4. “*God of seeing* . . . was the name of the deity of the sacred place [“the spring on the way to Shur,” Gen 16:7], now identified with Israel’s God.” (Metzger & Murphy ot 20)
   5. ***El Olam*** (El the Eternal)
      1. Gen 21:33, “Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the Everlasting God.”
      2. “El Olam means either ‘El of eternity’ or ‘El, the Eternal One’.” (de Vaux 276)
      3. Comparison “has been made between the ‘Eternal Sun’ in an unedited text from Rās Shamrah, ‘Shamash the Eternal One’ in a Karatepe inscription of the eighth century b.c. and ‘Elath the Eternal One’ in an Aramaic incantation of the seventh century.” [276] “. . . a further comparison can be made with the ‘Eternal King’ as a divine title (cf. Jer 10:10) in a Rās Shamrah text . . .” [276 n. 46] (de Vaux 276, 276 n. 46) Jer 10:10, “But the Lord is the true God; he is the living God and the everlasting King.”
   6. ***El Bethel*** (El of the sanctuary at Bethel)
      1. Gen 31:13 (God to Jacob), “I am the God of Bethel, where you anointed a pillar and made a vow to me.”
      2. Gen 35:7, “there he [Jacob] built an altar and called the place El-bethel, because it was there that God had revealed himself to him when he fled from his brother.”
      3. “El Bethel can be understood in the sense of El of the local sanctuary of Bethel.” (de Vaux 275)
      4. Or “the second word can be understood as a divine name in apposition . . .” (de Vaux 275)
         1. evidence outside the Bible
            1. There is “evidence of a god Bethel . . . earlier in cuneiform texts.” (de Vaux 275)
            2. There is “evidence of a god Bethel in the Elephantine papyri . . .” (de Vaux 275) (“Elephantine: An island of southeast Egypt in the Nile River below the First Cataract. In ancient times it was a military post guarding the southern frontier of Egypt. The Elephantine papyruses, dating from the fifth century B.C., were discovered here in 1903.” *American Heritage Dictionary*)
         2. evidence in the Bible
            1. “. . . there is evidence in the Bible itself of a god Bethel in the proper name Bethel-Sharezer . . .” (de Vaux 275) Zech 7:2, “the people of Bethel had sent Sharezer and Regem-melech and their men, to entreat the favor of the Lord . . .” See the (Jewish) Tanakh translation, “Bethel-sharezer and Regem-melech and his men sent to entreat the favor of the Lord . . .”
            2. There is “possible evidence of this god in Jer 48:13.” (de Vaux 275) Jer 48:13, “the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel, their confidence.” The *Jewish Study Bible* notes that the verse refers to “King Jeroboam’s temple at Beth El . . . or perhaps the Semitic deity of the same name.” (Berlin & Brettler 1021)
   7. El’s four patriarchal shrines
      1. “The nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples frequented the sanctuaries” of the Canaanites. (de Vaux 279)
      2. El Shaddai
         1. El Shaddai was the god of Bethel (Gen 28:13, Gen 31:5b, Gen 31:13; 35:7). (de Vaux 279)
         2. El Shaddai was perhaps also the god of Mamre.
            1. Abraham “erected an altar there (Gen 13:18) and, since the early narrative continues immediately after the interruption of the story of the four great kings (Gen 14), it is probable that the divine promises were also made to Abraham at Mamre (Gen 15). It is explicitly stated that he received the divine visitors there (Gen 18).” (de Vaux 280)
            2. “. . . it is quite possible that Shaddai, the ‘god of the father’ who revealed himself to Abraham, was assimilated to El at Mamre—the revelation of the name El Shaddai opens Gen 17, which is the priestly parallel to Gen 15.” (de Vaux 280)
      3. El Olam was the god of Beersheba (Gen 21:33, Gen 26:23-25, Gen 46:1-3). (de Vaux 280)
      4. El, God of Israel (the patriarch), was the god of Shechem (Gen 33:20). (de Vaux 280) Gen 33:20, “There [Shechem, 33:18] he erected an altar and called it El-Elohe-Israel.”
      5. “Originally, each patriarch was probably associated with only one sanctuary—Abraham with Mamre, Isaac with Beersheba, Jacob with Bethel and Israel with Shechem.” When the traditions were merged, however, Abraham and Jacob became connected with Shechem and Bethel, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob became connected with Beersheba. (de Vaux 280)
      6. “The patriarchs are shown as the founders of these sanctuaries—they are the places where they erected an altar and invoked the name of God, or of Yahweh in the Yahwistic tradition. In fact, however, they were really early Canaanite sanctuaries where the patriarchs discovered the cult of the great god El [280] . . . The stories claiming that the patriarchs founded these sanctuaries really mean that the patriarchs adopted them and that the patriarchal god of the father, the private god of the nomadic group, was assimilated to the god of the settled people with whom the nomads came into contact.” (de Vaux 280)
      7. “. . . the divine revelations were made to the patriarchs during a dream or in a nocturnal vision (see Gen 15:5, 17; 26:24; 28:13; [280] 31:13; 46:2) . . . at Ugarit El was the only deity who was associated with dreams.” (de Vaux 280-81)
4. **syncretism of the god of the father with El**
   1. “In assimilating El into the religion of the god of the father, . . . it is difficult to distinguish precisely which characteristics were borrowed from the religion of El.” (de Vaux 282)
   2. None of “El’s mythological aspects . . ., including his aspect as king, . . . was borrowed.” (de Vaux 282)
   3. “It is possible, however, that his aspect of supreme power was borrowed and it is tempting to attribute the title of . . . the Mighty One or Bull, which was given to the god of Jacob, to the influence of the religion of El the Bull. This title of the Mighty One was, after all, a very considerable one, since it qualified El as the all-powerful cosmic god, enlarging the idea of God to include the whole world, rather than simply the family or clan.” (de Vaux 282)
5. **addendum**: **El and Baal**
   1. “Baal” means “lord” or “master.”
   2. the rise of Baal
      1. 1800-1600 bc: in the Cappadocian texts, “Among the Amorite personal names . . . there are several names formed with the element *ba*`*al* but it is not easy to say whether this element [just means] ‘master’, used as a divine title, or whether what we have here is the personal name of a god. All that can be said is that this second usage was exceptional.” (de Vaux 278)
      2. 1800-1500 bc: the date “for the formation of the Baal cycle [is] 1800-1500 . . .” (de Vaux 279 n. 64)
      3. 1500 bc: “. . . Baal was not an important figure in Canaan before the middle of the second millennium, although he may have become important a little earlier at Ugarit.” (de Vaux 279)
   3. Baal surpasses El
      1. 1500-1400 bc: as El declined in importance, Baal rose in importance.
         1. “El plays a rather modest part in the poems of Rās Shamrah [= the city of Ugarit, c 1300s bc] and his authority is undermined by the increasing power of a young god, Baal. Baal might possibly have been regarded as El’s son, because El was the father of all the gods, but he [Baal] is explicitly called the son of Dagan, the god of the Middle Euphrates. He was, in other words, a newcomer to the pantheon of Ugarit.” (de Vaux 278)
         2. Baal plays “the predominant part . . . in the Rās Shamrah poems during the fourteenth century b.c. [and] in Egypt from the same period onwards . . .” (de Vaux 279)
      2. In the Bible, the cult of Baal is first mentioned in the wilderness wanderings (Num 25, the Baal of Peor) and then “from the age of the judges onwards” (about 100 times in the rest of the Old Testament). (de Vaux 279)
      3. “The stories of the patriarchs, in which El is mentioned but not Baal, reflect an early state of the Canaanite religion. If we are correct in believing that the patriarchs preceded the Hyksos period [early 1600s bc], then the ancestors of the people of Israel did not find Baal worshipped when they arrived in Canaan, but El.” (de Vaux 279)

### Yahweh

1. **the revelation of the divine name**
   1. J says (Gen 4:26) that the name Yahweh was already used by the time of Enosh, Seth’s son and Adam’s grandson. (de Vaux 338) Gen 4:26, “To Seth also a son was born, and he named him Enosh. At that time people began to invoke the name of the Lord.”
   2. E suggests “that Yahweh is a new name” (Exod 3:6, 9-15). (de Vaux 339)
      1. Exod 3:6, “I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.” (“I” is identified as “Yahweh” in Exod 3:2, 4, 7.)
      2. Exod 3:15, “you shall say to the Israelites, ‘Yahweh, the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you’ . . .”
   3. P says that the name “Yahweh” was newly revealed to Moses: “the scene is transferred to Egypt, where God reveals himself as Yahweh, a name that was unknown to the patriarchs and which was to replace the name El Shaddai, by which the patriarchs invoked God.” (de Vaux 339) Exod 6:3, “I appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as God Almighty [= El Shaddai], but by my name ‘The Lord’ [= Yahweh] I did not make myself known to them.”
   4. It “has been suggested that Moses did not receive a revelation of the name of Yahweh, which he knew, but simply an explanation of the name.” [339] “In recent years, certain authors have attempted to trace knowledge of the name Yahweh back to the patriarchal age, maintaining, for example, that all that was revealed to Moses was the hidden meaning of the name, that it was originally a cultic title of El, like Olam, Elyon or Shaddai or that it was the name of Moses’ ‘god of the father’.” [282] (de Vaux 339, 282)
      1. “These theories . . . are based on the use of the name in [J] . . .” (de Vaux 282)
         1. But J here goes “counter to the evidence of [E and P], . . . which affirm that Yahweh was a new name revealed to Moses.” (de Vaux 282)
         2. “All three traditions, moreover, affirm that the God of the patriarchs was the same as the Yahweh who revealed himself to Moses.” (de Vaux 282)
         3. “Although it is possible to accept that [J] may have extended the use of this name, it is hardly possible to believe that [E and P] would have denied that it was known to the patriarchs if they had not been compelled to do so by an early and authentic memory.” (de Vaux 282)
      2. Some scholars argue “that Moses’ mother had a name composed with Yahweh—Jochebed. This name, however, is given in late genealogies (Ex 6:20; Num 26:59) and it is not certain whether it contains the name Yahweh . . .” (de Vaux 339 n. 75)
2. **the form of the name**
   1. *Yahweh* (long form)
      1. The name “is used in the Bible almost always in the long form of Yahweh . . .” (de Vaux 339)
      2. “The name of the God of Israel is also found outside the Bible, notably as *Yhwh* in the Mesha stele [800s bc], on an eighth century seal, in [339] the ostraca of Tell `Arad at the end of the seventh century, frequently in the Lachish letters at the beginning of the sixth century and in graffiti which may be pre-exilic.” (de Vaux 339-40)
      3. “The longer form is the earliest form [339] . . . The longer form is certainly the commonest and the earliest form encountered outside the Bible. A [contraction] of this long form can . . . be explained more easily from the philological point of view than a lengthening of a shorter form.” (de Vaux 339-40)
   2. *Yah* (short form)
      1. The short form appears, rarely, in biblical poetry. (de Vaux 339)
      2. It is found “in the liturgical acclamation *hallelûyāh* . . .” (de Vaux 339)
      3. Yah “is also used . . . in personal names . . .” (de Vaux 339)
         1. It appears as “*Yehô*-, *Yô*-, *Ye*- etc. at the beginning of a name . . .” (de Vaux 339)
         2. It appears as “-*yah*, -*yahû* at the end” of a name. (de Vaux 339)
         3. “Apart from the Bible, the short terminal form has been found on seals and ostraca as -*yw*.” (de Vaux 339 n. 77)
3. **pronunciation**
   1. “. . . the Massoretes [Jewish scholars c ad 800] gave the divine name the vowels of ´a*dhōnai*, ‘my Lord’, which was to be read instead of the Tetragrammaton itself.” This is where the English word “Jehovah” (used, for example, in the King James Version, ad 1611) comes from. (de Vaux 340)
   2. “The pronunciation of Yahweh is based on the etymological interpretation given in Ex 3:14, on analogy with the Amorite names Yawi-ilā, Yawi-Addu, Yawi-Dagan etc. [which mean “Ilā [or Addu etc.] causes to live”] . . ., and on the Greek transcriptions Ιαονε and Ιαβε.” (de Vaux 340)
4. “**Yahweh**” **before Moses and outside Israel**
   1. “The only name found outside the Old Testament and before the period of the exodus that can be legitimately compared with the name Yahweh is *Yhw3*, [*sic*] the name of a Shasu country . . . There is, however, no evidence that this geographical or ethnic name may also have been the name of a deity.” (de Vaux 343)
   2. “The interpretation given in Ex 3:14 is to some extent obstructed by it [the form of the name *Yahweh*] and this is a good reason for believing that the name is pre-Israelite. On the other hand, there is as yet no evidence that it existed outside Israel and before the period of Moses.” (de Vaux 348)
   3. “The only conclusion to which we can come, then, is that it is possible and even probable that the divine name *Yhwh* existed outside Israel before Moses—particularly because its form is, as we have seen, archaic—but we have no certain evidence of this.” (de Vaux 343)
5. **etymology and meaning of** “**Yahweh**”
   1. It is “probable that the name contains the root of a verb, which, according to the writing, must be *hwh* [“to be”], the earlier form being *hwy* . . .” (de Vaux 345)
   2. “In Hebrew, [*hwh*] became *hyh*, so that the name Yahweh probably preserves the early form of the root. [346] . . . this root had become *hyh* in Hebrew and the vocalisation of the verb form had become changed, so that an explanation of the name cannot be provided on the basis of the Hebrew that we know.” (de Vaux 348)
   3. “We now have to determine the grammatical form of the word. [346] . . . What we have to ascertain is whether the name Yahweh contains the verb ‘to be’ in the simple *qal* (‘he is’) or in the causative *hiphil* (‘he causes to be’).” (de Vaux 347)
      1. “Several authors favour the second explanation [e.g., W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore: 19462), 197-199, and his disciples D. N. Freedman and F. M. Cross], saying that the form Yahweh is that of a causative (*yaqṭil*), the simple form being Yihweh [*sic*] (*yiqṭôl*), with the result that the name means ‘he causes to be’, in other words, ‘he is the creator’.” (de Vaux 347)
         1. philosophical objection: Sigmund Mowinckel has objected that this concept “is too abstract and too philosophical an idea for such an early period . . .” However, this denies “that the Israelites could have had ideas which had been widespread for a long time among the peoples surrounding them.” (de Vaux 348)
         2. philological objections
            1. The second hypothesis “insists on a correction to the text of Ex 3:14, which provides an explanation of the name Yahweh. [348] . . . Those scholars who have favoured the causative of the root ‘to be’ have had to resort to . . . changes in the text” of Exod 3:14, “I am who I am” (´*eh*`*yeh* ´a*ser* ´*eh*`*yeh*). (de Vaux 348-49)
            2. “One suggestion is that the earliest formula was ´*ah*`*yeh* ´a*šer yih*`*yeh*, meaning ‘I cause to be who comes into existence’ [e.g., Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* 198].” (de Vaux 349)
            3. “Another suggestion is simply to change the vocalisation of the formula to ´*ah*`*yeh* ´a*šer* ´*ah*`*yeh*, giving it the meaning of ‘I cause to be whom I cause to be’ or ‘I create whom I create’ [D. N. Freedman]. . . . [There] is, however, no philological justification for believing that the name Yahweh contains a causative and it [is] therefore quite arbitrary to correct the Massoretic text in order to make it conform to a pure hypothesis.” (de Vaux 349)
      2. More probably, *hwh* “can be explained as a verb in the imperfect used as a noun, and this is the solution that we prefer . . .” (de Vaux 347)
   4. “The most probable solution to the problem of the divine name, then, in our opinion, is that it is formed from the root *hwy*/*hwh*, used in the imperfect of the simple form *qal* and therefore meaning ‘he is’.” (de Vaux 348)
6. **the biblical interpretation of the name Yahweh** (the burning-bush theophany, Exod 3:13-15)
   1. Exod 3:13-15, “Moses said to God, “If I come to the Israelites and say to them, ‘The God of your ancestors has sent me to you,’ and they ask me, ‘What is his name?’ what shall I say to them?” 14God [*Elohim*] said to Moses, “I AM WHO I AM” [´*eh*`*yeh* ´a*ser* ´*eh*`*yeh*]. He said further, “Thus you shall say to the Israelites, ‘I AM [´*eh*`*yeh*] has sent me to you.’” 15God also said to Moses, “Thus you shall say to the Israelites, ‘The Lord [*Yhwh*], the God of your ancestors, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you’: This is my name forever, and this my title [de Vaux translates, “by this name I shall be invoked”] for all generations.”” (Portions in brackets are from de Vaux 349.)
   2. “This is the only formal explanation of the name Yahweh in the whole of the Old Testament. It is also in accordance with the philological interpretation that we regard as the most likely in that it points to the root ‘to be’ in the imperfect *qal* in the divine name.” (de Vaux 349)
   3. “God is Being. Speaking of himself, he cannot, [349] of course, say ‘he is’, because this would be an admission of another Being apart from himself. He is therefore bound to say ‘I am’ [´*eh*`*yeh*] and it is precisely this ‘I am’ who is to send Moses. Moses, however, cannot say ‘I am’, because he is not the Being, so he is to say ‘he is’ [*yhwh*].” (de Vaux 349-50)
   4. “The text is clearly very heavily charged,” i.e., it shows signs of having been heavily edited. (de Vaux 350)
      1. “In verse 13, Moses asks for the name of the god of the fathers, but verse 14 is not a reply to this question, because the God of Israel has never been called ´*eh*`*yeh*.” (de Vaux 350)
      2. Also, there are repetitions, indicating “seams” where additions have been made: “14God said . . . He said further . . . 15God also said . . .” (de Vaux 350)
      3. Probably:
         1. “verse 15 is very early . . .”
         2. “verse 14a was added to provide an interpretation of the name . . .”
         3. “verse 14b, in which the same words are used as in verse 15, with the exception of ´*eh*`*yeh*, which replaces the *Yhwh* of verse 15, forms a link between the personal name and its explanation.” (de Vaux 350)
         4. Thus “I agree here with M. Noth, *Exodus* . . . and disagree with those who regard verse 15 as secondary or later.” (de Vaux 350 n. 132)
         5. “Verse 14, however, is an early development of the Elohistic tradition (according to M. Noth). It is not a late gloss . . . The text of Ex 3:14 was also known to Hosea; see below.” (de Vaux 350 n. 132)
   5. “It would also seem that the name Yahweh had been accepted in Israel simply as a personal name—whatever its meaning and its origin may have been—and that it was explained afterwards.” [See R. C. Dentan, *The Knowledge of God in Ancient Israel* (New York: 1968), 131, 256 n. 7.—350 n. 133] (de Vaux 350)
   6. Technically, ´*eh*`*yeh* is future tense, “I shall be.” “. . . the formula should be translated as ‘I shall be who I shall be’ and this is precisely how it has been translated by Aquila and Theodotion—ἔσομαι ὅ ἔσομαι. . . . In this context of salvation and promise, the name Yahweh means that God will always be present for Israel.” But the name is interpreted in Exod 3:14 as present tense—“I AM.” “It is in this sense too that it was understood in the Septuagint [Ἐγώ εἰμἰ ὁ ῶν, “I am the one who is”] and by almost all modern translators of the Old Testament.” (de Vaux 351)
      1. “Several authors [A.-M. Dubarle, G. Lambert, O. Eissfeldt] are of the opinion that [a] vague meaning is what is intended in the formula of Ex 3:14, ‘I am the one that I am’ or ‘I am what I am’ being an evasive reply, showing that Yahweh refused to reveal the mystery of himself, as the one who could not be named, understood or determined.” But the deity does reveal himself in Exod 3:13-15, namely as Yahweh. “The formula must therefore have a positive meaning. . . . the formula ‘I am who I am’ is not an evasive reply, but an attempt to explain the divine name [*Yhwh*] . . .” (de Vaux 352)
      2. “Whichever translation is accepted, this version, ‘I am who is’ or the more usual one, ‘I am who (I) am’, the formula certainly explains the name Yahweh in terms of being. We have therefore to be careful not to introduce into this explanation the metaphysical idea of Being in itself or Aseity as elaborated in Greek philosophy. It is not certain whether the translation of the Septuagint was influenced by the Greek idea of Being, but this influence was undoubtedly present in the book of Wisdom, for example, when the whole of creation is contrasted with ‘Him who is’ (Wis 13:1). This metaphysical idea of Being was taken up by the scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages and is present in a number of theologies of the Old Testament, but it is undoubtedly foreign to the biblical view of God, according to which ‘being’ was first and foremost ‘existing’. God’s [353] being in the Bible was above all an existence or, to use the existentialist term, a *Dasein* or ‘being there’, which was realised in many different ways, so that there is a danger of investing the formula in Ex 3:14 with all its possibilities and of regarding it as the quintessence of the whole of the biblical doctrine of God.” (de Vaux 353-54)
      3. “We may conclude by saying that the formula of Ex 3:14 can be translated best as ‘I am the Existing One’. Yahweh, then, is the God whom Israel had to recognise as really existing. [354] . . . Yahweh is, for Israel, the only Existing One and the only Saviour. This is not a dogmatic definition of an abstract monotheism, but a commandment to observe monotheism in practice. [See Anderson, G. W. *History and Religion of Israel*. London: 1966, 37.—355 n. 152] From then onwards, Israel was to have no other God but Yahweh. [355] . . . The first commandment is: ‘You shall have no gods except me’ (Ex 20:3).” (de Vaux 354-56)
      4. “. . . the explanation of the name Yahweh can be interpreted in the following way. Yahweh was the only ‘Existing One’. He was a mystery to his people and he transcended them, but at the same time he was active in their history and Israel was bound to recognise him as its only God and saviour. The account of Ex 3:9-15 emphasises both the continuity of this faith and that of the fathers and also the new aspect of that faith as expressed by the divine name . . . [Yahweh] did not have a divine history like that of the gods of mythology, because he was simply, totally and constantly the ‘Existing One’ . . .” (de Vaux 357)
      5. “This is, of course, a concept of religion which was totally different from that which the Hebrews encountered in Egypt and were later to meet in Canaan. The historian of religions can do no more than simply recognise the extraordinary novelty. The believer, on the other hand, can see in it a divine intervention. The essence of the later developments within the history of revelation is contained in Ex 3:14, which, seen in this perspective, is a passage that fully justifies the theological claim that its meaning is profound and inexhaustible. We do not have to go outside the Bible itself to hear an echo of, and a commentary on, the statement ‘I am the Existing One’, which is found at the beginning of Scripture; in the last book, Revelation: ‘I am the Alpha and the Omega,’ says the Lord God, who is, who was, and who is to come, the Almighty’ (Rev 1:8).” (de Vaux 357)

### The Religion of Moses and the Religion of the Patriarchs

1. **introduction**
   1. “He [Moses] was the first of Yahweh’s ‘servants’ (Ex 14:31) and . . . it is possible to speak of a religion of Moses and to attempt to outline the characteristics of this primitive form of Yahwism.” (de Vaux 454)
   2. “The Elohist and the priestly editor stressed both the new aspect of the name of Yahweh revealed to Moses and the continuity of this new faith with the religion of the fathers.” (de Vaux 454)
      1. “Yahweh revealed himself to Moses as ‘the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob’ (Ex 3:6), as ‘the God of your fathers’ (Ex 3:13, 15, E) and as the God who appeared to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as El Shaddai (Ex 6:3, P). This was a basic faith in Israel.” (de Vaux 454)
      2. “It was this faith that inspired the Elohist when he ascribed the promises which Yahweh was to fulfil to the god of the fathers (Gen 46:3-4; 50:24).” (de Vaux 454)
      3. “Moses called his second son Eliezer because, as he said, ‘The God of my father is my help and has delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh’ (Ex 18:4, E).” (de Vaux 454)
      4. “In the song of victory (Ex 15), ‘the God of my father . . . Yahweh is his name’ is exalted (verses 2-3).” (de Vaux 454)
      5. “This is what gave the Yahwist the right to use the name Yahweh in the whole of the story of the patriarchs up to the story of the burning bush (Ex 3:16, J), where he joined the Elohist.” (de Vaux 454)
   3. “The question confronting the historian is above all whether this affirmation of Israel’s faith was in accordance with the reality and whether there was, either certainly or probably, a continuity in cult between the patriarchal period and the time of Moses.” (de Vaux 454)
2. **the god of the father and Yahweh**
   1. “This continuity is clearly manifested in various ways.” (de Vaux 455)
      1. “First of all, Yahwism originated in an environment of shepherds and herdsmen and began to develop in the desert. The prophetic call to return to pure Yahwism was presented as a call to return to the desert; this was the prophets’ ‘nomadic ideal’ and it resulted in the activity of a group of fervent Yahwists, the Rechabites.” (de Vaux 455)
      2. “Yahweh was also the God of Sinai. In the Song of Deborah (Judges 5:5) and in Ps 68:9, Yahweh is called *zeh Sînai*, ‘the one of Sinai’, [*sic*] (These words should not be simply suppressed as glosses.)” (de Vaux 455)
         1. He was not, however, the god of a mountain. In the Yahwistic and the Elohistic traditions, as we have seen, features taken from a volcanic eruption or from a storm were simply two different images used to describe the theophany. Yahweh did not therefore live on Sinai. He ‘descended’ on it and manifested himself there (Ex 19:18, 20; 34:5, J). According to the early tradition of Ex 24:10, he lived in heaven, which is an affirmation that was to be made again later. There was no need to go back to the mountain on which Yahweh had appeared to Moses in order to encounter him again. There is also no indication at all, apart from the episode involving Elijah, that Sinai was a place of pilgrimage.” (de Vaux 455)
      3. “Like the god of the fathers, Yahweh was not tied to any special place. He went with his people. He guided them and was together with them wherever they went.” (de Vaux 455)
         1. “Yahweh’s activities were never linked with a special place. Before the theophany on Sinai, he manifested his presence and his power in Egypt, in the miracle of the sea, at Marah (Ex 15:25) and at Massah-Meribah (Ex 17:6). After the theophany, Yahweh left Sinai with his people, making his presence visible above the ark of the covenant, which marked the stages of their journey through the desert (Num 10:33-36). He also encountered Moses in the Tent of Meeting (Ex 33:7-11). Yahweh also ‘came from Sinai’ (Deut 33:2, Ps 68:18, correction: see also Judges 5:4; Hab 3:3).” (de Vaux 455)
      4. Yahweh “had a special bond with Moses, the leader of this group of people, just as the god of the fathers had a particular connection with the patriarchs, the leaders of their clan.” (de Vaux 455)
   2. “There are, however, certain differences.” (de Vaux 455)
      1. “In the first place, the god of the fathers was anonymous, whereas Yahweh is a personal name.” (de Vaux 455)
      2. “In the second place, this name and the explanation of it given in Ex 3:14 define Yahweh as the ‘Existing one’. He is transcendent and he remains a mystery to man, but he reveals his transcendence in his actions. In the stories of the patriarchs, there is nothing to compare with the miracle of the sea and the theophany on Sinai in brilliance and power.” (de Vaux 455)
      3. “In the third place, there is a [455] striking change in emphasis between the relationships of the god of the father and the people and those of Yahweh and his people. . . . in the earlier accounts, the ‘god of the father’ was tied to a group, whereas in the later accounts it is the group of people who are tied to their god.” (de Vaux 456)
      4. “In the fourth place, there is a new concept of divine election. In the case of the patriarchs, the god of the father called Abraham (Gen 12:1-3) and made certain promises to him. These promises were renewed when they were made to Isaac and Jacob. . . . [But] it was when God revealed his name that he called the descendants of the patriarchs ‘my people’ for the first time (Ex 3:7,10) and this term is used a dozen times in the conflict with the Pharaoh (Ex 5-8). It was the people whom Yahweh redeemed (Ex 15:13) and whom he purchased (Ex 15:16). This is essentially what is expressed in a later text (Ex 19:5): ‘You of all nations shall be my very own’, in other words, Israel was Yahweh’s personal property, *s*e*ghullāh*.” (de Vaux 456)
   3. “In every way, then, Yahwism deepened and enlarged the religion of the patriarchs and, although it was quite new, it did not mark a break with the earlier faith.” (de Vaux 456)
3. **Yahweh and El**
   1. “When we discussed the religion of the patriarchs, we saw that the god of the father became assimilated to the great god El. According to Gen 46:3-4, El, the god of the father of Jacob, told Jacob that he would go down to Egypt with his people, make a great nation of them there and then bring them back from Egypt. This corresponds to ‘El brings you out of Egypt’ in the oracles of Balaam at the end of the wanderings in the desert (Num 23:22; 24:8). In between these two, however, the religion of El seems to have been absent from the early sources [“There are several cases in which El is used in the sense of ‘God’; the only case in which the word might be a proper name (Num 16:22) is P.”—456 n. 6]; it is as though El, the god of the settled people whom the patriarchs had known in Canaan and whom their descendants found in Moab had in the meantime been forgotten. The [456] groups of people who went down into Egypt apparently had only the simple religion of the god of the father. In fact, the god who revealed himself to Moses was not El, but the god of his father, ‘the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob’ (Ex 3:6; d 3:13, 15) and that God revealed his name, which was not El, but Yahweh.” (de Vaux 456-57)
   2. “It is, however, possible that the worship of El is present in the episode of the golden calf . . .: (de Vaux 457)
      1. The golden-calf episode “is presented as ‘Here is your God, Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt’ (Ex 32:4,8). This, of course, is reminiscent of Gen 46:3-4 and Num 23:22; 24:8, to which we referred above. This image of a young bull undoubtedly symbolises Yahweh, but it also recalls the title ‘Bull’ given to El in the texts of Rās Shamrah and the bull figures representing El discovered in excavations made there. It is, of course, true that the formula used in Ex 32:4, 8 and again in 1 Kings 12:28, contains the plural form ´Elohim, which is not the personal name of El, but the common name God, here used for Yahweh (Ex 32:5). This still leaves us, however, with the bull figure.” (de Vaux 457)
      2. “The story of the ‘golden calf’ certainly bristles with difficulties. There is no agreement regarding its literary analysis, its religious interpretation or its connection with the story of Jeroboam’s ‘calves’. I believe that it is possible to say that this story is really linked to an event that took place during the sojourn in the desert. There may, for example, have been a rival group or a group of dissidents who had broken away from Moses’ group who had, or who wanted to have, a bull figure instead of the ark of the covenant as their symbol of the presence of God. It was not, after all, the bull of Baal, [“. . . the ‘feast in honour of Yahweh’ (Ex 32:5-6) has nothing at all to do with the debauchery at Peor in honour of Baal [in Num 25].”—457 n. 10] but the bull of El and, in accordance with the process of assimilation that had taken place in Canaan, El the Bull would fulfil the function of the god of the fathers—he would go at the head of the group (Ex 32:1). It is possible that there are signs, outside the Bible, of a cult of El in the Sinai peninsula. Canaanites, who were employed by the Egyptians during the fifteenth [457] century b.c. in the mines at Serahlt el-Khidem in the Sinai peninsula, left inscriptions which, according to the most recent attempts made to decipher them, contained the name of El and once the name of *El dû* `*olâm*, which is precisely the form of the name El which had become assimilated with the God of Abraham, El `Olām, the ‘everlasting God’ (Gen 21:33). If these readings are correct, then they may help to confirm our interpretation of the story of the golden calf.” (de Vaux 457-58)
   3. “In view of the assimilation that had taken place between the god of the fathers and El, what was the situation with regard to El and Yahweh?” (de Vaux 458)
      1. “According to some recent authors, a relationship existed between them even in the patriarchal period. It has, for example, been suggested that ‘Yahweh’ was an abbreviated form of ‘Yahweh-El’, which would therefore mean ‘El causes to be’, or ‘El creates’ [thus D. N. Freedman]. Attempts have been made to show that this full name is found in Ps 10:12; 31:6 and, if the Massoretic vowels are changed, in Jer 10:2. Both elements are also found in parallel in Gen 16:11 and in several of the psalms [M. Dahood]. . . . however, the name Yahweh is regarded as the causative of the verb ‘to be’ and we have already rejected this possibility.” (de Vaux 458)
      2. “According to another hypothesis [F. M. Cross, “Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs,” *Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962): 225-59, esp. 255-59; also P. D. Miller], the name ‘Yahweh’ is the remnant of a liturgical formula ´*El dû yahwî*, ‘God who causes to be’ or ‘God who creates’. As this formula usually takes a complement, this would explain the title Yahweh Sebhā´ôth, since the full formula would have been ´*El dû yahwî saba´ôt*, ‘El who creates the (celestial) armies’. . . . however, the name Yahweh is regarded as the causative of the verb ‘to be’ and we have already rejected this possibility. [Also,] the title Yahweh Sebhā´ôth . . . never appears in the Pentateuch or in the books of Joshua and Judges. In fact, it appears for the first time in 1 Sam 1:3; 11; 4:4, in connection with the sanctuary at Shiloh and the ark. It is therefore unlikely to have been derived from a liturgical formula dating back to the patriarchal age.” (de Vaux 458)
      3. “We are bound to conclude that although Yahwism had a different origin from the religion of El a process of assimilation undoubtedly took place.” (de Vaux 458)
         1. “As [458] we have already said, this possibility would help to explain the episode of the golden calf.” (de Vaux 458-59)
         2. “It certainly emerges clearly from the oracles of Balaam in Num 23-24 that there was an assimilation of Yahweh and El. These oracles have come down to us through the two early traditions, those of the Yahwist and the Elohist, and, apart from a few additions, they undoubtedly go back to the period prior to the monarchy. [“It is difficult to accept W. F. Albright’s early date (1200 b.c. or earlier) for these texts in *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 1968, pp. 13-14.”—459 n. 17] (de Vaux 459)
            1. ‘Two examples of parallelisms between El and Yahweh placed together in these oracles are” Num 23:8 and Num 23:21-22. (de Vaux 459)

Num 23:8, “How can I curse whom God [“El”] has not cursed?

How can I denounce those whom the Lord has not denounced?”

Num 23:21-22, “The Lord their God is with them, . . .

22God [“El”], who brings them out of Egypt,

is like the horns of a wild ox for them.”

(See Num 24:8, “God who brings him out of Egypt,

is like the horns of a wild ox for him . . .”)

* + - 1. “It was from El that Yahweh derived his cosmic character and his title as king. This is, of course, presupposed in the oracles of Balaam . . . and in the early poems . . .” (de Vaux 459)
         1. oracles of Balaam: Num 23:21, “The Lord their God is with them, acclaimed as a king among them.”
         2. early poems

Exod 15:6, 8, “your right hand, O Lord [“Yahweh”], shattered the enemy. . . . 8At the blast of your nostrils the waters piled up, the floods stood up in a heap; the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea.” (Yahweh is addressed, but verse 8 describes El-like cosmic actions.)

Psa 68:26, “Bless God in the great congregation, the Lord . . .”

* + - 1. “It was also from the religion of El that Yahwism derived the idea of the divine court formed by the *b*e*nê* ´e*lōhîm* [“sons of God”].” (de Vaux 459)
         1. Deut 33:2, “The Lord came from Sinai . . . With him were myriads of holy ones . . .”
      2. compassion
         1. “It is, however, not exactly true that El gave his gentleness and compassion to Yahweh or that Yahweh was originally a cruel and violent god.” (de Vaux 459)
         2. In Ex 34:6, which is probably very early, Yahweh describes himself as ‘a God of tenderness and compassion’ (cf [*sic*] Ex 33:19).” (de Vaux 459)

Exod 33:19, “I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you the name, ‘The LORD’; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy.”

Exod 34:6, “The Lord passed before him, and proclaimed, “The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness . . .””

* + - * 1. “This would have made the process of assimilation easier, since at Ugarit El was called *ltpn il dpid*, ‘El beneficent and good’.” (de Vaux 459)
      1. “This assimilation of Yahweh and El took place without conflict, partly because the way had been prepared for it by the assimilation that had come about between the god of the father and El. Certainly it is not possible to discover any conflict between Yahweh and El.” (de Vaux 459)

1. **Yahweh the warrior**
   1. Yahweh as warrior “would seem at first sight to mark a difference between Yahwism and the religion of the fathers.” (de Vaux 460)
   2. early instances of Yahweh as warrior
      1. “. . . the deliverance from Egypt was presented as a war fought by Yahweh, both in the prose account of Ex 14 and in the poetic account, the song of victory of Ex 15.” (de Vaux 460)
      2. “The story of the war against the Amalekites ends with the cry: ‘Yahweh is at war with Amalek from age to age’ (Ex 17:16).” (de Vaux 460)
      3. “The song of the ark in Num 10:35-36 is an appeal to Yahweh to defeat his enemies, who are also the enemies of Israel.” (de Vaux 460)
      4. “There is reference in Num 21:14 to a ‘book of the wars of Yahweh’.” (de Vaux 460)
   3. “This characteristic of Yahweh as a warrior is an aspect of primitive Yahwism, [and primitive Yahwism] is linked by this [characteristic] to the following period of Joshua and Judges, when the idea of the holy war was to be developed and was also possibly to be expressed in cultic practice.” [“F. M. Cross, ‘The Divine Warrior in Israel’s Early Cult’, *Biblical Motifs*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, pp. 11-30.”—460 n. 23] (de Vaux 460)
   4. “On the other hand, this warlike aspect of the deity seems not to have been present in the religion of the patriarchs and it is partly because of this that the suggestion has recently been made that this new element was borrowed from the religion of El.” [“P. D. Miller, ‘El the Warrior’, *HTR*, 60 (1967), pp. 411-431.”—460 n. 24] (de Vaux 460) The hypothesis reasons as follows:
      1. “El is not presented in the Rās Shamrah texts as a warrior, certainly . . .” (de Vaux 460)
      2. “. . . but this aspect of the god is found in the ‘Phoenician History’ of Sanchuniaton, used by Philo the Elder, who was quoted by Eusebius. (El-Kronos and his allies the ‘Eloim’ waged war against Uranos, the father of El-Kronos, and seized power from him.) [Philo of Byblos, Fr 2 = *Praep. Ev*. 1.10.17-21.] (de Vaux 460)
      3. “This is in accordance with the title ‘Bull’ given to El, which describes him above all as a warrior.” (de Vaux 460)
      4. “This warlike character was softened down at Ugarit when Baal gained a pre-eminent position in the pantheon. This did not, however, happen in the south of Canaan.” (de Vaux 460)
      5. “This hypothesis is quite possible, but even if it is correct, it does not mean that the Israelites’ idea of Yahweh was influenced by this presumably warlike character of El; there is nothing to indicate that there was any connection between El’s mythological struggle against Uranos and Yahweh’s wars against the enemies of his people.” (de Vaux 460)
   5. As warrior, “. . . Yahweh continued to play the part of the god of the father who protected and saved his people (compare, for example, Gen 31:42, 32:12 with Ex 15:2; 18:4).” (de Vaux 460)
   6. “What is new is that there were many divine [460] interventions. The idea of Yahweh the warrior was born at the same time as faith in him from the powerful experience of the deliverance from Egypt (Ex 14:31; 15:3, 21). To this may be added the fact of a change in Israel’s conditions of life. The earliest ancestors infiltrated peacefully into the fringe areas of the cultivated lands of Canaan. Life in the desert [during the wilderness wanderings?] was rougher and struggles took place between rival groups in their efforts to establish themselves among the settled peoples.” (de Vaux 460-61)
      1. “Cain, expelled from Eden, cried out: ‘Whoever comes across me will kill me!’ (Gen 4:4) . . .” (de Vaux 461)
      2. “. . . it was said of Ishmael that he would be ‘against every man, and every man against him’ (Gen 16:12).” (de Vaux 461)
      3. “The Bible speaks of the raids that the Amalekites and the Midianites made into Canaan.” (de Vaux 461)
      4. “Outside the Bible, we read of the life of the Asiatic nomad as fighting since the time of Horus, neither conquering nor being conquered.” [“Instructions for Meri-ka-Re,” *ANET* 416b.—461 n. 26] (de Vaux 461)
      5. “The Benjaminites of Mari were especially warlike. . . . At Mari, for example, no campaign was ever undertaken without ensuring the favour of the gods for the venture. The prophets were asked to give oracles of victory and sometimes they even accompanied the army on the expeditions. The booty was subject to a religious interdict similar to the biblical *herem*.” [J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: 1957), 65-68.—461 n. 27] [A. Malamat, ‘The Ban in Mari and in the Bible’, *Biblical Essays. Proceedings of the 9th Meeting. Die Ou-Testam. Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, Pretoria, 1966, pp. 40-49; J. M. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* (*Studia Pohl*, 3), Rome, 1969, pp. 36-37 . . .”—461 n. 28] (de Vaux 461)
      6. “At a later period, the rulers of Mesopotamia had to increase the number of expeditions against the Aramaeans living in the Syrian desert and threatening their frontiers.” (de Vaux 461)
      7. “Among the pre-Islamic Arabs, the soothsayer, the *kāhin* or *kāhina*, was consulted before the army left and often took part in the expeditions. These soothsayers sometimes even led the military expeditions and they always guarded the sacred tent that accompanied the warriors and housed the betyles or sacred stones symbolising the deity.” (de Vaux 461)
   7. “It is hardly surprising, then, that Moses’ group should have been so belligerent and that the wars undertaken by these Israelites should have had a religious aspect. . . . It is therefore quite justifiable to do as the texts suggest and date the title of Yahweh the warrior and the idea of the holy war back to the period of primitive Yahwism when the Israelites were leading a semi-nomadic life and to reject any possible influence of the religion of ´El.” (de Vaux 461)
   8. “Once again, however, we are aware of the originality and the vitality of Yahwism. The above examples of Mari and of the Arabs before the coming of Islam show [461] that war had a religious significance in at least two different environments, both of which were similar ethnically and sociologically to that of the ancestors of Israel. There is, however, nothing comparable in the whole of the Ancient Near East to the personal, extremely important and sometimes even unique rôle that Yahweh played in the holy wars of Israel.” (de Vaux 461-62)
2. **Moses and monotheism**
   1. “. . . there is no agreement about the date of the appearance of monotheism in Israel.” (de Vaux 462)
   2. “We have described the religion of the patriarchs as a monolatry.” (de Vaux 462)
   3. “Some scholars believe that true monotheism began with Moses.” (de Vaux 462)
      1. Y. Kaufmann “spoke of the ‘monotheistic revolution’ and the ‘death of the gods’.” [Kaufmann, Y. *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*. Trans. M. Greenberg. Chicago: 1960, 290-229 ff.—462 n. 30] (de Vaux 462)
      2. “W. F. Albright was convinced that the founder of Yahwism was a monotheist.” (de Vaux 462)
         1. Albright, W. F. *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*. Baltimore: 1964, 196-207. (de Vaux 462 n. 31)
         2. “If, as Albright says [*From the Stone Age* 207], the term monotheist means someone who teaches the existence of only one God, . . . then Moses was not a monotheist . . . everything points to the fact that this was not the teaching of primitive Yahwism.” (de Vaux 462)
            1. “In the song of victory (Ex 15:11), we read, for example, the question: ‘Who among the gods is your like, [462] Yahweh?’ . . .” (de Vaux 462-63)
            2. “. . . after hearing the story of the deliverance from Egypt, Jethro cries out: ‘Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all the gods’ (Ex 18:11).” (de Vaux 463)
            3. “The existence of other gods is not denied in the first commandment of the decalogue itself; in fact, it presupposes their existence and forbids the Israelites to worship them. It is not really a teaching about the unique nature of God, but a practical rule of life, expressing the exclusive claim made by Yahweh to the worship of the people. The same is expressed in the ‘cultic’ decalogue (Ex 34:14), in Hos 13:4 and in the Code of the Covenant (Ex 22:19;23:13). The reason for this prohibition is given in the additions to the decalogue (Ex 20:5; Deut 5:9-10), namely that Yahweh is a ‘jealous God’. The same expression is used in Deut 4:24; 6:15; Jos 24:19 and it is always employed as a justification of the prohibition against worshipping other gods. Leaving aside the question as to when this theological explanation was explicitly formulated, we may say that together with the first commandment it represents a primitive and fundamental aspect of Yahwism. Yahweh was, in other words, an exclusive and jealous God.” (de Vaux 463)
            4. “It would not, however, be quite true to say that the struggle against the other gods began with Moses and in the earliest stages of Yahwism. There is no trace of any opposition to other gods in the whole of the book of Exodus apart from Ex 12:12: ‘I shall deal out punishment to all the gods of Egypt’, but this is a late text. The prophets were later to present the sojourn in the desert as a time of unbroken love between Israel and Yahweh (see Hos 2:17; 13:4-5; Amos 2:10-11; Jer 2:2). The concurrent and later tradition of rebellion and complaints in the desert does not mention other gods apart from Yahweh, nor does the story of the golden calf. The struggle against false gods did not, in fact, begin until after the Israelites had left the desert and had reached Peor (Num 25). According to Hosea, Israel became [463] unfaithful to Yahweh for the first time at Baal-peor, where the struggle against idolatry really began: ‘It was like finding grapes in the desert when I found Israel . . . but when they reached Baal-peor they devoted themselves to shame’ (Hos 9:10). As we shall see later, however, the incident at Baal-peor represents a situation that prevailed during the period of the Judges.” [See de Vaux, *History of Israel* 568-70.] (de Vaux 463-64)
   4. The religion of Israel was distinguished from all other religions in the Ancient Near East by this exclusiveness and this intolerance of all other gods. In the Near East generally, it was possible to regard one or other god as pre-eminent, but other deities were always worshipped at the same time.” (de Vaux 464)
   5. “Individual attempts were made from time to time on the initiative, for example, of Amen-hotep IV (Akh-en-Aten) in Egypt and Nabonidus in Mesopotamia, to unify worship, but they always ended in failure.” (de Vaux 464)
   6. “In contradistinction, Yahweh demanded that his people worship him alone and he even refused to have any goddess in association with him, as the great gods of the Near East had. This meant that Israel was prevented from having anything comparable to the mythology of the Ancient Near East.” (de Vaux 464)
   7. “This exclusiveness in cult, however, is not the same as monotheism or the affirmation of one God. It is, of course, possible to speak of a ‘practical’ monotheism or a ‘monolatry’, but in using such terms there is a danger of enclosing within a static definition an impulse which undoubtedly carries in itself the germ of future dynamic growth. It was on the basis of the first commandment that Israel’s religious experience and theological thought reached the point where they could be expressed as monotheism in the true sense of the word. Israel, in other words, came to realise that these other gods, who meant nothing to Israel, were equally impotent towards those who believed in them. It was then that the Israelites were able to deny their existence.” [See: Rowley, H. H. “Moses and Monotheism.” *From Moses to Qumran*. London: 1963, 35-63.—464 n. 38] (de Vaux 464)
3. **the prohibition of images**
   1. “Another characteristic of Yahwism which distinguishes it sharply from the other religions of the Ancient Near East is that it prohibited the use of images of God or of gods.” (de Vaux 464)
   2. “This prohibition is formulated in the second [464] commandment (Ex 20:4; Deut 5:8). It is also found, in different formulae, in the introduction to the Code of the Covenant (Ex 20:23), the ‘ritual’ decalogue (Ex 34:17), in the curses of Deut 28:15 and in the laws of holiness (Lev 19:4; 26:1). Some of these texts are very late and in them the prohibition against images is associated with the commandment not to worship foreign gods. They are not condemnations of all images as art forms, but condemnations of cultic images and above all of representations of the deity. There can be no valid reason for not attributing this prohibition to the period of Moses at least in its most simple form: ‘You shall not make yourself an image’. Images of foreign gods were not prohibited in this commandment, because this was the content of the first commandment and there was no need for it to be repeated or clarified here. What was forbidden in the second commandment was the making of images of Yahweh. The later texts, and those of the prophets, which also condemned—or condemned only—the making of images of other gods, belonged to periods when the absence of images in the worship of Yahweh was taken for granted or else at the peak of the struggle against foreign ‘idols’. What is more, it was images and representations of Yahweh himself that were prohibited in this commandment, not every image associated in one way or another with the cult of Yahweh. The prohibition did not, in other words, apply to the cherubs of the sanctuary at Shiloh and the temple of Jerusalem, since these were symbolic figures guarding and supporting the throne on which Yahweh was seated but invisible. It did not even apply to the golden calf in the desert or to Jeroboam’s calves, insofar as these were, in accordance with the purpose of those who made them, only the pedestal of the invisible deity. Despite individual transgressions, the most obvious of these being the idol of Micah (Judges 17), the cult of Yahweh was from the very beginning, and it always continued to be, a cult without images. This was something which constantly surprised the gentiles, who always filled the temples of their own gods with statues.” (de Vaux 464-65)
   3. “It is, however, not easy to discover the precise meaning of this prohibition against images. The homiletic commentary of Deut 4:9-20 explains it by reference to the theophany of Sinai, when the Israelites heard Yahweh’s voice speaking ‘from the midst of the fire’, but ‘saw no shape’, with the result that they were not to make any image of Yahweh. The commandment is in this way connected with a fact, but its religious meaning is not in any sense defined. Various interpretations have been suggested by modern authors, but they are generally speaking unsatisfactory. Above all, it is important not to look for a sign here of Yahweh’s spiritual nature, because the idea of ‘pure spirit’ meant nothing to the Israelites, who thought of their [465] God as being in the image of man. It was, after all, in a human form that he had always appeared to them (Ex 24:10-11; 33:21-23). It is paradoxical that he could be seen, but that he could not be represented.” (de Vaux 465-66)
   4. “It has also been suggested that man could obtain power over his god by enclosing him within an image that could be treated badly or deprived of offerings. It is true that it may have been a popular practice to identify a god with the statue of that god and this would certainly have given fuel to the prophets and sages of Israel in their polemics against idolatry. This popular conviction, however, was not in the true spirit of paganism, according to which the statue was not the god himself, but the place where he lived and the sign of his presence. If it was harmed or broken, this was a religious offence, but it did not touch the person of the god himself.” (de Vaux 466)
   5. “It is possible to find a more valid reason in the development of the second commandment. According to Ex 20:4 = Deut 5:8, it was forbidden to look for a likeness to Yahweh in anything that was ‘in heaven or on earth or in the waters’ and this is repeated in greater detail in Deut 4:16-19. In other words, there is nothing in the whole of nature that can be compared to Yahweh and nothing that can represent him. God made himself known to man through the revelation of his word and through his activity in the world. He revealed himself in this way as both near and far, but he remained both outside nature and a mystery to man. The prohibition against images was therefore the consequence of his transcendence and this was precisely the meaning of the name of Yahweh, by which he revealed himself.” (de Vaux 466)

### Gods that Merged into the Old Testament God

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| God of the father | ´El | Yahweh |
| warrior  localized  nomadic  intervenes in history  makes promises  patriarchs’ god | warrior  creator  cosmic (omnipotent, eternal)  supreme god  father/grandfather  white beard  interested in childbirth  has wife and children  king holding court  omniscient  judge  Canaanites’ god | warrior  aseity  cosmic (omnipotent, eternal)  transcendent  mysterious  elector of a people  associated with Sinai  Moses’ god |

\\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_/

\/

Old Testament God

## The God of Judaism

1. **He is awesome**.
   1. Exod 19-20 (volcano)
      1. Exod 19:1-19, 20:18-21, “. . . they came into the wilderness of Sinai [and] . . . 2 camped there in front of the mountain. . . . 16 On the morning of the third day there was thunder and lightning, as well as a thick cloud on the mountain, and a blast of a trumpet so loud that all the people who were in the camp trembled. . . . 18 Mount Sinai was wrapped in smoke, because the Lord had descended upon it in fire; the smoke went up like the smoke of a kiln, while the whole mountain shook violently. 19 As the blast of the trumpet grew louder and louder, Moses would speak and God would answer him in thunder. . . . 20:18 When all the people witnessed the thunder and lightning, the sound of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking, they were afraid and trembled and stood at a distance, 19 and said to Moses, “You speak to us, and we will listen; but do not let God speak to us, or we will die.” . . . 21 Then the people stood at a distance, while Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was.”
      2. Exod 19:21-24, “Then the Lord said to Moses, “Go down and warn the people not to break through to the Lord to look; otherwise many of them will perish.” . . . 23 Moses said to the Lord, “The people are not permitted to come up to Mount Sinai; for you yourself warned us, saying, ‘Set limits around the mountain and keep it holy.’” 24 The Lord said to him, “Go down, and come up bringing Aaron with you; but do not let either the priests or the people break through to come up to the Lord; otherwise he will break out against them.””
   2. Exod 33-34 (God’s back)
      1. Exod 33:18-23, “Moses said, “Show me your glory, I pray.” 19 And he said, “I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you the name, ‘The Lord’; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy. 20 But,” he said, “you cannot see my face; for no one shall see me and live.” 21 And the Lord continued, “See, there is a place by me where you shall stand on the rock; 22 and while my glory passes by I will put you in a cleft of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by; 23 then I will take away my hand, and you shall see my back; but my face shall not be seen.”
      2. Exod 34:6-8, “The Lord passed before him, and proclaimed, “The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, 7 keeping steadfast love for the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, yet by no means clearing the guilty, but visiting the iniquity of the parents upon the children and the children’s children, to the third and the fourth generation.” 8 And Moses quickly bowed his head toward the earth, and worshiped.”
   3. 1 Kgs 19:1-13 (sheer silence)
      1. 1 Kgs 19:1-13, Elijah “had killed all the prophets with the sword. . . . 3 Then he was afraid; he got up and fled for his life, and came . . . to Horeb the mount of God. [Horeb = Sinai] 9 At that place he came to a cave, and spent the night there. Then the word of the Lord came to him, saying, . . . 11 “Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord, for the Lord is about to pass by.”

Now there was a great wind, so strong that it was splitting mountains and breaking rocks in pieces before the Lord,

but the Lord was not in the wind;

and after the wind an earthquake,

but the Lord was not in the earthquake;

12 and after the earthquake a fire,

but the Lord was not in the fire;

and after the fire a sound [. . .] of sheer [. . .] silence.

13 When Elijah heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle . . .”

* 1. Isa 6:1-13
     1. Isa 6:1-13, “In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty; and the hem of his robe filled the temple. 2 Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew. 3 And one called to another and said: “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.” 4 The pivots on the thresholds shook at the voices of those who called, and the house filled with smoke.

5 And I said: “Woe is me! I am lost, for I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips; yet my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!” 6 Then one of the seraphs flew to me, holding a live coal that had been taken from the altar with a pair of tongs. 7 The seraph touched my mouth with it and said: “Now that this has touched your lips, your guilt has departed and your sin is blotted out.” 8 Then I heard the voice of the Lord saying, “Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?” And I said, “Here am I; send me!”

9 And he said, “Go and say to this people: ‘Keep listening, but do not comprehend; keep looking, but do not understand.’ 10 Make the mind of this people dull, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, so that they may not look with their eyes, and listen with their ears, and comprehend with their minds, and turn and be healed.” 11 Then I said, “How long, O Lord?” And he said: “Until cities lie waste without inhabitant, and houses without people, and the land is utterly desolate; 12 until the Lord sends everyone far away, and vast is the emptiness in the midst of the land. 13 Even if a tenth part remain in it, it will be burned again, like a terebinth or an oak whose stump remains standing when it is felled.” The holy seed is its stump.”

* 1. Hos 11:1-9
     1. “When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son. 2 The more I called them, the more they went from me; they kept sacrificing to the Baals, and offering incense to idols. 3 Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk, I took them up in my arms; but they did not know that I healed them. 4 I led them with cords of human kindness, with bands of love. I was to them like those who lift infants to their cheeks. I bent down to them and fed them.

5 They shall return to the land of Egypt, and Assyria shall be their king, because they have refused to return to me. 6 The sword rages in their cities, it consumes their oracle-priests, and devours because of their schemes. 7 My people are bent on turning away from me. To the Most High they call, but he does not raise them up at all.

8 How can I give you up, Ephraim? How can I hand you over, O Israel? How can I make you like Admah? How can I treat you like Zeboiim? My heart recoils within me; my compassion grows warm and tender. 9 I will not execute my fierce anger; I will not again destroy Ephraim; for I am God and no mortal, the Holy One in your midst, and I will not come in wrath.”

1. **He is like us** (**intellect and will**), **but not anthropomorphic**.
   1. Gen 1:26-28, “Then God said, “Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the wild animals of the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.” 27 So God created humankind in his image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. 28 God blessed the, and God said to them, “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.””
2. **He is compassionate**, **loving**.
   1. Exod 34:5-7 reb (Moses goes up Mount Sinai, and God comes down in a cloud), “He passed in front of Moses and proclaimed: ‘The Lord, the Lord, a God com­pas­sionate and gracious, long-suffering, ever faithful and true, 7 remaining faithful to thousands, forgiving iniquity, rebellion, and sin but without acquitting the guilty, one who punishes children and grandchildren to the third and fourth generation for the iniquity of their fathers!’”
   2. Matt 5:43-45, Luke 6:36, “You have heard that it was said, ‘You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.’ 44 reb But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, 45 reb so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous. . . . [Luke 6:36,] 36 reb Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful.”
   3. Matt 7:7-11, “Ask, and it will be given you; search, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened for you. 8 For everyone who asks receives, and everyone who searches finds, and for everyone who knocks, the door will be opened. 9 Is there anyone among you who, if your child asks for bread, will give a stone? 10 Or if the child asks for a fish, will give a snake? 11 If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father in heaven give good things to those who ask him!”
   4. Sir 18:13-14, “The compassion of human beings is for their neighbors, but the compassion of the Lord is for every living thing. He rebukes and trains and teaches them, and turns them back, as a shepherd his flock. 14 He has com­pas­sion on those who accept his discipline and who are eager for his precepts.”
   5. 1 John 4:8, “Whoever does not love does not know God, for God is love.”
   6. 1 John 4:16, “So we have known and believe the love that God has for us. God is love, and those who abide in love abide in God, and God abides in them.”

## Major Events in Old Testament History

**4004 — creation**

The Old Testament (OT) does not give a date for creation, but in ad 1650 Archbishop James Ussher determined that, according to OT chron­ological referen­ces, it must have occurred in 4004 bc (October 23 at 9 a.m., in fact!). The universe actually began about 15 billion years ago, but the 4004 date does help us see that to the ancient Jews, creation was not so far in the past as we now think. The first 11 chapters of Genesis (called the “primitive his­tory”) relate events from creation to Abraham; these events include the creation of the world, the fall in the Garden of Eden, Cain and Abel, Noah, and the tower of Babel.

**1850 — Abraham**

Abraham (Gen 12-25) probably lived c. 1850 bc (“c.” stands for “*circa*,” Latin for “approxi­mately”). God made a covenant (an “agree­ment” or “treaty”) with Abraham (Gen 12) in which God promised that (1) Abra­ham’s descendants will be numerous, (2) they will dwell in Pales­tine, the “Holy Land,” and (3) all nations of the earth will be blessed through him. Abra­ham’s sons were Ishmael and Isaac (Gen 21-26); Isaac’s sons were Esau and Jacob (Gen 25-36); and Jacob’s 12 sons were the forefathers of the 12 tribes of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin. One of these forefathers, Joseph, became the right-hand man of the Pharaoh in Egypt; when a famine struck the Middle East, Joseph’s relatives, the Israelites, moved to Egypt where Joseph could feed them.

**1250 — exodus**

Over the centuries the Israelites grew in number in Egypt; they were seen as a threat and enslaved, but God used Moses to send 10 plagues on the Egyptians, so the pharaoh allowed them to leave (the exodus, Exod 1-14). Moses led the Israelites through the wilderness (the first half of the “wilderness wanderings,” Exod 15-18) to Mount Sinai, where he received 613 laws, many of which he immediately told the Israelites (Exod 20-Num 10). Afterward he led the Israelites through the wilderness (the second half of the “wilderness wanderings,” Num 11-36) to the east bank of the Jordan river; there he delivered the remainder of the 613 laws to the Israelites (Deut 1-33), just before he died (Deut 34).

**1220 — conquest**

Joshua then became leader. He and the Israelites conquered the Canaanites (Josh 1-11), and divided up the land—formerly “Canaan,” now “Israel”—into twelve plots, one for each tribe (Josh 12-24). (Since members of the Levi tribe were priests and lived throughout the tribes, they received no land; but the Joseph tribe split into Manasseh and Eph­raim, so there still remained twelve tribes).

**1220-1020 — judges**

The conquest ushered in the period of the “judges.” These judges, though they did settle legal disputes, primarily functioned as charismatic, military leaders. Whenever one of the surround­ing nations—Phoeni­cia, Aram, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Philistia—would attack one of the tribes, the other tribes would send their young men to that tribe to form an ad hoc army; then the army would accept someone charismatic to be their general. After the Israelite army would fend off the attacking nation, the leader would continue as judge of all the tribes until his death. The book of Judges records the deeds of twelve judges (Judg 1-21, 1 Sam 1-7).

**1020 — Saul**

Finally, the tribes decided to form a centralized government so that they would be less suscepti­ble to attack. The first king was Saul (1 Sam 8-21); he consolidated the tribes into a single nation.

**1000 — David**

The second king, the most glorious Israel ever had, was David (2 Sam 1-1 Kgs 2). He established the capital at Jerusalem (until then, a Canaanite village in the mountains of Judah); he built a palace; and he intended to build a temple, but God instructed him to let his successor build it.

**960 — first temple**

Solomon, David’s son (1 Kgs 3-11), built the first temple; it was dedicated in 960 bc. He was a wise and good king; under him Israel experienced a cultural flowering.

**922 — division of the kingdoms**

But Solomon’s son, Rehoboam, was a bad king who failed to take care of tribes other than his own, Judah. So the northern 10 tribes rebelled against the central government (Simeon, the eleventh tribe, was surrounded by Judah and unable to rebel); they quickly won the civil war (1 Kgs 12-16). Consequently, there were now two kingdoms: Israel in the north, and Judah in the south (Simeon became part of Judah).

**721 — Assyrian exile**

During the 800s and 700s, Assyria waxed powerful; it soon conquered Babylonia (Assyria and Babylonia form present-day Iraq) Asia Minor (northwest of Israel: present-day Turkey), and Phoenicia (north of Israel: present-day Lebanon). In 721, Assyria conquered the kingdom of Israel (2 Kgs 15-19). Most of the population was de­ported else­where and thus became “the lost ten tribes of Israel”; those that remained became the Samari­tans, whose religion was considered deviant by the Jews of the southern king­dom.

**587 — Babylonian exile**

During the 600s, Assyria waned as Babylonia waxed in power; in 612, Babylonia conquered the Assyrian capital, Nineveh. In 587 bc, the Babylonians defeated the kingdom of Judah and carried off its nobility and scribes to the capital of the empire, Babylon (2 Kgs 23-25).

**539 — restoration**

The Persians, however, in 539 conquered Babylonia; and when King Cyrus of Persia discovered the Jewish exiles living in Babylon, he put forth an edict granting them permission to return to Jerusa­lem (Ezra 1), a return called “the restoration.”

**518 — second temple**

The first thing that the Jews did after their return was to rebuild the temple (Ezra 3-6); it was rededicated in 518. Though little more than a “log cabin” to begin with, it was renovated over the centuries until, by the time Jesus “cleansed” it in ad 30, it was more magnificent than Sol­o­mon’s had been. (The Romans destroyed the second temple in ad 70, and no third temple has ever been erected; pres­ently there stands on Mount Zion an Islamic mosque, called “the Dome of the Rock.”)

**332 — Greek domination**

The Jews lived peaceably under the Persians for almost two hundred years, but in 332 Alexander the Great, on his way to take over most of the then-known world, conquered Judah. Judah lived under Greek domina­tion for about a century and a half (1 Macc 1).

**165 — Maccabean kingdom**

The Jews lived peaceably under the Greeks until in 170 there arose a ruler, Antiochus IV Epi­phanes, who believed he was Zeus (he was probably insane). He demanded that all of his subjects wor­ship the Greek gods and goddesses, including himself. In 167 the Jews rebelled and formed a guerrilla army under the leader, Judas Maccabeus (“Maccabeus” means “the hammer”); and, surprisingly, the guerrillas expelled the much larger Greek army. In 165 (for the first time since 587), Israel became independent, with Judas Maccabeus as king. That same year he rededicated the temple (which the Greeks had deliberately profaned), proclaiming that thereafter all Jews were to celebrate that rededication every year; and that is the origin of the Jewish feast of Hanukkah (1-2 Maccabees).

**63 — Roman domination**

The Jews lived independently for about a hundred years, but in 63 bc the Roman general Pompey conquered Judah and made it a Roman province (“Judea,” Latin for “Judah”). That is why in the gospels the background of Jesus’ public ministry (c. ad 27-30) is the Roman Empire, referring to such persons as Caesar Augustus, Pontius Pilate, etc.

## The Books of the Old Testament

## in Canonical Order

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **LEGAL & HISTORICAL BOOKS**  **Pentateuch**  Genesis Gen  Exodus Exod  Leviticus Lev  Numbers Num  Deuteronomy Deut  **Deuteronomistic History**  Joshua Josh  Judges Judg  Ruth Ruth  1 Samuel 1 Sam  2 Samuel 2 Sam  1 Kings 1 Kgs  2 Kings 2 Kgs  **Chronicler**’**s History**  1 Chronicles 1 Chr  2 Chronicles 2 Chr  Ezra Ezra  Nehemiah Neh  **Three Stories**  Tobit\* Tob  Judith\* Jdt  Esther Esth  **Maccabean History**  1 Maccabees\* 1 Macc  2 Maccabees\* 2 Macc | **WISDOM LITERATURE**  Job Job  Psalms Pss  Proverbs Prov  Qoheleth Qoh  [= Ecclesiastes] Eccl  Song of Songs Cant  Wisdom\* Wis  Sirach\* Sir  [= Ecclesiasticus] Ecclus  **PROPHETIC BOOKS**  **Major Prophets**  Isaiah Isa  Jeremiah Jer  Lamentations Lam  Baruch\* Bar  Ezekiel Ezek  Daniel Dan  **Minor Prophets**  Hosea Hos  Joel Joel  Amos Amos  Obadiah Obad  Jonah Jonah  Micah Mic  Nahum Nah  Habakkuk Hab  Zephaniah Zeph  Haggai Hag  Zechariah Zech  Malachi Mal |

\* Books in the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Old Testament but not in the Pro­testant Old Testament.

## Development of the Old Testament Canon

(“Canon”: list or set of authoritative religious books.)

**1000-50 bc**: The Old Testament (hereafter “OT”) books are written.

**c. 200 bc**: Rabbis translate the OT from Hebrew to Greek, a trans­la­tion called the “Septuagint” (abbreviation: “LXX”). The LXX ultimately includes 46 books (in the Eastern Roman Empire: 48 books).

**ad 30-100**: Christians use the LXX as their scriptures. This upsets the Jews.

**c. ad 100**: So Jewish rabbis meet at the Council of Jamniah and decide to in­clude in their canon only 39 books, since only these can be found in Hebrew.

**c. ad 400**: Jerome translates the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Latin (called the “Vulgate”). He knows that the Jews have only 39 books, and he wants to limit the OT to these; the 7 he would leave out (Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach [or “Ecclesi­asticus”], and Bar­uch) he calls “apo­crypha,” that is, “hidden books.” But Pope Damasus wants all 46 traditionally-used books included in the OT, so the Vulgate has 46.

**ad 1536**: Luther translates the Bible from Hebrew and Greek to German. He assumes that, since Jews wrote the Old Testament, theirs is the correct canon; he puts the extra 7 books in an appendix that he calls the “Apocry­pha.”

**ad 1546**: The Catholic Church at the Council of Trent reaffirms the canonicity of all 46 books. Today, Catholics (981 million, 61% of Christians) and Orthodox (218 mil­lion, 13.6%) include the extra 7 books (the Orthodox also include 1 Esdras and 3 Maccabees), while Protestants (404 mil­lion, 25%) have 39. (Population figures are for 1996, from the *1997 Britannica Book of the Year*.)

## Development of the New Testament Canon

**c. ad 51-125**: The New Testament books are written. (During this same per­iod other early Christian writings are produced—for example, *1 Clement* [c. ad 96], the *Didache* [c. 100], the *Epistle of Barnabas* [c. 100], and the 7 letters of Ignatius of Antioch [c. 110]). These works also are basically or­thodox in their teachings, but they are not in the NT probably because it never became tra­di­tion in the Church to use them in public worship.

**c. ad 140**: Marcion, a businessman in Rome, teaches that there were two Gods: Yahweh, the cruel God of the OT, and Abba, the kind God of the NT. So Mar­cion eliminates the OT altogether and creates a Christian collection containing ⅔ of Luke’s gospel (since he is anti-Sem­i­tic, he deletes references to Jesus’ Jewishness) and 10 letters of Paul. Marcion’s “New Tes­ta­ment”—­the first ever compiled—forces the Catholic Church to decide on a core canon: the four gospels and the letters of Paul.

**c. ad 200**: But the perimeter of the canon is not yet determined. According to one list, compiled at Rome c. ad 200 (the *Muratorian Canon*), the NT consists of the 4 gospels, Acts, 13 letters of Paul, 3 of the 7 general epistles (1-2 John and Jude), the Wisdom of Solomon, and the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Hebrews, James, 1 Peter, 3 John, 2 Peter, and Revelation are not included.

**ad 367**: The earliest extant list of the books of the NT, in exactly the number and order in which we presently have them, is written by Athanasius, Bishop of Alex­an­dria, in his Easter letter of 367.

**ad 404**: Pope Damasus in a letter lists the NT books in their present number and order.

**ad 1442**: At the Council of Florence, all the bishops of the entire Church recognize the 27 books but do not explicitly declare the list to be unalterable.

**ad 1536**: In his translation of the Bible, Luther re­moves 4 NT books (Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation) from their normal order and places them at the end, stating that they are less than canonical. But soon the Lutherans return to custom, and the books are back in place.

**ad 1546**: The Council of Trent affirms once and for all the full list of 27 books, as traditionally accepted.

## Major Jewish Festivals

The three major pilgrimage feasts are in bold.

(In OT times, Booths was the most important of the three.)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| English name | Jewish name | date | theme |
| Purim | *purim* | 14-15 Adar  (February-March) | Mardi Gras, carnival (13 Adar was a fast day); masks, drinking; reading of Esther |
|  | | | |
| **Passover**, | *pesach* | 14 Nisan  (March-April) | a semi-nomadic sacrifice for flock fertility; later, celebration of the exodus |
| **Unleavened Bread** | *hag ha-matzot* | 15-21 Nisan | beginning of the barley harvest; later, celebration of the exodus |
|  | | | |
| **Feast of Weeks**  (Pentecost) | *shavuot* | early Siwan (May-June), 50 days after 15 Nisan | the wheat harvest; later, celebration of creation and Sinai (the 10 command­ments) |
|  | | | |
| New Year’s | *rosh hashanah* | 1 Tishri (September-October) | repentance (a ram’s horn, the *shofar*, is blown); *rosh hashan­ah* is not in the OT, but it existed by NT times |
|  | | | |
| Day of Atonement | *yom kippur* | 10 Tishri | repentance (*shofar* is blown); *yom kippur* arose in post-exilic times |
|  | | | |
| **Feast of Booths** | *sukkot* | 15-21 Tishri | wine and oil harvests; later, celebration of wilderness wanderings; like Thanksgiving |
|  | | | |
| Eighth Day of Assembly | *shemini atzeret* | 22 Tishri | prayers for rain and the deceased |
|  | | | |
| Rejoicing in the Law | *simhat torah* | 23 Tishri | Torah (ad 900s) |
|  | | | |
| Hanukkah (Feast of Lights) | *hanukkah* | 8 days, 25 Kislev on (early December) | rededication of temple, ad 165; an additional light is lit each day |

## Spiritual Leaders in the Old Testament

1. **Jer 18:18**: “the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet.”
2. **priest** (*kohen*)
   1. Originally the priest supervised the cult. Later, he “filled many functions: guarding the sanctuary; teaching; offering oracles; supervis­ing ordeals; and conducting all the sacerdotal rites related to the offering of sacrifices, including slaughtering and dividing the animal, burning incense, applying perfumes, and sprinkling blood.” (Sigal 26)
   2. In post-exilic Judaism, “He was obliged to engage in fre­quent purifica­tions, and his freedom of marriage was cur­tailed.” (Sigal 26)
3. **prophet** (*nabi*)
   1. A *nabi* “was a “prophet” in the pristine sense of the Greek word *prophe­tes*, “one who speaks forth” . . .” (Sigal 26)
   2. Prophets forewarned of a coming “Day of the Lord,” [26] which “became identified with a messiah figure and as the messianic era.” [27] “. . . out of this early preaching of an eschaton, an end-time, came two significant theological elements. The first was the theme of apoca­lypse, the second the doctrine of resurrection. . . . contrary to much scholarship on the subject, I concur with the scholarly opinion that the idea of resurrection was present in Israelite-Judean religion [e.g., Hos 6:2].” (Sigal 26-28)
   3. The prophets had “a social passion to correct the wrongs . . . that afflict society. . . . The[y] denounce idolatry as adultery and attack ritualistic hypocrisy, moral deception, and pietistic perversity. They are opposed to . . . conspicuous consumption, wasteful luxury of the rich, oppression of the poor, judicial corruption, avarice, and flamboyant reveling and lust.” (Sigal 27)
   4. “The classical preachers opposed the kings [and] were opposed to the prophets who served both king and priest. . . . The classical pro­phets were [27] virtually leaders of alternative teaching and wor­ship centers that coexisted with the central priestly-sacrificial cult in Jerusalem.” (Sigal 27-28)
4. **sage** (*hakam*)
   1. “Sage” (*hakam*) is synonymous with “elder” (*zaqen*) and “scribe” (*sopher*). (Sigal 29)
   2. Jeremiah was defended by certain “elders” (Jer 26:17, 24). Here we see that the prophets “spoke for others as well.” (Sigal 29)
   3. The elders (*zeqenim*) in Jer 26 were “leaders of government and opinion who dis­sented from conventional policy. Among these elders were *sopherim,* or “scribes,” a class of scholastics who were government functionaries, experts on [29] texts and repositories of tradition.” (Sigal 29-30)
5. **rabbi**
   1. The rabbi “superseded all three biblical figures: priest, prophet, and sage.” (Sigal 26)
   2. “Their [the prophets’] charismatic, independent leadership was trans­formed into the meritocracy of the rabbinate which superseded the priestly aristocracy.” (Sigal 29)
   3. In “preaching prophets and court scribes we have the germ of the later rabbinate, and in the persistence of local shrines and prayer gatherings the embryo of the synagogue movement.” (Sigal 31)

## Sects in Judaism Jesus’ Day

1. **aristocracy**
   1. In Maccabean times (c. 165-37 bc), there were two groups:
      1. a secular aristocracy (it lived off agricultural holdings and high administrative posts; these are the “masters” and absentee landlords of the parables)
      2. *priestly* families (these controlled the temple and the temple treasury, which was the national bank) (Perkins 24)
2. **Sadducees**
   1. The Hasmonean monarchs (c. 165-37 bc) became a new, wealthy aristocracy, supported by the Sadducees. (Perkins 28)
   2. The first reference to the Sadducees is from King Hyrcanus’ time (135-105 bc), but “they probably included survivors of older aristocratic families.” (Perkins 28)
   3. They controlled the temple. (Perkins 30)
   4. They rejected the Pharisees’ oral Law and resurrection. (Perkins 29)
      1. Matt 22:23-33, “The same day some Sadducees came to him, saying there is no resurrection; and they asked him a question, saying, 24“Teacher, Moses said, ‘If a man dies childless, his brother shall marry the widow, and raise up children for his brother.’ 25Now there were seven brothers among us; the first married, and died childless, leaving the widow to his brother. 26The second did the same, so also the third, down to the seventh. 27Last of all, the woman herself died. 28In the resurrection, then, whose wife of the seven will she be? For all of them had married her.” 29Jesus answered them, “You are wrong, because you know neither the scriptures nor the power of God. 30For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven. 31And as for the resurrection of the dead, have you not read what was said to you by God, 32‘I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob’? He is God not of the dead, but of the living.” 33And when the crowd heard it, they were astounded at his teaching.”
3. **scribes**
   1. These were interpreters of the Law (Torah).
   2. They applied the Law to every detail of life. (Perkins 24)
4. **Pharisees**
   1. These were an offshoot of the scribe movement. (Perkins 24)
   2. They were an offshoot of “the Pious.” (Perkins 29)
   3. They were a populist movement. (Perkins 29)
   4. They were called “separated ones” by opponents because they avoided Gentiles and sinners. (Perkins 29)
   5. They were religious liberals: they believed that God gave Moses an oral as well as the written Law. (Perkins 29)
      1. *TB* *Grittin* 60B: “The torah was given to Moses chiefly in writing, a small portion in oral form.” (Qtd. in Perkins 48)
      2. Shekalim 6.1: “the Torah has many details of oral law affecting commandments of the written law.” (Qtd. in Perkins 48)
   6. They control the synagogues. (Perkins 30)
5. **Essenes**
   1. The Essenes were founded by the “Teacher of Righteousness,” who also founded the religious community at Qumran (not all members of the sect lived in the community). (Perkins 29).
   2. Essenes disapprove of the Pharisees, calling them “interpreters of smooth things.” (Perkins 29)
   3. basic beliefs
      1. The Jerusalem temple cult has been corrupted. (Perkins 28)
      2. Only the Essenes are heirs to the covenant and God’s promises; the rest of the Jews have lost out. (Perkins 51)
      3. One must observe the Law in strict purity. (Perkins 29 )
      4. God gave the Teacher of Righteousness the true interpretation of the Law. (Compare the Pharisees’ interpretation of the Law by means of an oral Law.) (Perkins 48)
      5. Three individuals—a prophet, a priestly messiah, and a royal messiah—will usher in the messianic age. (Perkins 29)
      6. Since John the Baptist also announced repentance, baptism for sin, and judgment, some have thought John was an Essene. But John baptized non-Essenes as well, who then returned home. (Perkins 42)
6. **Mandaeans**
   1. Mandaeans claim to have been founded by John the Baptist.
   2. “Mandaeans” is a later term applied to the baptismal sect.
   3. The group may go back to the first century ad. John the Baptist had disciples who considered John superior to Jesus.
      1. John 1:35-37, “The next day John again was standing with two of his disciples, 36and as he watched Jesus walk by, he exclaimed, “Look, here is the Lamb of God!” 37The two disciples heard him say this, and they followed Jesus.”
      2. Acts 19:1-7, “While Apollos was in Corinth, Paul passed through the interior regions and came to Ephesus, where he found some disciples. 2He said to them, “Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you became believers?” They replied, “No, we have not even heard that there is a Holy Spirit.” 3Then he said, “Into what then were you baptized?” They answered, “Into John’s baptism.” 4Paul said, “John baptized with the baptism of repentance, telling the people to believe in the one who was to come after him, that is, in Jesus.” 5On hearing this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. 6When Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke in tongues and prophesied—7altogether there were about twelve of them.”
   4. The Mandaeans still exist today.
7. **apocalyptists**
   1. “Apocalyptic” is “new revelations about the continuing course of history and the end of the world. . . . [Apocalyptic assumes that] evil is so radically embedded in the present age . . . that it cannot be eradicated by human effort. . . . God himself will intervene . . .” (Perkins 38)
   2. examples
      1. Isa 58:1-12, 59:1-20, 63:7-64:11: Israel’s disregard of the Law has caused its suffering; but God will vindicate Israel within socio-political history (thus also Psalms of Solomon 17). (Perkins 39-40)
      2. Zech 9-14: the day of Yahweh will be a terrible war. (Perkins 38)
      3. Daniel 7-8: foreign nations have become terrible beasts. (Perkins 39)
      4. *Assumption of Moses* 10: all creation will be destroyed at the judgment; the good (saved) are Israel, the bad (lost) are Gentiles. (Perkins 39-40)
      5. *Manual of Discipline* (the Essenes’ community rule) [41]: Israel itself will be purged; humanity consists of sect members (“sons of light”) and all others (“sons of darkness,” under Satan). (Perkins 41-42)
8. **Zealots**
   1. When Judea became a province in ad 6, Quirinius (Luke 2:2), the Syrian legate, ordered a census. Judas the Galilean led a resistance to it, but probably only a sporadic resistance. (Perkins 32)
   2. The first evidence for an organized zealot movement is in the ad 60s, just before the First Jewish War (ad 66-73). (Perkins 33)
      1. The first evidence is in Judea, not Galilee. That is an argument against Judas the Galilean being a zealot, and therefore against Jesus being a zealot. (Perkins 33)
   3. The *sicarii*, a ruthless segment of zealots, assassinated prominent collaborators with Rome (e.g., the high priest Jonathan). (Perkins 35)
9. **peasants** (‛*am ha-aretz*)
   1. These were the lower classes: farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, some merchants. (Perkins 24-25)
   2. In the New Testament, all but the peasants are “outsiders.” (Perkins 25)

## Judaism in the Medieval and Modern Periods

1. **introduction**: c. ad 600-1000 (p. 110: 600-1000; p. 116: 600-1300)
   1. The *geonim* produce “responsa literature.” (Sigal 110)
   2. Babylonia (especially Sura) is center of authority. (Sigal 112, 114)
2. **Karaism**
   1. Karaism (from *qara*, “Scripture”) arose c. 770. (Sigal 115)
   2. characteristics
      1. rejected non-scriptural authority; hence rejected:
      2. the Talmud and the *geonim*
      3. laws about mixing meat and dairy
      4. tefillin, mezuzah, etc.
      5. *hanukkah* and *purim*
      6. mystical ideas and angelology/demonology (Sigal 116-117)
      7. messianic zeal (Sigal 116)
      8. more ascetic than rabbinism (Sigal 116, 119)
      9. instituted 10 as a prayer quorum, tefillin (Sigal 119)
   3. Though big in the Ottoman Empire, Karaism declined in the 1500s. (Sigal 118)
3. **Jewish life in medieval Europe**
   1. in general
      1. “. . . in all of medieval Europe, Jews were not citizens of the countries in which they resided . . .” (Sigal 120)
      2. centers of authority
         1. Spain became more authoritative as a center of Judaism than Bab­y­lonia and North Africa c. the 900s-1000s ad. (Sigal 123)
         2. France became more authoritative than Spain in the 1000s-1100s. (Sigal 130)
         3. Germany became more authoritative than France in the 1100s-1200s. (Sigal \*)
         4. “There is his­tor­i­cal coincidence in the drying up of the stream of responsa from Bab­y­lon­ia and the beginning of a great flow from Spain, France, and Ger­many.” (Sigal 125)
   2. England
      1. Originating in England c. 1144, the blood libel alleged that Jews killed Christian children at Easter time either in order to reenact the cru­ci­fixion or to use the child’s blood in their Passover observance . . .” (Sigal 120)
      2. Jews were expelled from England in 1290. “Judaism did not begin to flourish again in England until the eighteenth century.” (Sigal 120)
   3. Spain
      1. “. . . the “Golden Age” of Judaism in Spain [was] from 1200 to 1490.” (Sigal 123)
      2. *marranos*
         1. In summer, 1391 (and through the 1400s), thousands of Jews in Aragon and Castile were forced to convert to Christianity. They “lived their outward lives as Chris­tians, attending church and taking the sacraments, but in their private, secret lives, they lived as Jews. As time passed, suc­ceed­ing generations . . . continued to observe certain rudimentary rit­u­als, even if often incorrectly.” [125] They were called *marranos*, (uncertain: either “pig” or “sheep”). (Sigal 125-126)
         2. A special anti-Jewish drive began in the late 1400s. (Sigal 126)
            1. The Inquisition began investigating the *marranos* in 1480. “The sentence of heresy, which required burning at the stake unless the heretic recanted, was known as the *auto de fe* (*au­to-da-fé* in Portugal).” [126] But the Inquisition was aimed at *marranos*, not at Jews. (Sigal 126-127)
            2. Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, on the other hand, wanted to con­fis­cate Jewish wealth. (Sigal 126-127)
         3. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. (Sigal 127)
   4. France
      1. Rashi (d. 1105) of NE France wrote “what became the classic com­men­tary on Bible and Talmud . . .” 128 In present Orthodox elementary schools, children study Rashi after the Torah and the Targum. (Sigal 129)
      2. Rashi’s descendants became the Tosafists, compilers of the Tosafot (supplements), “a commentary on the Talmud, largely the work of German scholars.” [130] They influenced Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg and Joseph Karo. (Sigal 130-?)
      3. the decline of Judaism in France
         1. In 1182, Philip II expelled Jews from his realms (around Paris), be­­cause of the blood libel and because “Jews seized church ves­sels as surety for loans and possessed hugh real estate holdings in Paris. Although Jews were recalled in 11982??, French Judaism was never again the same.” (Sigal 134)
         2. The campaign of Louis IX (“the Saint”) “a­gainst Jewish usury as oppression of Christians destroyed the econ­omic base of French Jews.” (Sigal 137)
         3. An assault on Jewish religious works “was being made in western Europe in the thirteenth century, highlighted by the famous burning of the Talmud in Paris in 1242.” (Sigal 137)
   5. Germany
      1. Rabbi Gershom (d. 1028)
         1. Gershom caused three major changes in Judaism.
            1. Christianity is not to be classed as *abodah zarah* (idolatry). (Sigal 131)
            2. Polygamy is no longer permissible. (Sigal 131)
            3. Wives cannot be divorced without their consent. (Sigal 131)
         2. Gershom also tried to change the basis of halakic decision-making to councils (i.e., a majority decision at a council would have to be fol­lowed by all). But he failed, and halakic deci­sion-making con­tin­ued to be determined “by the scholarly conclu­sion of a spe­cialist whose authority was accepted within a given area. . . . In­div­id­u­al­is­tic authroity and a form of congregational­ism . . . have remained es­sentially the Judaic religious pattern among all de­nom­in­a­tions.” (Sigal 131)
      2. Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg (d. 1293)
         1. Meir stressed the authority of the *geonim*, Maimonides, and the Tosafists, and he specialized in “the minutiae of ritual ob­ser­vance.” (Sigal 132)
      3. There was an unprecedented pogrom of Jews in Germany in 1336-1337 and after the Black Death of 1348-1349. “. . . with the banishment of the Jews of Rothenburg in 1520, Jewish learning and spiritual life in Germany effectively ended.” (Sigal 132)
      4. “In August 1536, Elector John Frederick [of Saxony] issued a decree in which he banished all Jews from his territories and forbade Jews to pass through them. By itself there was nothing unusual about this decree . . . The elector was doing no more than following political custom of the time. . . . Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had banished Jews from their territories in 1492, more than forty years earlier. The 15th and 16th centuries in Europe featured a wave of banishments whose effect was to move an immense Jewish population far to the east, to Poland and Russia. Scholars still speculate about the attitudes and convictions that led to this outburst of anti-Jewish sentiment. One thing is certain: such views were widespread. Shakespeare’s Shylock with his pound of flesh in *The Merchant of Venice* was an all-too-common caricature.” (Kittelson 273)
      5. “Out of [German Judaism] was born mysticism, the kabalist movement, and the detailed ritualism which were passed on to Poland, Li­thu­ania, Galicia, Hungary, and Russia.” (Sigal 133)
   6. Jewish-Christian relations
      1. Canon law (from Gregory the Great, d. 604) protected Jewish rights to live in Christian countries and freely practice their religion; they were not to be subject to unjust attacks or forced conversion. (Sigal 133)
      2. Jews were persecuted by knights of the first crusade at Rouen in 1096. But Bernard of Clairvaux, during the second crusade, preached against harming Jews. 134 Rhineland Jews suffered most, in the first, second, and third crusades. (Sigal 135-136)
      3. Innocent III “emphasized that the need to subordinate Judaism to Christianity validated laws suppressing Jews in their socioeconomic and political status.” [138] Thus, Frederick II of Germany in 1236 excluded all Jews from public office. [139] “Laws that subjected Jews to a variety of socioeconomic and political disabilities go back to the fourth century . . .” [139] Innocent’s position was canonized at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. [138] (Sigal 138-139)
      4. Reacting to the Renaissance and Reformation [141], Paul IV in 1555 instituted the ghetto. Previously, Jews had lived in self-contained neighborhoods “voluntarily for religious convenience (walking distance to a synagogue, *kasher* food, and life-cycle celebrations with family and friends).” (Sigal 141-142)
      5. Medieval Christians “were as yet incapable of discovering a for­mat of dialogue with Jews that transcended the concept of de­bate.” [139] Capital punishment was the prescribed fate for any Jew who converted a Christian, and one never knew when this law might be invoked. (Sigal 143)
4. **modern divisions in Judaism**
   1. **Reform Judaism**
      1. “Israel Jacobson founded a modern nonsectarian school in Seesen in 1801, where Christians taught secular subjects and Jews taught Judaic subjects. He also formed a small chapel, which he called a temple, in order to inaugurate reforms that could not be effected in the community synagogue. He abbreviated the liturgy and introduced hymnal singing and a regular sermon. In 1808, he installed an organ and a mixed male and female choir. He repeated these activities in Cassel, where in 1810 he introduced the rite of confirmation. It was confirma­tion, carried out in the form of a Protestant rite, even including a catechectical public examination of the confirmand, that evoked the strongest protest from traditionalists.” (Sigal 198)
      2. “In 1818, Eduard Kley established a Reform temple in Hamburg where prayers for redemption were reformulated to include not only Jews but all humanity . . . Confirmation was introduced in Hamburg for girls as well as boys . . .” (Sigal 198)
      3. “With these basic changes one might say Reform Judaism was formally inaugu­rated.” (Sigal 198)
   2. **Conservative Judaism**
      1. There was a “massive influx of traditionalist east European Jews into North America between 1880 and 1914 . . . Reform’s renuncia­tion of the binding authority of halakah, Jewish nationhood, and certain aspects of the afterlife all made a withdrawal from the Reform movement . . . inevitable in America after 1885.” (Sigal 218)
      2. The Jewish Theological Seminary (founded in 1887) became the center of the reaction. While Conservative Jews have organs, mixed choirs and pews, and use English, they still cover their heads, obey dietary laws, pray for an “eschatological nationhood for the Jewish people in Pales­tine,” practice many family and synagogue rituals, and try to maintain daily morning public worship. (218-220)
   3. **Orthodox Judaism**: they have “a fundamentalist approach to the Talmud and to later halakic computations, centering a nearly absolute authority in the *Shulkan Aruk* . . .” [206] For example: using electricity or driving to synagogue on the Sabbath are still forbidden. [220] (Sigal 206, 220)
   4. **Hasidism** (“Ultra-Orthodox types,” 221)
      1. Founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov (the “Besht,” d.??is “d.” correct? it became a Greek letter when the file was converted 1760). Elijah appeared at his birth, and his life was full of miracles. (Sigal 208)
      2. The Besht was a panentheist. Unlike pantheism, which holds that the universe is God, “Panen­theism holds that all things are in God, but that God is more than all things.” The Besht held that evil was part of God also. (Sigal 209)
      3. He rejected “asceticism and stressed the need for exuberant singing and dancing and losing oneself in prayer.” (Sigal 209)
      4. The Besht’s disciples were called *rebbes* and “became virtual objects of a charismatic personality cult . . . Great differences obtained and continue to exist among various *rebbes* in scholarship, mode of prayer, emphasis upon miracles, faith healing, the use of amulets, etc.” (Sigal 210)

## The Mishnah: An Excerpt

*The Mishnah*: *A New Translation*. Trans. Jacob Neusner. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988. 194-95.

**12:3** A. He who writes two letters,

B. whether with his right hand or with his left,

C. whether the same letter or two different letters,

D. whether with different pigments,

E. in any alphabet,

F. is liable.

G. Said R. Yose, “They imposed liability [on one who writes] two letters only because of making a mark.

H. “For so did they write [make a mark] on the boards of the tabernacle, to determine which belonged with which.”

I. Said Rabbi, “We find that a short name comes from a long name, Shem from Shimeon or from Shemuel, Noah from Nahor, Dan from Daniel, Gad from Gadiel.”

**12:4** A. He who writes two letters during a single spell of inadvertence is liable.

B. [If] he wrote with (1) ink, (2) caustic, (3) red dye, (4) gum, or (5) copperas,

C. or with anything which leaves a mark,

D. on two walls forming a corner, or on two leaves of a tablet, which are read with one another,

E. he is liable.

F e who writes on his flesh is liable.

G. He who scratches a mark on his flesh—

H. R. Eliezer declares him liable to a sin offering.

I. And R. Joshua declares him exempt.

**12:5** A. [If] one wrote with (1) fluids [blood, water, milk, honey, etc., as at M. Makh. 6:41, (2) fruit juice, (3) dirt from the street, (4) writer’s sand,

B. or with anything which does not leave a lasting mark,

C. he is exempt.

D. (1) [If he wrote] with the back of his hand, with his foot, mouth, or elbow,

E. (2) [if] he wrote one letter alongside a letter already written,

F. (3) [if] he wrote a letter on top of a letter [already written],

G. (4) [if] he intended to write a *het* and wrote two *zayins,*

H. (5) [if he wrote] one on the ground and one on the beam,

I. (6) [if] he wrote [two letters] on the two walls of the house, on the two sides of a leaf of paper, so that they cannot be read with one another,

J. he is exempt.

K. [If] he wrote one letter as an abbreviation,

L. R. Joshua b. Beterah declares him liable.

M. And sages declare him exempt.

**12:6** A. He who writes two letters in two distinct spells of inadvertence,

B. one in the morning and one at twilight,

C. Rabban Gamaliel declares him liable.

D. And sages declare him exempt.

**13:1 I** A. R. Eliezer says, “He who weaves three threads at the beginning [of the web],

B. “or [who added] one onto that which is already woven,

C. “is liable.”

“Now the Pharisees were extremely careful to observe strict rules in how they prepared their food and made it a policy not to share meals with those who did not keep similar purity laws [Mark 2:16; Gal 2:11-14]. Meticulously they made sure that their pots and pans were ritually purified before food was prepared in them (Mark 7:1-4). So conscious were they of obeying Jewish laws that they tithed even their table spices (for example, Matt. 23:23) and usually refused to eat with non-Pharisees lest they inadvertently eat untithed or improperly prepared food. As a result there was sometimes animosity between the Pharisees and other Jews who did not maintain their standards. At least some Pharisees disdainfully called the non-Pharisees *`am ha-aretz* (Hebrew for “people of the land”), resulting in conflict . . .” (Cosby 88-89)

Rabbi Akiba vividly illustrate[s]: “R. Akiba [c. a.d. 132] said, “When I was an *`am ha-aretz* I used to say ‘If I could get hold of one of the scholars [that is, a Pharisaic scribe] I would bite him like an ass.’ [88] ‘You mean, like a dog,’ said his disciples. ‘No,’ said Akiba, ‘an ass’s bite breaks bones.’” (Qtd. in Johnson 61)

“First-century Judaism should not be regarded as only concerned with meticulous (legalistic) adherence to Jewish law. Certainly there were Jewish people who did fit this unfortunate stereotype, even as some Christians and Jews today exhibit this same tendency. Many adherents of Judaism in Jesus’ time were, however, extremely concerned to love God and their neighbors sacrificially.” (Cosby 88)

## Judaism in the United States

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. OUP, 2001. 774.

*Judaism* is a major force in American life. The Jewish community, numbering over 5.6 million, constitutes the largest concentration of Jews in the world, twice the number of Jews in Israel and also in the USSR, and accounts for nearly half of world Jewry. Despite their small numbers relative to the general population, Jews hold generally high status as one of the so-called 3 major religions in the USA, namely Protestant, Catholic, Jew, these being regarded as the ‘triple melting pot’ through which the American identity is realized. Even though the Jewish community is only 2% of the total population, both as a group and individually it plays significant roles in such spheres of American life as religion, education, cultural activities, and national urban politics.

The Jews have their greatest numerical population strength in the metropolitan centers of the USA (over 3 million in 10 cities), although since World War II there has been a pronounced move to the suburbs. In recent years, there has been a gradual decline in numbers owing to a low fertility rate (2.1%), and a rise in intermarriage, estimated nationally at 40%.

The American Synagoue includes 3 major branches: Orthodox (28% of all Jews), Conservative (42%), and Reform (30%). Each of these Jewish denominations has its own national rabbinic body and lay congregational group. The Orthodox groups are the Rabbinical Council of America and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations; the Conservative are the Rabbinical Assembly and the United synagogue [*sic*] of America; and the Reform are the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (750 temples). These groups are member agencies of the Synagogue Council of America, founded in New York City in 1926, which co-ordinates common activity in social, interreligious, and international affairs. There are other Jewish religious bodies which are not members of the Synagogue Council, including the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the Agudas Israel, and Young Israel. In most local Jewish communities there exist also interdenominational rabbinic associations.

Orthodox Jews observe Jewish religious traditions based on the commandments (*mitzwot*) contained in the Torah, the Five Books of Moses, in accordance with the interpretations of the rabbinic codes which guide the religious practices and ethical behavior of Jews in their daily conduct. Reform Jews are so called because they have reformed many of the traditional rituals and ceremonies, believing that the forms of religion which reflect particular historic or cultural situations should change as life itself changes. Conservative Jews are the center movement in American Judaism, appearing sometime to lean closer to the Orthodox; at other times, they resemble Reform Jews. Within Conservative Judaism there exists the Reconstructionist schools of thought which have sought to rebuild Judaism as a natural religion in or­der to make it relevant to contemporary rational and scientific thought. Almost 3,000 of the 4,000 American synagogues are identifiable as Orthodox, although no more than 720 are formally affiliated with the na­tional body, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. Affiliated with Conservative Judaism are over 800 congregations. Reform or Liberal Judaism reports around 700 synagogues or temples.

The 3 branches of Judaism maintain their own seminaries for the training of rabbis. The major Orthodox seminary is at Yeshiva University in New York City. Conservative Judaism’s seminary is the Jewish Theological Seminary, also in New York. The Reform Seminary has 2 branches: the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City, and Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Each group also has west coast branches in Los Angeles. The Reconstructionist move­ment has a rabbinical school in Philadelphia. There .pre a number of less prominent Orthodox talmudic schools (*yeshivas*) in various parts of the USA. The Lubavitcher Hasidic movement has demonstrated a remarkable vitality in its religious outreach to American Jewry through its headquarters in the Williamsburgh section of New York.

The most impressive evidence of the expansion of religious life among the Jews of America is to be seen in increased enrolment in every type of synagogue school. There are an estimated 500,000 children attending some 2,700 Jewish schools of various types in which they receive some form of Jewish education.

Another recent development is the growth of Jewish study programs on secular colleges and university campuses which now number some 200 chairs of Jewish studies or lecture courses in Judaica. This is in part due to the large number of Jewish students on the university scene, estimated to be about 400,000 or 80% of all Jews of college age.

In contrast to Christian church-centered groups, the Jewish community carries out much of its work in social welfare, education, and community relations through specialized agencies which are not under the auspices of synagogues. Among the more important of these may be mentioned the following: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare funds, National Jewish Welfare Board, American Association for Jewish Education, Jewish Publican Society, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, National Council of Jewish Women, and B’nai B’rith (including its Hillel Foundation and Anti-Defamation League).

## The Lubavitch Movement

*Nightline*, ABC News, 10 May 1994

The “Rebe” in the Lubavitcher movement is Rabbi Schniersen, a Paris-educated rabbi who was appointed to the Russian city of Lubavitch. Lubavitchers consider Rabbi Schniersen to be the “Moshiah” (Yiddish for “messiah”).



He started with 100 families; the movement now has perhaps 250,000 members, all Jewish. The move­ment is centered in New York City.

Rabbi Schniersen had a stroke in 1992 and is on life supports at Beth Israel Hospital in New York. Some say he is already brain-dead. But Allen Nadler of the Yivo Institute notes that “A VCR-accessible Rebe may not die that easily.”

Statements by Chaim Potok (interviewed by Ted Koppel):

For a Lubavitcher, there are two types of Jews: Lubavitchers, and potential Luba­vitch­ers.

“Rebe” is “Hebrew/Yiddish” for “my master, lord, king.”

The black suits and hats are the dress of 18th-century Polish and Russian nobles.

The Lubavitchers are “the Jewish equivalent of Protestant fundamentalists.”

The Lubavitchers believe that, at the completion of each mitsvah, a divine spark is released. When a predetermined number of these divine sparks is released, the messianic age will dawn. Perhaps your next one will cause the messianic age! This belief is “the very center of their being.”

## Reconstructing Judaism

“Reconstructionist Judaism.” *Wikipedia*. 2 Feb. 2018. 3 Feb. 2018. Web.

Shimron, Yonat. “Jewish Reconstructionist Movement Adopts a New Name.” *ReligionNews*.*com*. 30 Jan. 2018. 3 Feb. Web.

Reconstructing Judaism is “The smallest of the four main branches of American Judaism . . .” (Shimron)

It is a “small, Philadelphia-based movement consisting of about 100 congregations” and 40,000-50,000 adherents. (Shimron)

Almost all adherents are in the US. There are 3 synagogues in Canada, 1 on the Caribbean island of Curaçao, and synagogues in Italy and the Netherlands. (Shimron)

founding

Mordecai Kaplan (1881-1983), founder

Kaplan “was committed to egalitarian values.” (Shimron)

“The movement originated as a semi-organized stream within Conservative Judaism and developed from the late 1920s to 1940s . . .” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

1935: Kaplan publishes *Judaism as a Civilization*: *Toward a Reconstruction of American Jewish Life*. Kaplan claims that this book “was the beginning of the Reconstructionist movement.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

1955: the movement seceded. (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

1968: Reconstructionist Rabbinical College established. (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

1968: Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association formed. (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

“The founding of these institutions were great strides in becoming the fourth movement in North American Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative and Reform being the other three).” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

“Reconstructionist Judaism is the first major movement of Judaism to originate in North America; the second is the Humanistic Judaism movement founded in 1963 by Rabbi Sherwin Wine.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

beliefs

Reconstructing Judaism “does not ask that its adherents hold to any particular beliefs . . .” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

God

Kaplan claimed “that God is not personal, in that God is not a conscious being nor can God in any way relate to or communicate with humanity.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

Kaplan: “God is the Power in the cosmos that gives human life the direction that enables the human being to reflect the image of God.” (Qtd. in Sonsino, Rifat. *The Many Faces of God*: *A Reader of Modern Jewish Theologies*. 2004. 23.) (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

“Most “classical” Reconstructionist Jews (those agreeing with Kaplan) reject traditional forms of theism, though this is by no means universal. Many are deists, and a small number accept Kabbalistic views of God or the concept of a personal God.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

*halakhah*

Reconstructing Judaism “does not ask . . . that halakha be accepted as normative.”

The “commandments have been replaced with “folkways,” non-binding customs that can be democratically accepted or rejected by the congregations.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

customs

“Folkways that are promoted include keeping Hebrew in the prayer service, studying Torah, daily prayer, wearing kippot (yarmulkes), tallitot and tefillin during prayer, and observance of the Jewish holidays.” (“Reconstructionist Judaism”)

Reconstructing Judaism is “the most progressive of the major Jewish movements . . .” (Shimron)

1922: bat mitzvah

Kaplan presided at the first bat mitzvah (coming-of-age ceremony). It was “for his daughter Judith . . ., making her a “daughter of the commandments.” (Shimron)

“Until then, only boys were given the synagogue honor of being called in front of the congregation to read from the Torah as a bar mitzvah.” (Shimron)

1974: womens’ ordinations

“The Reconstructionist movement ordained its first woman rabbi in 1974, two years after the Reform rabbinical school ordained a woman.” (Shimron)

1985: LGBTQ ordinations

The Reconstructionist “seminary became the first Jewish seminary to admit openly gay and lesbian rabbinical students . . .” (Shimron)

Deborah Waxman, the current president, is a lesbian. (Shimron)

2015: non-Jews

2015, Reconstructionists “became the first Jewish movement to welcome seminary students who are in committed relationships with non-Jews.” (Shimron)

name change

1934: “Reconstructionist” “was the name favored by Kaplan when he started the Reconstructionist magazine shortly after the publication of his seminal book, *Judaism as a Civilization*: *Toward a Reconstruction of American Jewish Life*. Readers loved the magazine but hated the name . . .” (Shimron)

2012: “after the seminary and its central synagogue organization merged, [over] 1,000 people . . . gave feedback on the new name.” (Shimron)

2018: the former Reconstructionist Movement in Judaism is now called “Reconstructing Judaism.” (Shimron)

“The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Wyncote, Pa., is [now] the College for Reconstructing Judaism.” (Shimron)

“The name change does not obligate the movement’s synagogues to adopt it.” (Shimron)

## History of the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle

National Public Radio. “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict.” *Morning Edition* 30 Sept.-8 Oct. 2002. 30 Oct. 2002. Web. <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/mideast/history/transcripts/­index.html>.

***Part 1: The Birth of Zionism***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: September 30, 2002

[MIKE] SHUSTER: In Europe in the nineteenth century, “anti-Semitism was rampant and Jews in many nations experienced persecution and at times murderous pogroms which left hundreds dead. [Many] longed to return to the biblical land of Israel. But not until Theodor Herzl published his pamphlet *Der Judenstaat*, or “The Jewish State,” did Jews in Europe begin to formulate a political solution to anti-Semitism. Zionism emerged as the political movement to create a Jewish state. Herzl brought his followers together in the first Zionist Congress in Switzerland, in 1897, to formulate the movement’s goals and strategies. Herzl had little interest in the Arabs who lived in Palestine, which was then part of the Ottoman Empire.

HOWARD SACHAR (author, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*): “The notion of Zionism [was nurtured] in the latter decades of the 19th century, particularly among the Jews of Eastern Europe. But they really did not impose upon this paradigm any conception of a political state.”

AVI SHLAIM (author, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*): “Herzl was an assimilated Viennese Jew, a journalist and a playwright. He was completely secular and he had no particular attachment to the Jewish religion. As he conceived it, the idea of a Jewish state was a secular idea.”

SHUSTER: “In 1894, Herzl was the correspondent in Paris for a Vienna newspaper, and he reported on the case of Alfred Dreyfus, an officer in the French army, falsely accused of treason because he was Jewish. It was an experience that proved the catalyst for Herzl’s embrace of political Zionism. Herzl set out his ideas about what was then called the Jewish question in detail in an 1896 pamphlet, entitled *Der Judenstaat*, or “The Jewish State.””

THEODOR HERZL (actor’s voice-over): “We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there, our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized—for instance France—until the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis.”

BENJAMIN BEIT-HALLAHMI (author, *Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel*): “Herzl wasn’t interested in Palestine. He just wanted a place for the Jews to settle, and at first he was interested in Argentina and East Africa and other places.”

SACHAR: later he realized “there was a deep-rooted wellspring of religio-cultural identification with Palestine among most Jews.”

SHUSTER: Herzl “gathered about 250 followers at the first Zionist Congress. It opened in Basel, Switzerland on August 29, 1897, and launched the World Zionist Organization. The goal [was] the creation of a home in Palestine for the Jewish people.”

HERZL (diary entry for the day the Congress closed, September 3, 1897): “At Basel I founded the Jewish State. . . . Perhaps in five years and certainly in 50, everyone will know it.”

SHUSTER: in 1897, “Palestine was a sleepy Arab backwater of the Ottoman Empire. It had been ruled from Constantinople by the Turkish sultans for nearly 500 years and was populated by largely Arab peasant farmers . . .”

SHUSTER: “Herzl realized early on that the Jews as a small, weak, dispersed people would have no chance to create a state of their own without the backing of a world power. Herzl first approached the Germans, meeting Kaiser Wilhelm in Palestine in 1898 . . .”

SACHAR: Herzl tried “to point out to the Kaiser and to the foreign minister Von Bulow that it would be very useful indeed if Germany had a kind of enclave of loyal German-oriented inhabitants living in this corner of the Ottoman Empire and most Jews that Herzl had in mind were people like himself who spoke German and were great admirers of German civilization.”

SHUSTER: The German Kaiser was not interested, having his eye on an eventual alliance with the Ottomans.

Herzl would lobby many of the kings and ministers of Europe before his death in 1904 as well as the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II. Howard Sachar says his secular concept of Jewish statehood and his idea of how to bring it into existence were for their time dazzling in their originality.

SACHAR: And he worked these conceptions very shrewdly. He projected the notion of a Jewish state into the very centers of European statescraft. And for the first time thereby he gave the Jewish people a kind of address, a central address in Europe.

SHUSTER: Some early communities of Jewish immigrants had been established in Palestine. Estimates of their population in the 1890s range from 20,000 to 50,000, living among half a million Arabs. Herzl and his followers paid little attention to them, says Benny Morris, author of *Righteous Victims, A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict*.

BENNY MORRIS: They knew there were Arabs there. They preferred not to look at them, but they weren’t Palestinian Arabs in the sense that these Arabs who lived in the area of Palestine at the time of Herzl didn’t see themselves as Palestinians. They were just Arabs who saw themselves if anything as southern Syrians. But generally they regarded themselves as just Arabs. The movement, the national movement of Palestinian Arabs come into existence decades later.

SHUSTER: The Arabs of Palestine knew little of the plans of Theodor Herzl and the first Zionists. A general awareness of the Zionist goal would not take hold in Palestine for some time, says Rashid Khalidi, author of *Palestinian Identity, the Construction of Modern National Consciousness*.

RASHID KHALIDI: The first Basel congress of 1897 was well reported in the German and Austrian press. And a number of Palestinians found out about it as the news was published. So from the 1890s when political Zionism first started up in its formal form, there were Palestinians who were aware of it. And that knowledge spread relatively rapidly in the next decade or two.

SHUSTER: Although relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine at that time were generally cordial, there were hints of what was to come.

In 1905, Najib Azouri, published what is considered the first public appeal to Arab nationalism, a book called *The Awakening of the Arab Nation*.

This came just at the moment that thousands of additional Jewish immigrants were arriving in Palestine, fleeing a new wave of anti-Semitic pogroms in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland.

Two things were happening in the Ottoman Middle East, Azouri wrote: “the awakening of the Arab nation, and the effort of the Jews to reconstitute the ancient kingdom of Israel.”

His conclusion was also prophetic: “These movements are destined to fight each other continually until one of them wins.”

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

[BOB] EDWARDS: Tomorrow, in Part Two of our series, Britain issues the Balfour Declaration supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine. But Palestinians oppose it, and Britain’s rule ends in violence and failure.

There’s a timeline, historical maps and background on leaders in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the Web site npr.org.

***Part 2: The Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 1, 2002

In 1917, 20 years after the first Zionist Congress, Great Britain declared itself in favor of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. (Arthur James Balfour, author of the declaration, is pictured at left.) Britain gained control of Palestine at the end of World War I, and in 1922, the League of Nations gave a mandate to Britain to rule Palestine, envisioning that the territory would eventually be granted independence. Britain attempted to bridge the political interests of both the Zionist settlers and the indigenous Palestinian Arabs, but violence broke out between the two communities almost from the start. It culminated in the Arab revolt of 1936, which left hundreds of Arabs and Jews dead. Britain proposed partitioning Palestine, an idea the Palestinians rejected and for which the Zionists had little enthusiasm. When World War II broke out, Great Britain was ready to leave Palestine.

BOB EDWARDS: Today, the second part of a series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict between Palestine and Israel,” picks up two decades after Theodor Herzl and the early Zionists, in 1897, launched the movement to establish a Jewish homeland.

It took that long—20 years—for the first, great diplomatic breakthrough—the Balfour Declaration in which Great Britain declared itself in favor of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Britain then sought to govern Palestine during a period that is known as the British Mandate, a time of growing hostility and violence between Jews and Arabs.

NPR’s Mike Shuster reports.

MIKE SHUSTER: World War I would prove decisive for the early Zionists, and it would set in motion a cycle of violence that has not ended to this day.

The Balfour Declaration was the product of British strategic thinking and the lobbying of modern Zionism’s second great personality, Chaim Weizmann.

Weizmann, a Russian Jew, settled in Great Britain before the war, and became the local representative of the World Zionist Organization. With few contacts and even fewer resources, Weizmann managed to make his way into the offices of Great Britain’s highest officials, including David Lloyd George, who became prime minister in 1916.

The British quickly warmed to the strategic value of a Zionist enterprise in Palestine, says Howard Sachar, one of the pre-eminent American historians of Zionism and Israel.

HOWARD SACHAR: People like Lloyd George, people like Arthur James Balfour, the British foreign secretary, in the latter phase of the war began to see a number of very important advantages to cultivating a Jewish presence in Palestine with the unspoken understanding that this Jewish presence would be under a British protectorate.

SHUSTER: Lloyd George and other British officials were the product of a strict Protestant upbringing, which considered the Jews the chosen people of God with their rightful place in Zion.

But Lloyd George also believed support for the Zionists would cement Jewish support in the U.S. for entering the war as a British ally and in Russia convulsed by revolution for remaining in the war on the British side.

The result was the Balfour Declaration, issued on November 2, 1917, named for Balfour, the British foreign secretary.

BALFOUR DECLARATION (ACTOR’S VOICE-OVER): His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

SHUSTER: The Zionists were euphoric. They understood the words national home to mean Jewish state.

The Arabs of Palestine did not learn of the declaration for several months; the war for the Middle East was bigger news then. Rashid Khalidi, a Palestinian-American historian at the University of Chicago, calls the declaration a monumental injustice.

RASHID KHALIDI: The Balfour Declaration involved a promise by an imperial power to establish a national home for a minority in a country that had a population which was not recognized in that declaration. The Balfour Declaration talks about the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish populations. The existing non-Jewish populations were the 92 percent majority of the country. Their national and political rights were ignored in a declaration which promised national and political rights to the Jewish people.

SHUSTER: What the borders of Palestine would be was not immediately clear. In 1916, Britain and France delineated the future borders of the Middle Eastern states in what came to be known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, named for the diplomats who negotiated it.

Palestine was considered part of Greater Syria, to be divided between the two allies.

As it turned out, by the end of the war the British army seized all of Palestine, aided by an Arab army organized by the legendary T.E. Lawrence and loyal to the Sharif of Mecca. The British had also made promises regarding Palestine to Feisal, the sharif’s son, to enlist their support fighting the Ottomans. Not surprisingly, those commitments were never fulfilled, says Rashid Khalidi.

KHALIDI: The point is that the British had not promised anything directly to the Palestinians themselves, and this is a constant problem in Palestinian history. Various actors—the British, the United States, Israel—preferred to deal with others rather than dealing directly with the Palestinians. And that was, in fact, a motif of the entire 30 years that followed, right up to the end of the mandate in 1948.

SHUSTER: In 1922 the League of Nations made Palestine a mandate of Britain, whose task it would be to bring the territory to independence.

Although initially committed to the Zionist enterprise, British officials believed they could rule Palestine for the mutual benefit of Arabs and Jews, says Howard Sachar.

HOWARD SACHAR: Even during the course of the war and in the immediate aftermath of the war at the time of the Paris peace conference, there seemed to be very little serious danger that the aspirations of Jews or Arabs in the Near East were necessarily on a point of collision.

SHUSTER: But unrest broke out quickly, first in 1920, then in 1921, and it continued to escalate, says Philip Mattar, editor of *The Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*.

PHILIP MATTAR: After Jews began to immigrate and purchase land, Palestinians began to realize that this will lead eventually to either their domination or their expulsion. So spontaneous riots broke out in Jerusalem and Jaffa. And then again in 1929, in much larger explosion throughout Palestine.

SHUSTER: The Zionists built schools and factories and farms, and a bureaucratic organization that would eventually become the state apparatus of Israel.

The Arabs resisted, says Tom Segev, author of *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*.

TOM SEGEV: When you look back to the ‘20s, you find that almost everything that has been said since the ‘20s, and everything that has been done since the ‘20s was there already. The Arabs said we don’t accept you here. They were very, very consistent in their view, and it inevitably led to violence and to acts of terrorism.

SHUSTER: The 1930s, and the rise of Hitler in Germany, would spark a crisis in Palestine that went far beyond what had taken place before, says Rashid Khalidi.

KHALIDI: It was only in the ‘30s when suddenly in one year as many Jewish immigrants arrived in Palestine 1935 as had lived in the country in 1918 that the Palestinians realized: a. they were going to be outnumbered in their country and b. the Zionist movement was clearly developing at a pace which would enable it to conquer the country whether they had a majority or not. This terrified the Palestinians, and it led to a mass uprising which took the Palestinian leadership completely by surprise as much as it was a shock to the British.

SHUSTER: Known as the Arab Rebellion, it resembles nothing if not the violence of the past two years. The Arabs were seeking an independent state of their own in Palestine. Arab guerrillas attacked Jewish settlers and British soldiers with guns and bombs. Jews mounted equally bloody reprisals. The British army pursued an anti-terrorism campaign that included the demolition of homes of the families of Arab bombers.

Each side had its own growing list of martyrs, one of whom was a Muslim activist named Iz-al-din al-Qassam, namesake for the military wing of the present day Hamas, which has carried out many suicide bombings over the past two years.

The British could not suppress the violence, so in 1937 they proposed for the first time to partition Palestine. Neither side was enthusiastic, says Philip Mattar.

MATTAR: The Palestinians totally rejected it, because at that time Jews had owned only 5.6 percent of Palestine whereas they were being offered 40 percent of the country. And the Jews were not entirely pleased with it either. Basically I think the idea died for lack of support.

SHUSTER: The British eventually broke the back of the Arab Rebellion, after more than a thousand Arabs and several hundred Jews lost their lives. Tom Segev says that on the eve of World War II, the British realized they could not solve the conflict in Palestine.

SEGEV: By 1939 I think the British had realized that their role in Palestine is over. There is nothing for them to do. The animosity, the violence between Jews and Arabs is too hostile. And I think that by 1939 they were in fact ready to leave.

SHUSTER: That year the British published a white paper on Palestine, which traditional historians of Israel see as a repudiation of Zionism and the Balfour Declaration.

After that, the Zionists gradually concluded that they would have to fight not only the Arabs but also the British if they were to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. World War II would postpone that stage of the conflict.

But once the World War was won, the simmering conflict in Palestine would turn into a war of its own.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

EDWARDS: Tomorrow, in the third part of the series, the newly born United Nations votes to partition Palestine, and war erupts. The new Israeli state is born, and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians become refugees.

***Part 3: Partition, War, and Independence***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 2, 2002

Once it was clear that Germany had lost the war, the Zionists in Palestine turned on the British. Underground armed Jewish groups began to attack the British army, as well as the Palestinians. The violence escalated, and by 1946, Great Britain decided to turn the whole issue of what would happen to Palestine over to the newly established United Nations. The U.N. proposed partitioning it into two states, one Jewish, one Arab, and the General Assembly voted in favor of that solution in November 1947. The Arabs rejected the proposal, and fighting broke out in Palestine almost immediately. In May 1948, the Zionists declared independence. (David Ben-Gurion pictured reading declaration.) Four Arab states invaded the new state of Israel, and in the ensuring war, three-quarters-of-a-million Palestinians fled their homes and became refugees. The Jews won the war, and a cease-fire was declared in early 1949.

BOB EDWARDS: As World War II ended, the struggle for Palestine intensified. The Zionists, who wanted a Jewish homeland, and who had supported the British during the World War, prepared for a new conflict.

Leaders of both Arabs and Jews could see they would soon have to fight each other for the territory. The British turned the whole problem over to the newly created United Nations.

In the third part of a series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict,” NPR’s Mike Shuster reports.

MIKE SHUSTER: In 1939, Great Britain had become disillusioned with its support for a Jewish state in Palestine. It was unable to fashion a political solution that would satisfy both Jews and Arabs, and it could not stop the growing strife between the two communities.

The British placed a strict ceiling on Jewish immigration to Palestine. At the end of World War II, hundreds of thousands of desperate Jews populated Europe’s concentration camps, but the British were still unwilling to allow them to leave for Palestine.

Once it was certain that Hitler’s Germany was defeated, the Zionists turned on their erstwhile allies, says historian Howard Sachar.

HOWARD SACHAR: There seemed therefore no alternative to the Jews but to launch a full-fledged campaign against the British, and it took several forms. One was diplomatic. And secondly there would be an appeal to the compassion of the world by launching a kind of illegal immigration effort, bringing over tens and tens of thousands of refugees from Europe in these leaking little refugee boats.

SHUSTER: The campaign against the British also used violence, with the first shots fired on British military and government facilities by underground Jewish armed groups: the Stern Gang and the Irgun. Zionist leaders like David Ben-Gurion called them misguided terrorists and at times even helped the British fight them.

But their operations intensified. In 1946, the Irgun blew up a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem housing the British administration. Ninety were killed: roughly 30 Jews, 30 Arabs and 30 British.

NEWSREEL: As the toll of dead mounts daily in the bitter war of reprisals, tight security measures are imposed by the British. Scores of Jewish leaders are jailed and rigid searches are conducted for terrorists’ weapons. These measures follow the hanging of two British sergeants by extremists. Palestine becomes an armed camp... .

SHUSTER: The armed Jewish gangs were commanded by men who would lead the Israeli state many years later.

SACHAR: Menachem Begin of course, ultimately to become a long-governing prime minister, was a member of the Irgun Z’vai Leumi, which was the largest element among the right-wing underground forces. But there were others who were even more extreme than he. One of them was a later prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir.

SHUSTER: Eventually the larger Zionist military organization, the Haganah, led by Ben-Gurion, joined the fight against the British.

By the end of 1946, an exhausted Britain decided to withdraw from Palestine, and turned the whole problem over to the United Nations, which had just been born that same year.

The U.N. immediately resurrected the idea of partitioning the territory, first proposed by the British in 1937.

In the U.S., President Truman favored it for political reasons, but also according to William Quandt, author of *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, because of the terrible toll of the Holocaust.

WILLIAM QUANDT: We did understand there was a tremendous human need after World War II for some kind of a political solution for the survivors of the Holocaust, who could not rebuild their lives in Germany and who were in need of some sort of restitution.

SHUSTER: The Arab majority in Palestine was poorly organized to respond to the U.N. Palestinian leaders refused to discuss partition, says Philip Mattar, editor of *The Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*.

PHILIP MATTAR: The Jews were being offered 55 percent of Palestine when in fact they had owned only seven percent of the country. Four-hundred-fifty thousand Palestinians were going to end up within the Jewish state, and they did not see any reason why they should go along with that kind of inequality, that kind of injustice.

SHUSTER: The vote on partition in the General Assembly occurred on November 29, 1947—one of the critical dates of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thirty-three states said yes, including the United States and the Soviet Union; 13 no, mostly Arab and Muslim states; 10 abstained, among them Britain.

The Zionists rejoiced. The Arabs rejected the vote, and skirmishing broke out in Palestine the next day.

Then on May 14th, 1948, Ben-Gurion, on the basis of the U.N.’s support for partition, announced the establishment of the independent state of Israel, the day after Britain formally ended its rule.

In response, the Arab states surrounding Israel—Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq—attacked.

NEWSREEL: The city of Haifa and its harbor become the center of bitter conflict as the new Jewish state is born in the tense atmosphere of civil war. Arab strong points are taken after being blasted to rubble. During the mopping-up operations, Haganah forces seek out every Arab, and barricades are set up to screen those who had not already fled the city. Everyone is searched. With the relinquishing of the British Mandate, Palestine is rocked by full scale war, and both sides mobilize... .

SHUSTER: The new Israeli state fought for its very existence on four fronts, but the Arab armies were disorganized and weak. By November it was clear they could not defeat Israel; in fact, Israel had occupied more of Palestine than had been given to it in the partition plan, says Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, of Haifa University.

BENJAMIN BEIT-HALLAHMI: Israel ended up with 78 percent of Palestine. The Palestinian community in Palestine just disintegrated. The majority of Palestinians became refugees, and Palestine—the geographical term Palestine—disappeared from the map.

SHUSTER: Three-quarters of a million Palestinians fled their homes during the war, initiating one of the most contentious debates between Jews and Palestinians. The Zionists and their supporters claimed—and some still claim—that the Arab governments ordered the Palestinians to leave.

Historian Howard Sachar says that is not true.

SACHAR: No Arab government was ordering these people to flee. On the contrary, they were ordering them to stay put, under no circumstances to give over their territory to the Jews. It is a myth to assume that these people left voluntarily.

SHUSTER: Over the past two decades younger historians in Israel have argued, using declassified government papers, that in fact Zionist military operations caused the Palestinians to flee. There is now some agreement on this greatest of controversies, between traditional Zionist historians and the so-called revisionists.

SACHAR: There was a good deal of intimidation and even terrorization here and there, particularly along the coastal plain area that was coveted by the Jews. They were terrified by the shooting, by the bombardment.

BENNY MORRIS: In addition to that, Israeli troops in various areas carried out expulsions.

SHUSTER: Benny Morris did the groundbreaking original research on the roots of the Palestinian refugee exodus. He teaches at Ben-Gurion University in Israel.

MORRIS: For good military reasons they wanted clear lines of communication behind the lines. They didn’t want snipers. They didn’t want guerrillas operating behind the lines. So they wanted to get rid of Arab communities. So there were expulsions in various areas.

SHUSTER: The Palestinians call the war An Naqba, the catastrophe, and point to massacres at villages such as Deir Yassin as evidence that the Jews forced them to leave.

University of Chicago historian Rashid Khalidi argues that the Jews did not want nearly half the population of their new state to be Arab, which would have been the result had both sides accepted the U.N. partition plan.

RASHID KHALIDI: To establish a Jewish state in such circumstances required one of these three options. You either had to boot them out, or they had to become Jews, or you had to accept the possibility that you would one day have an Arab majority in the so-called Jewish state. I’m not suggesting that that in and of itself explains what happened. In each village, locality, city, town, a different outcome obtained for different reasons. In some cases there were massacres. In some cases people were put on trucks and sent away. In some cases they fled on their own. That most Palestinians fled, either because they were driven out or were afraid, I don’t think is really disputable.

SHUSTER: The Palestinians fled to refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Gaza, and what is now called the West Bank. Thousands with their children and grandchildren live in those camps until now. And from those camps would spring the Palestinian movement—the guerrilla fighters and bombmakers and political leaders—who would continue to fight Israel and challenge its right to exist, down to this day.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

EDWARDS: Tomorrow, the 1967 Six Day War. It begins with Israel striking its Arab neighbors to defend its very existence, and ends with Israeli occupation of territories, including the West Bank and East Jerusalem, that are disputed to this day.

***Part 4: The 1967 Six Day War***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 3, 2002

No Arab state had made peace with Israel, and in 1967, events conspired to bring war between Israel on the one hand, and Egypt, Syria, and Jordan on the other. The Israelis attacked Egypt first, on June 5, 1967, but most historians agree the pre-emptive Israeli strike was defensive in nature. Nevertheless, in the first day, Israel nearly destroyed Egypt’s air force, and struck deep into the Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian territory. After six days of war, Israel had seized all of the Sinai and Gaza from Egypt, the West Bank and all of Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. All of these newly occupied territories would become the object of subsequent wars and the peace process, especially the West Bank and Gaza, where 1.5 million Palestinians live under Israeli control.

BOB EDWARDS: The 1967 June Six Day War was a major watershed in the history of the Middle East.

It changed the borders of the Middle East, it changed military and political perceptions, and it brought the United States into the mix as a permanent factor in the region.

A seven-part series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict,” focuses today on the territory that Israel seized in that war.

NPR’s Mike Shuster reports.

MIKE SHUSTER: In 1967, the mood in the Middle East was ugly. Israel, independent since 1948, was surrounded by Arab states dedicated to its eradication. Egypt was ruled by Gamal Abdel Nasser, a firebrand nationalist whose army was the strongest in the Arab Middle East. Syria was governed by the radical Baathist Party, constantly issuing threats to push Israel into the sea.

And the crowded and angry Palestinian refugee camps dating back to the 1948 war had spawned groups in the shadows, including Yasser Arafat’s Fatah movement, which had launched guerrilla attacks on Israel from Lebanon and Jordan. It was all connected, says Rashid Khalidi, a historian of the Middle East at the University of Chicago.

RASHID KHALIDI: In a sense the Palestinian tail wagged the Syrian dog which wagged the Egyptian dog which dragged the region into a conflict, which Israel initiated but which had several triggers.

SHUSTER: Most historians now agree that although Israel struck first, this pre-emptive strike was defensive in nature.

In the spring of 1967, the Soviet Union misinformed the radical government in Damascus that Israel was planning an invasion of Syria. Syria shared this misinformation with Nasser, who responded with several threatening actions. He closed the Gulf of Aqaba to shipping, cutting off Israel from its primary oil supplies. He told U.N. peacekeepers in the Sinai Peninsula to leave. He then sent scores of tanks and hundreds of troops into the Sinai closer to Israel. The Arab world was delirious with support, says Michael Oren, author of *Six Days of War*.

MICHAEL OREN: This immediately ameliorated Nasser’s stature in the Arab world. He was elevated to almost a god-like status overnight and politically it seemed like a good bargain. The bad news was he wasn’t counting on Israel striking back militarily.

SHUSTER: It was not easy for Israel to make the decision to strike at Egypt. For three weeks in May and early June 1967, Israel’s leaders argued fiercely over what to do. The military wanted to attack. The chief of staff of the Israeli army then was a young Yitzhak Rabin, who suffered a short nervous breakdown under the stress.

Michael Oren says Prime Minister Levi Eshkol held the generals back.

OREN: He urged restraint. He told these generals that Israel first had to prove to the world in general, and specifically to the United States leadership—to President Lyndon Johnson—that Israel had exhausted all diplomatic options. That it had done its utmost to prevent war, and only as a last resort did Israel turn to this pre-emptive strike. This was vital, Eshkol said, in order to ensure American diplomatic support both during and after the war.

SHUSTER: The strike finally came at 7:10 in the morning of June 5th. Israel put 200 fighter jets and bombers in the air. They flew from Israel into the Mediterranean and attacked Egypt’s airfields and installations from the west. That morning, Israel destroyed 286 of Egypt’s 420 combat aircraft, killing a third of Egypt’s pilots.

Later that morning, the ground war began. Columns of tanks and artillery blasted into the Sinai. Egypt’s army crumbled. Reporter Michael Elkins described the results of the fighting at the end of the first day.

MICHAEL ELKINS: Less than 15 hours after the fighting began at dawn this morning, there was every evidence that Israel has already won the war though fighting will continue. Israeli armor has sliced through the Gaza strip to the Mediterranean coast, and the Arab forces in the strip are no longer a fighting factor. Israel has today created the nearest thing to instant victory the modern world has ever seen.

SHUSTER: In Egypt, state-controlled radio told the people a different story, that the Israelis had been defeated. Winston Burdette reported for CBS from Cairo.

WINSTON BURDETTE: There was no sign of panic. On the contrary there was jubilation in the streets. Wild cheers and chanting when the radio claimed: a first indication of victory, 23 Israeli planes shot down. Later a second alert and a second official claim. The total of Israeli planes destroyed had jumped to 70.

SHUSTER: It was all lies.

On the second day, in response to shelling from Jordan, Israeli troops surrounded the Old City of Jerusalem, which had been part of Jordanian territory since the end of the war for independence in 1948. And Israel made its first gains on the West Bank.

SOUNDS OF TRUMPET (SHOFAR), VOICES, SINGING

SHUSTER: And on the third day, June 7th, Israel seized the Old City and the rest of Jerusalem. Troops took positions at the Temple Mount and the Western Wall, to the delight of the Israeli people.

Historian Benny Morris says the seizure of these holy sites resonated with all Israelis, religious or not.

BENNY MORRIS: Since 1948, the Jordanians—contrary to the armistice agreements—had not allowed Jews to go there or worship there. So when the army took these places in ‘67, there was not just a sigh of relief that the threat of Arab attack had been dispelled, but there was also this outbreak of joy that at last the Israeli army had conquered the sites holiest to Judaism. This even appeared in places like *Ha’aretz*, which is a liberal, secular daily, but its editorial there spoke in sort of biblical, messianic terms of a return to what was ours.

SHUSTER: Midway through the war, Egypt’s Nasser, reeling under the magnitude of his defeat, sought to excuse the disaster by claiming that the United States had entered the war on the side of Israel. This was a dangerous step, risking as it did the deeper involvement of the Soviet Union, strong backer of both Egypt and Syria.

WILLIAM QUANDT: Now when he said that, he knew it wasn’t true.

William Quandt is author of *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*.

QUANDT: Least I’m 99 percent confident he knew it wasn’t true, although some of his generals may have fed him false information. And Nasser did make the accusation, and it led many Arab countries to break diplomatic relations with the United States. So President Johnson was very annoyed with what he considered a very reckless position adopted by Nasser.

SHUSTER: On day four, the Israeli air force mistakenly attacked a U.S. intelligence ship near its coast, the Liberty, killing 34 Americans, and wounding 171.

The next day hostilities broke out with Syria. On the last day, June 10th, the Israeli army captured the Golan Heights.

The Middle East was in shock, and the conflict would never be the same. The territories that Israel had seized, East Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Sinai, Gaza, and the Golan Heights would be at the center of all peace negotiations thereafter.

The war profoundly changed Israel itself, says historian Anita Shapira, of the Chaim Weizmann Center for the Study of Zionism in Tel Aviv. It led to the emergence of a strong mythic movement that claimed the West Bank as part of greater Israel.

ANITA SHAPIRA: The change of heart after the Six Day War brought into Zionism elements that potentially were there from the beginning but were never predominant and were never part of the leading elite of the movement. And this brought a change in the nature of the state of Israel and also brought a element in the relation between us and the Arabs.

SHUSTER: The Palestinians were both occupied and emboldened. In the months that followed the war, Yasser Arafat organized an insurrection in the West Bank. It failed, but says Yezid Sayigh, author of a monumental study of the Palestinian national movement, it brought about a shift in the outlook of the Palestinians themselves.

YEZID SAYIGH: And this in a sense catapulted the general Palestinian public into the arms of the guerrillas because they’d seen that the people they’d hinged their hopes on—the Arab leaders and the armies they’d believed in—had been swept aside in a matter of days. And here came along a bunch of young men who jumped into the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, said: ‘We’re going to take matters into our own hands. The Palestinians will stand up and fight for themselves. We’re going to transform ourselves from being destitute refugees waiting for charity handouts from the U.N. and turn ourselves into freedom-fighters, people with dignity.’

SHUSTER: After the Six Day War the Arab states could never again seek the eradication of Israel from the map. Thereafter the central conflict would be waged between the Israelis and the stateless Palestinians for the land they both claimed as their own.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

EDWARDS: Maps of Israel’s changing borders and background on the experts cited in this series are at npr.org.

Tomorrow in this continuing series, conflict returns to the Middle East in the 1973 Yom Kippur War. But the decade ends with a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

***Part 5: From the 1973 Yom Kippur War to Peace with Egypt***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 4, 2002

Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel in October 1973 to regain their lost territories. The shock of the attack, and the strength of the Arab assault, led to a reassessment of the political and military balance in the Middle East. Israel recovered militarily, but its leaders understood they needed to enter serious negotiations with the Arabs. This was the era of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger’s shuttle diplomacy and the beginning a succession of peace processes. The Palestinians, led by Yasser Arafat’s Palestine Liberation Organization, understood that they could no longer rely on Arab states like Egypt and Syria to fight for them. But the PLO also began to understand a compromise with Israel was necessary, especially after Egypt’s Anwar Sadat (pictured) signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979.

MADELINE BRAND: This is Morning Edition from NPR News. I’m Madeleine Brand.

Twenty-nine years ago this week, Israel was attacked by Egypt and Syria in what would become known as the Yom Kippur War, the fourth war between Israel and the Arab states since Israel declared its independence in 1948.

This time though, Israel’s attackers were not trying to destroy the country; they were fighting to regain territory they had lost in the 1967 Six Day War.

Israel was shaken by the Yom Kippur War, and six years later it would sign a peace treaty with Egypt.

In the fifth of our seven-part series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict,” NPR’s Mike Shuster reports.

MIKE SHUSTER: Israeli leaders understood that Egypt and Syria might attack in 1973 to regain their lost territories. Israeli leaders were even aware of preparations for war in Egypt and Syria. And yet Israel was taken by surprise when the attacks came, says Benny Morris, author of *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict*.

BENNY MORRIS: This was one of the great surprises in history, the same as Pearl Harbor. This was a major strategic surprise, due to self-confidence basically, over-confidence, a certain type of intelligence blindness which stems from self-confidence. Israel was caught with its pants down on the 6th of October, 1973.

SHUSTER: Egypt was now led by Anwar Sadat, Syria by Hafez Al Assad. Sadat, eager to regain the Sinai Peninsula and the control of Suez Canal, had launched a peace feeler to Israel’s Prime Minister Golda Meir in 1971. But Meir rebuffed him; she wanted a full-blown peace treaty.

The Arabs struck on the afternoon of October 6th, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. Syria attacked Israeli positions on the Golan Heights. Egypt launched 200 combat aircraft to hit Israeli forces on the eastern side of the Suez Canal.

By the end of the first day of fighting, the Egyptian army was able to cross the canal and seize positions on the Israeli side, something the Israeli army did not believe the Egyptians could do.

Reporter Michael Elkins described the military balance in the early stage of the war.

MICHAEL ELKINS: Fighting is going on along the entire length of the canal but for the most part the action is said to be very close to the bank of the waterway. This suggests that although the Egyptians have increased their numbers on the Israeli side of the canal, they have not been able to deepen or widen their bridgeheads. As the Israelis move more armor into position, it is to be expected that the canal line battle may be moving into a decisive stage.

SHUSTER: The Yom Kippur War lasted only 19 days. Israel was at first shaken, but then fought back aggressively. Neither Egypt nor Syria regained the territories each had sought. But the armies of both states performed far better than Israeli intelligence expected. Egypt inflicted heavy losses on the Israelis in the Sinai; Syria’s thrust into the Golan Heights in the first days looked unstoppable.

Israel recovered, but for the first time, its army did not appear to be invincible. In the last days of the war, tensions peaked between Washington and Moscow, the chief backer of Egypt and Syria, which brought the U.S. to a nuclear alert.

The war ended with Israel still in control of the Golan and most of the Sinai, but the military balance had shifted. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger realized it was a diplomatic opportunity for the United States, says William Quandt, who worked in the White House at the time.

WILLIAM QUANDT: It put the United States in the central negotiating role, and that’s what Kissinger wanted. I remember in the situation room as the war came to an end, Kissinger felt that we were in a strong strategic position. We had a close relationship with Israel. President Sadat was making it clear he wanted to work with us, and I heard Kissinger say at one point, this is just where we want to be. We’re in the catbird’s seat.

SHUSTER: This was the beginning of the peace process, which would go through many stages, be shepherded by seven American presidents, and turn the United States into the key peacemaker in the Middle East to this day.

Kissinger embarked on his journeys of shuttle diplomacy after the 1973 war. His efforts would lay the groundwork for more dramatic diplomatic gains later in the decade.

Big political changes would also unfold in Israel, with the election in 1977 of the Israeli right wing in the form of the Likud Party and its leader Menachem Begin. Historian Anita Shapira attributes Begin’s triumph to the outcome of the 1973 War.

ANITA SHAPIRA: The shock of the ‘73 war brought about a completely new elite to rule the country for better and for worse. This war made people realize that power is not theirs forever, and that compromise is something that is necessary in order to survive in the long run.

SHUSTER: The Palestinians were not involved in the Yom Kippur War, but the war had a profound impact on them, says Rashid Khalidi, professor of Middle East history at the University of Chicago.

RASHID KHALIDI: The Palestinians had very little to do with it. The effect of the ‘73 war on the Palestinians was very important however, because it signified that the Arab states had given up opposing the existence of the state of Israel by accepting Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for all states in the region to live in peace and to accept them and to recognize them. Syria and Egypt had in effect decided that they would come to terms with Israel. The terms on which they would do so had not yet been agreed. The handwriting was on the wall for the Palestinians. The Arab countries no longer would support them in trying to oppose the existence of the state of Israel.

SHUSTER: And so the Palestinian movement, with Yasser Arafat at its head, adapted as well. The Palestine Liberation Organization shifted its goals, laying the groundwork for the creation of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories, implicitly abandoning the goal of destroying the state of Israel, says Yezid Sayigh, professor of Middle East history at Cambridge University.

YEZID SAYIGH: They couched it in certain language that was acceptable to militant ears. They talked about their right to set up a fighting national authority on any part of land evacuated of the Israeli occupation. This simply meant that they were willing to set up a governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza as long as Israel withdrew from them. And it was understood by everyone that this meant negotiating with Israel and living side-by-side with Israel.

SHUSTER: But the Israelis still would not acknowledge the Palestinians as a political force. Begin, under pressure from President Jimmy Carter, did agree to negotiate with Egypt’s Sadat. Only months after Begin’s election, Sadat made his groundbreaking trip to Jerusalem and addressed the Israeli parliament.

In 1978, Carter brought both Sadat and Begin to Camp David for an intense two weeks of negotiations. It would take several more months, but on March 26, 1979, Begin and Sadat signed a historic peace treaty at the White House with Carter looking on.

Egypt got back the Sinai; Israel received formal recognition from Egypt. Both Sadat and Begin hailed their achievement.

ANWAR SADAT: Let there be no more wars or bloodshed between Arabs and Israelis. Let there be no more suffering or denial of rights. Let there be no more despair or loss of faith. Let no mother lament the loss of her child. Let no young man waste his life on a conflict from which no one benefits.

MENACHEM BEGIN: Now it is time for all of us to show civil courage in order to proclaim to our peoples and to others: No more war, no more bloodshed, no more bereavement. Peace unto you. Shalom! Salaam! Forever. (applause...)

SHUSTER: Anwar Sadat did attempt to negotiate for the Palestinians. Sadat and Carter pressed Begin to accept an autonomy plan for the West Bank and Gaza to be implemented five years later. Begin never carried it out; Sadat himself was assassinated in Egypt in 1981 by Muslim fundamentalists at a parade marking the eighth anniversary of the 1973 war.

The Palestinians themselves were not yet part of the process, says Rashid Khalidi.

KHALIDI: Most of them were very bitter that Sadat had made a separate deal, had not tried to negotiate with and on behalf of the Palestinians, and in so far as he did so, simply agreed to autonomy with Begin. The Palestinians believed that they had the right to independence, and that the Egyptians had in effect had betrayed them.

SHUSTER: Israel continued its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza through the 1980s, while making war on the PLO in Lebanon in 1982.

But the Palestinian population on the West Bank and in Gaza never accepted the Israeli occupation, and in 1987, violence would erupt in a wholly new and unexpected form. Its aim was to oust Israel from the occupied territories. The Palestinians called it Intifada, the uprising.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

BRAND: For background on Anwar Sadat and other key figures, visit the Web site npr.org.

***Part 6: From the First Intifada to the Oslo Peace Agreement***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 7, 2002

By 1987, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza had been living under Israeli occupation for 20 years. They were frustrated and angry, and their anger broke out into open rebellion in December 1987. The Palestinians threw stones; the Israeli army shot at them and broke their arms. Israel’s government was divided between the right-wing Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of the Labor Party (pictured), who eventually came around to favor negotiations with the Palestinians. As the Intifada stretched into two and three years, more and more Israelis concluded it was time to settle with the Palestinians. In 1992, Rabin was elected prime minister, and he authorized secret negotiations with the PLO in Oslo. The Israelis and the Palestinians signed the Oslo peace agreement in 1993 on the White House lawn.

BOB EDWARDS: In 1987, Palestinians living in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza decided to confront Israel head on.

They launched the Intifada—the uprising—confronting the Israeli army with stones and words, and challenging Israeli society over whether it would repress the Palestinians’ desire for their own homeland.

Just six years later, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization signed an agreement that was meant to bring peace.

NPR’s Mike Shuster has the sixth installment of a series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict.”

MIKE SHUSTER: In 1987, Palestinians were angry and frustrated. They were stateless, living under the humiliation of identity checks, body searches and verbal abuse that were the rule of the Israeli army, watching helplessly as Israel expanded Jewish settlements on what had been their land.

On December 8, 1987, a traffic accident near Gaza became the spark. An Israeli army vehicle hit several vans carrying Palestinian workers, killing four of them.

The next day, Palestinians poured out of a nearby refugee camp. Stones rained down on Israeli troops. The troops fired on the demonstrators, killing a teenage boy.

The Intifada had started, says Philip Mattar, a historian of the Palestinians.

PHILIP MATTAR: It galvanized Palestinians everywhere, and it created an enormous amount of sympathy for the Palestinian cause. And at first the Israelis did not know how to react to all that. They wanted to squelch the Intifada but without, you know, killing too many people so they devised the method of breaking their bones.

SHUSTER: As the days and weeks of protests continued, the Israeli army would seize the stone-throwers and literally break their arms. This was caught on videotape and broadcast to the world, which saw in the Intifada a Palestinian David against the Israeli Goliath.

Philip Mattar says this was a form of near non-violent protest that got through to the Israeli public.

MATTAR: It was a very effective way of reaching out to Israelis, that you know, we are going to resist but without using military means, and that this could be very costly to you financially and morally. And it swayed many politicians and many generals and military people in Israel to accepting the concept of a Palestinian entity at that point.

SHUSTER: At the time, Israel was split down the middle politically. A unity government made Likud right-winger Yitzhak Shamir the prime minister, but Labor’s Yitzhak Rabin was the defense minister. Rabin carried out the crackdown but differed with Shamir on how to end the Intifada, says Israeli historian Benny Morris.

BENNY MORRIS: This was one of the reasons for friction and a split between Labor and the Likud and the breakdown of the unity government in 1990, was that Labor reached the conclusion that one cannot suppress the Intifada and must give the Palestinians some form of statehood because the Intifada cannot be beaten just militarily. Whereas the Likud preferred basically a military solution to the Intifada.

SHUSTER: The Intifada dragged on for a year, and then two and three. More and more Israelis were coming to the view that it was time to break Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The idea of partition, which had first been proposed by the British in 1937 and then by the United Nations in 1947, had returned in a new form, says historian Anita Shapira, of the Chaim Weizmann Center for the Study of Zionism.

ANITA SHAPIRA: In a way partition was, I would say, at the basis of Israel’s self-image. We did not intend to rule over another people. Somehow after ‘67, the whole matter got clouded. In the ‘80s, especially during the Intifada, it became clear again that it’s time to realize the idea of partition.

SHUSTER: One other significant development emerged during the Intifada. In the absence of any political leadership—the PLO was in exile in Tunisia—Islamic fundamentalism had begun to spread in the West Bank and Gaza, emerging in the form of two political groups, Hamas and Islamic Jihad. At first their growth had been encouraged by Israel, says Yezid Sayigh of Cambridge University.

YEZID SAYIGH: The Israelis, in order to promote alternatives to the PLO, allowed the Islamists to run their own institutions, social institutions, mosques, kindergartens, health clinics, et cetera. They encouraged them in a number of different ways as a rival to the PLO.

SHUSTER: But by 1988, Hamas was playing a major role in the Intifada, and its leaders were talking about more violent measures. In the 1990s, their primary tactic would become the suicide bombing, disrupting every effort for peace.

From exile in Tunisia, Yasser Arafat and the PLO tried to seize control of the Intifada, which had started from the grassroots spontaneously. But Arafat supported Saddam Hussein when Iraq’s army invaded Kuwait in 1990.

Then in 1992 Yitzhak Rabin was elected prime minister in Israel.

Rabin moved swiftly in secret talks in the Norwegian capital Oslo to bring the PLO into a deal, says William Quandt, author of *Peace Process*.

WILLIAM QUANDT: Rabin realized that talking to the Palestinians was inevitable but that the channel offered by the Americans in Washington wasn’t going to work, and that secrecy was absolutely essential and that these public fora and perhaps even American mediation would result in premature leaks of what he had in mind. It was almost taboo in Israel in 1993 to think about talking to the PLO.

SHUSTER: Yet that’s exactly what Rabin did, and on September 13th, 1993, he and Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn. Israel and the PLO had formally recognized each other, and signed the Oslo Agreement which was to provide self-government to the Palestinians. Rabin and Arafat vowed to end the conflict, now nearly a century old, between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

YITZHAK RABIN: We who have fought against you, the Palestinians, we say to you today, in a loud and a clear voice: Enough of blood and tears. Enough! (applause)...

YASSER ARAFAT (in Arabic, with translator): Now as we stand on the threshold of this new historic era, let me address the people of Israel and their leaders with whom we are meeting today for the first time. And let me assure them that the difficult decision we reached together was one that required great and exceptional courage. (applause...)

SHUSTER: The Oslo agreement was an enormous step forward, but it was only a first step. It envisioned creating a Palestinian state and an end to the conflict, but it provided no road map. The Israelis and the Palestinians were to work that out as the process moved forward.

There were many reasons for the failure of Oslo, but the seeds of its own destruction may have been there from the first. Palestinian-American writer Edward Said says Arafat and the Palestinian public simply didn’t understand what they had agreed to in Oslo.

EDWARD SAID: He committed the Palestinians without ever informing them of what he was committing them to. Even he didn’t know it. One of his, his closest assistant who in fact is the architect of Oslo said that it took Arafat a year to understand that he didn’t get a state.

SHUSTER: All the hardest issues were postponed: what to do about the Jewish settlers on the West Bank, how to handle Jerusalem, what would be the final borders of the two countries, could the Palestinians in the refugee camps return to their original homes?

Some on both sides understood the need to move quickly on those hard so-called final status issues, says William Quandt.

QUANDT: For or five days before Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in November of 1995, a very senior PLO official and a very senior Israeli official sat down and worked out a memorandum of how they would tackle final status issues, which when read today looks remarkably hopeful. Had Rabin survived, had that outline been given flesh and bones, it’s not inconceivable that by 1998, ‘99, you would have had two states living side-by-side.

SHUSTER: But on November 4, 1995, Rabin was felled by a Jewish assassin’s, a young right-wing zealot.

Six more years would elapse before it was clear to all that Oslo was dead. Then, a new Intifada would erupt, this time with deadly weapons in the hands of both sides, the Palestinians and the Israelis farther from agreement than ever before.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

EDWARDS: There are historic photographs, background on Rabin and other key figures in the Middle East conflict and the 1993 Oslo Agreement at npr.org. Tomorrow, this seven-part series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict,” ends with a report on the collapse of the Oslo peace process and the second Intifada. That cycle of escalating violence, now two years old, has no end in sight.

***Part 7: The Second Intifada and the Death of Oslo***

The Mideast: A Century of Conflict

*Morning Edition*: October 8, 2002

There were many reasons that the Oslo process didn’t succeed. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli right-wing fanatic in 1995. After that, the Hamas organization carried out a series of deadly suicide bombings in Jerusalem and other Israeli cities. In 1996, Likud party leader Benjamin Netanyahu was elected prime minister. He slowed the implementation of the Israeli withdrawal from West Bank areas, even as he increased the pace of Jewish settlement on the West Bank. President Clinton stepped in to try to give new life to the peace process, which still had the support of the majority of Israelis. In 1999, Netanyahu’s coalition fell apart, and he was defeated in a bid for re-election by Ehud Barak. Clinton brought Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat together for a final round of negotiations at Camp David in 2000, but the attempt failed. The second Intifada broke out soon thereafter, and the violence has escalated since, bringing with it profound distrust on both sides, and an Israeli reoccupation of Palestinian cities, carried out by Israel’s new leader, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (pictured).

BOB EDWARDS: Two years ago, the Middle East peace process collapsed. A second Palestinian Intifada, or uprising, erupted. It’s been far more deadly than the first Intifada, which came during the late 1980s.

Some 1,500 Palestinians and 500 Israelis have lost their lives in what has, in effect, become Israel’s longest war.

It wasn’t supposed to turn out this way. The Oslo agreement of 1993 was meant to bring peace.

NPR’s Mike Shuster has the final part of the series, “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict.”

MIKE SHUSTER: On September 28, 2000, Ariel Sharon visited the most disputed piece of real estate in the world: the Temple Mount as the Jews call it, the Haram As-Sharif in Arab eyes. Inside the Old City of Jerusalem, it is the location of the Western Wall, what is left of the ancient Jewish temples, built by Solomon and Herod. It is also where the Dome of the Rock and the Al Aqsa Mosques stand.

ARIEL SHARON: “...(speaking in Hebrew)...”

SHUSTER: The Likud is here with a message of peace, Sharon said that day, surrounded by Israeli police. The Palestinians didn’t see it that way; they viewed the visit as a calculated provocation. Moments after Sharon left, several hundred Palestinian men started throwing stones at Israeli police.

The violence hasn’t ended yet.

Sharon’s visit came two months after peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians had broken down at Camp David.

Palestinian-American writer Edward Said says the Palestinians had become disillusioned with a peace process whose benefits many failed to see.

EDWARD SAID: By the time the latest Intifada broke out, the Palestinians had gained only 18 percent of the West Bank—18 percent. The balance was held by Israel in a series of, through settlements and through military areas. Eighteen percent which were completely surrounded by Israeli settlements and forces.

SHUSTER: The latest phase of the peace process had started on September 13, 1993, when Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands on the White House lawn. President Bill Clinton spoke of the difficult work ahead.

BILL CLINTON: What these leaders have done now must be done by others. Their achievement must be a catalyst for progress in all aspects of the peace process. And those of us who support them must be there to help in all aspects. For the peace must render the people who make it more secure.

SHUSTER: The first blow, and many consider it fatal, came just two years later. On November 4, 1995, a young right-wing Israeli zealot shot Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to death after a peace rally in Tel Aviv. The lone Israeli politician of his generation who seemed capable of making peace had been gunned down.

New elections were held the next year, pitting Labor’s Shimon Peres against Likud’s Benjamin Netanyahu. It was then that the bombings began. Hamas suicide bombers detonated themselves in the center of Jerusalem and other cities. Netanyahu was elected.

The bombs were meant to kill the Oslo process, and they did, says William Quandt, author of *Peace Process*.

WILLIAM QUANDT: When Likud came into power in 1996 Oslo was essentially over. We didn’t declare its demise at that point because people remained hopeful. But the whole dynamic of Oslo turned around. You had a prime minister in Israel who didn’t believe in it.

SHUSTER: Netanyahu paid lip service to the Oslo process, but he suspended the phased Israeli withdrawal from the occupied West Bank. And he sped up the construction of Israeli settlements there. University of Chicago historian Rashid Khalidi argues the Oslo Agreement should have included a freeze on Israeli settlements. It did not.

RASHID KHALIDI: It was necessary, is necessary, and will be necessary for somebody to get the Israelis to sit down and decide, do they want to end the occupation and do they want to remove settlements or not. Oslo gave them the luxury of another decade during which they not only didn’t have to do that but the people who were paving the West Bank and turning it into an extension of Israel have gotten another 100,000 Israelis settled there, have paved hundreds of miles of roads, and are even less likely to give up these territories than they might have been a decade or more ago.

SHUSTER: Yasser Arafat returned from exile in 1994. He set up the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and in those portions of the West Bank that the Israelis abandoned. But his method and style of governing also contributed to the failure of the process, says historian Avi Shlaim, author of *The Iron Wall*.

AVI SHLAIM: The Palestinian leadership, Yasser Arafat in particular, bear a share of the responsibility for the breakdown. In particular for violating some of the terms of the Oslo agreement by importing arms, by having much bigger security forces than they were entitled to, and by not laying the foundations for a democratic regime that respects human rights.

SHUSTER: President Clinton concluded new pressure was needed.

In October 1998, he brought Netanyahu and Arafat together for negotiations at the Wye River Plantation in Maryland. For two weeks they went round and round, and eventually put their signatures on an agreement meant to give new life to Oslo.

When he returned to Israel, Netanyahu again dug in his heels, blaming the Palestinians for failing to fulfill the bargain.

But the mood in Israel was in favor of peace. When Netanyahu’s coalition fell apart, he set new elections for the following May. Ehud Barak won handily.

President Clinton believed that with Barak as prime minister, he could bring the Oslo process to completion, and in July 2000, he invited Barak and Arafat to Camp David.

For the first time, the negotiations addressed the big issues—Jerusalem, settlers, security. Barak made an offer that many consider Israel’s best ever, but when he unfolded a map that showed a Palestinian state made up of several unconnected cantons, surrounded by Israeli troops, Arafat walked away.

For Edward Said the deal Barak offered was a bad one, but in his view, both leaders failed at Camp David.

EDWARD SAID: He meant this as a final offer, leaving out questions of what happened in 1948, Israel’s responsibility, the return of the refugees or compensation for them. Or even acknowledging that they exist. And Arafat should have returned, not just by refusing but by saying, look here’s what we will accept. He neither had the courage, nor the foresight, nor the intelligence to do that.

SHUSTER: Historian Anita Shapira believes that the roots of the failure reach back in history, to what happened in 1948 when Israel became independent, and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians lost their homes.

ANITA SHAPIRA: The only problem that was not tackled at all was the right of return because Israelis though that there was a tacit understanding that the Palestinians do not really mean it. And the Palestinians thought that the Israelis do not tackle the real problem. That’s what this Intifada is all about.

SHUSTER: For historian Benny Morris, the problem goes even further back.

BENNY MORRIS: I think that the Arabs of Palestine regard all of Palestine as their birthright, their patrimony. They can’t understand why Jews suddenly appeared in Palestine and started to take it over. They can’t understand why they must agree to the Jews’ continuing to possess 80 percent of Palestine and they will agree to only receive 20 percent. These things, I think, underlie both this Intifada and the Palestinian political stance today.

SHUSTER: The second Intifada turned more violent. Rioting gave way to guerrilla attacks and then to the apparently endless series of suicide bombings. Escalation on the Israeli side made use of tanks, helicopter gunships, and jet fighters, leaving many Palestinian civilians and gunmen dead.

Ehud Barak’s government collapsed, and Ariel Sharon, possibly the Israeli politician most hated by the Palestinians, was elected prime minister.

In late March, Sharon launched a full-scale invasion of Palestinian territories. Much of that territory remains occupied.

A great opportunity had been lost, laments Cambridge University’s Yezid Sayigh.

YEZID SAYIGH: Every time I look at what’s happened in the last two years between Palestinians and Israelis, I look at the total unwillingness to understand each other, to start changing stereotypical images of each other. I think back to the assassination of Rabin, who started out where all these other people started, as someone somewhat arrogant. You know, a military man who felt that the Palestinians had to be dealt with by force but ultimately I think went through a genuine transformation in which he I think was able by the time he died to understand that the other side were human beings and had to be dealt with in a fundamentally different way.

SHUSTER: Over the past century of conflict, it has always been hard for the two sides to perceive a path to peace. The great irony of the past decade is that almost like equal poles of a magnet, the closer the Israelis and Palestinians came to each other, the more violently they pulled away.

Mike Shuster, NPR News, Los Angeles.

# Christianity

## Jesus

1. **main events**
   1. Jesus was born from from a virgin, in Bethlehem, in 7-4 bc. His parents were Mary and Joseph (“brothers” are mentioned, but ἀδελφός [“adelphos”] also means “male relative”). He grew up in Nazareth.
   2. He was baptized by John the Baptist c. ad 27 and began a public ministry of miracle-working and of teaching both crowds and disciples (he selected twelve especially). Most of his ministry was in Galilee.
   3. Near the end of his life he traveled to Jerusalem, predicting his passion and resurrection. After the triumphal entry and a week of ministry, he celebrated the last supper (probably Thursday, April 6, ad 30), was arrested and tried (by the Sanhedrin, then by Pilate), then was tortured and crucified.
   4. The following Sunday began a series of resurrection appearances, after which he ascended into heaven.
2. **miracles**
   1. Jesus had unusual means of knowledge (telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition).
   2. He performed:
      1. 18 healings (of the blind, lame, ill, deformed, etc.; plus 11 healing summaries),
      2. 5 exorcisms (Capernaum demoniac, Gerasene demoniac, etc.),
      3. 3 resuscitations (Jairus’ daughter, the widow’s of Nain’s son, Lazarus),
      4. and 8 nature miracles (stilling the storm, walking on water, feeding the 5000, etc.),
   3. Also, miracles occurred around Jesus (e.g., star of Bethlehem, transfiguration, resurrection).
3. **some principal teachings**
   1. Jesus taught the one God of Judaism but emphasized his mercy and approachability (e.g., the prodigal-son parable, Luke 15:11-32).
   2. He identified himself as the “Son of Man,” a traditional figure both supernatural and human (e.g., Dan 7:14); and he referred to the Holy Spirit (e.g., Matt 28:20, John 14:26, 16:13).
   3. He proclaimed the kingdom of God. This was not a future utopian society on earth or a spiritual kingdom in the heart, but “the sovereign rule of God decisively invading history in the ministry of Jesus . . . and the new order of things thus established . . .” (Hunter, *Parables Then and Now* 9-10)
   4. He abrogated parts of the Mosaic Law (e.g., dietary laws, Mark 7:19), intensified others (e.g., stressing intention, Matt 5:28), and emphasized the double commandments of love of God (Deut 6:5) and love of neighbor (Lev 19:18) (see Mark 12:29-31).
   5. He went further and advocated not judging others (e.g., Matt 7:1), non-retaliation (e.g., Matt 5:38-42), love of enemies (5:43-47), and unlimited forgiveness (e.g., Matt 18:22).
   6. For some he urged celibacy (e.g., Matt 19:12) and total poverty (e.g., Mark 10:21).
   7. He established the Church (e.g., Matt 16:18, 18:18).
   8. He taught that his death would be salvific for others (e.g., Mark 10:45).
   9. He affirmed the individual’s resurrection (e.g., Mark 12:25) and judgment (e.g., Matt 25) and affirmed heaven and hell (e.g., Luke 16:22-23).

## A Brief History of the Catholic Church

1. **ad 30-100**
   1. the New Testament books
      1. The New Testament books were written c ad 50-120. (Lapple 6)
      2. “These writings appeared so late because”: (Lapple 3)
         1. Jesus was to return soon. (Lapple 3)
         2. Christians wanted an eyewitness report. (Lapple 3)
         3. Debates in the community needed to be settled. (Lapple 3)
         4. The scandal of the cross needed to be eliminated. (Lapple 3)
         5. Liturgical needs needed to be met. (Lapple )
         6. There were encounters with Jewish and Greek intellectual trends. (Lapple 3)
   2. Judaizers
      1. Gal 1, Acts 15 (Lapple 4)
      2. Gal 2:1-20, “when Cephas came to Antioch I opposed him . . .” (Lapple 4)
   3. The “Roman imperial cult [required] the mandatory veneration of the emperor as a god.” (Lapple 5)
   4. dates of first- and second-century emperors
      1. Augustus (30 bc-ad 14)
      2. Tiberius (ad 14-37)
      3. Pontius Pilate (prefect, 26-36)
      4. Caligula (37-41)
      5. Claudius (41-54)
      6. Nero (54-68)
      7. Vespasian (69-79)
      8. Titus (79-81)
      9. Domitian (81-96) (Lapple 5)
      10. Trajan (98-117) (Trajan’s rescript of 112 provided a “legal basis for proceeding against Christians . . .”)
      11. Hadrian (117-138)
      12. Marcus Aurelius (161-180)
      13. Septimius Severus (193-211) (Lapple 15)
      14. Caracalla (211-217) (grants citizenship to all free inhabitants of the Empire)
      15. Decius (249-251)
      16. Valerian (253-260)
      17. Diocletian (284-305) (restructures empire, ad 293) (Lapple 16)
   5. important dates
      1. 37-4 bc Herod the Great is king
      2. c 4 bc birth of Jesus
      3. c ad 30 death and resurrection of Jesus
      4. c 34 conversion of Saul
      5. 51-125 New Testament books written (Paul’s letters: 51-63; gospels: 65-100)
      6. 64-67 Peter and Paul martyred in Rome
      7. 67-99 next popes: Linus, 67-76; An­a­­­­­cle­tus, 76-88; Clement, 88-99
      8. 70 Jerusalem and temple destroyed
2. **100s-200s**
   1. explosive expansion
      1. Rome’s good roads and safe sea routes provided an ideal territory. (Lapple 1)
      2. Also, “Christians settled in the garrison towns scattered all over Europe (far from imperial Rome) in order to escape the fierce persecutions . . .” (Lapple 9)
      3. “After careful reckoning the following figures may be cited for the growth of Christen­dom: (Lapple 10)
         1. 1st century ½ million Christians
         2. 2nd century 2 million Christians
         3. 3rd century 5 million Christians)
      4. “If we estimate the total population of the Roman Empire around [ad 300 as] fifty million, then by [ad 450] Christians in the entire Empire can be set at ten million or so.” (Lapple 10)
   2. development of the Church’s structure
      1. Tensions arose between institutional leaders and charismatic individuals. (Lapple 10)
      2. Heretical doctrines necessitated the definition of “sound doctrine” (1 Tim 1:10, 2 Tim 4:3). (Lapple 10)
      3. The “growth of the Christian communities . . . called for a separation of offices . . .” (Lapple 10)
      4. “The Roman church was acknowledged as the “head of the alliance of love” (Ignatius of Antioch).” (Lapple 11)
   3. the New Testament canon
      1. The four gospels were collected around ad 150. (Lapple 11)
      2. C. 140, Marcion († c 160, p. 15) put together \_ Luke + 10 of Paul’s letters. (Lapple 11)
      3. So the church had to specify the canon (rule). The criterion was use in the official liturgy. (Lapple 11)
      4. Muratorian Canon, c 180. (Lapple 15)
   4. heresies
      1. adoptionism
      2. Gnosticism (from Greek *gnosis*, “knowledge”)
         1. Gnostics believed in salvation by knowledge, not by faith. (Lapple 12)
         2. They considered the material world evil. (Lapple 12)
         3. “. . . under the heading of gnosticism belong
            1. “docetism,
            2. neo-Platonism, and
            3. Ma­ni­chae­­anism [Mani, 216-276 (p. 16)] . . .” (Lapple 12)
      3. Montanism (Montanus, † c 180)
      4. The “Church had to defend its faith in the triune God against [1] Jewish monotheism [and 2] pagan misinterpretation [as] tritheism (the worship of three gods).” (Lapple 12)
      5. Monarchianism
      6. 255-257, controversy over baptism of heretics: “whether Christians who had been baptized by an apostate priest or bishop had to be rebaptized . . . A large number . . . apostatized in North Africa” over this issue. (Lapple 12)
      7. In Rome c 220-260 [14], “a counter-Church [was] launched under the anti-popes Hip­pol­y­tus [217-235] and Novatian [251-258].” (Lapple 12)
      8. Pope Victor I settles the dispute over the date of Easter (ad 196). (Lapple 15)
   5. persecutions
      1. When Judaism ejected Christianity, the latter became a “*religio illicita* (forbidden religion),” and Christians became enemies of the state. (Lapple 17)
      2. From c 250, Christians increased, “especially in the eastern provinces and most notably among civil servants and soldiers . . .” (Lapple 17)
      3. After 200, the Empire was increasingly invaded by barbaric tribes, and “the emperors looked to save the Empire by placating the gods and reviving the state religion while attacking the Christians.” (Lapple 13)
      4. 250-251: first general persecution of Christians (under Decius). (Lapple 16)
      5. 303-311: second general persecution of Christians (under Diocletian). (Lapple 16)
   6. theologians
      1. Tertullian († c 220) (Lapple 16)
      2. Origen († 254) (Lapple 16)
   7. monasticism
      1. c 270: “beginnings of eremetical life in Egypt (St. Anthony, d. 356) . . .” (Lapple 16)
3. **300s-400s**
   1. barbarian invasions
      1. “. . . the migration of the barbarian tribes . . . began around 375.” (Lapple 22)
         1. 455: Vandals sack Rome. (Lapple 27)
      2. “The Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Vandals were Arians.” (Lapple 22)
         1. “The Arian bishop Wulfila, who translated the Bible into his compatriots’ mother tongue around 350, became famous as the “apostle of the Goths.”” (Lapple 22)
         2. While “Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths (471-526), was tolerant toward the “Catholic” religion, in North Africa the Vandals practically destroyed the “Catholic” church, with its three hundred or so dioceses.” (Lapple 22)
      3. 451: Battle of Châlons: Atilla defeated († 453). (Lapple 27)
      4. 476: “End of the Western Roman Empire” [27], “Emperor Romulus Augustulus de­posed by [the Saxon] Odoacer” (Lapple 27, 37)
      5. “. . . the Germanic kingdoms [within the Empire] proved to be short-lived . . .” (Lapple 22)
         1. 532: “Downfall of the Burgundian kingdom” (Lapple 37)
         2. 533: “Downfall of the North African Kingdom of the Vandals” (Lapple 23)
         3. 553: “Downfall of the Ostrogoth Kingdom” in south Germany and north Italy (Lapple 23)
         4. 711: “Downfall of the Visigoth Kingdom (in Spain)” (Lapple 23)
   2. elevation of Christianity
      1. 311: Galerius issues an edict of toleration. (Lapple 17)
      2. 313: Constantine issues the Edict of Milan, “which granted Christians freedom of wor­ship and restored properties that had been confiscated . . .” (*Random House Encyclope­dia,* 1990 [software])
         1. The Church crowned the emperor; in turn, the Council of Nicea (325) was an imperial council. (Lapple 18)
         2. “This association between the Church and the Empire was . . . the reason for the . . . more than one thousand year period called the Age of Constantine.” (Lapple 31)
      3. 380: the Edict of Theodosius I declares “Christianity to be the religion of all . . .” (Lapple 18)
      4. 391: “Christianity becomes the state religion of the Empire . . .” (Lapple 25)
      5. “. . . Walter Dirks observes: “The mistake of choosing the [18] Constantinian system led, via the conversion of the Germanic tribes, into the imposing dead-end street that we call the Middle Ages.” (Lapple 19)
   3. elevation of the papacy
      1. “In 378 Emperor Gratian (375-378) specifically established the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome as legally binding. But the Church of Rome was intent on asserting its autonomy, as we can gather from a decree by the Roman synod convened by Pope [Dama­sus] I (366-384). . . . “The holy Roman Church did not receive its preeminence over the other churches through the decisions of any council (and still less from imperial law), but through the word of our Lord and Savior, ‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church’ (Mt 16:­18).”” (Lapple 24)
      2. Leo I (440-461): “After the imperial residence had been transferred from Milan to Ravenna, Rome felt . . . exposed to the oncoming Ostrogoths. . . . Leo I proved to be defender and rescuer of Rome and Western culture by managing to turn Atilla away from Rome in 455.” (Lapple 24)
      3. Note “the enthusiastic cries of the council fathers at Chalcedon, “That is the faith of the fathers and the apostles. Peter has spoken through Leo.”” (Lapple 25)
   4. ecumenical (general) councils
      1. “. . . once Christians no longer needed to worry about their lives being in danger, they had time to busy themselves more actively with the meaning . . . of their faith.” (Lapple 19)
      2. 325: Nicea I. Main theme: “The divinity of Christ (identity of essence between God the Father and God the Son): as opposed to the teaching of Arius.” (Lapple 20) Arius had said, “Jesus Christ is a creature of God. Therefore there was a time when he did not exist.” (Lapple 21)
      3. 381: Constantinople I. Main theme: “The Divinity of the Holy Spirit: as opposed to the teaching of Macedonius.” (Lapple 20)
      4. 431: Ephesus. Main theme: “The divine motherhood of Mary: as opposed to the teach­ing of Nestorius.” (Lapple 20)
      5. 451: Chalcedon. Main theme: “Two natures (divine and human) in one (divine) person of Christ (“hypostatic union”).” (Lapple 20)
      6. “. . . critical illumination [of] the Church’s faith . . . could take place only through . . . Greek philosophy.” But Hilary of Poitiers warned against “saying the ineffable, ventur­ing recklessly into forbidden places.” [Yet] the great “doctors of the Church” . . . for the most part, were also bishops.” (Lapple 21)
   5. theologians (Lapple 26)
      1. Athanasius (295-373)
      2. Basil the Great (331-379)
      3. Gregory Nazianzen (330-390)
      4. John Crysostom (354-407)
      5. Ambrose (340-397)
      6. Leo I, the Great (pope 440-461)
      7. Augustine (354-430)
      8. Jerome (340-420)
      9. Gregory the Great († 604)
4. **500s-900s**
   1. After the collapse of the western Roman empire, “The precarious condition of both the state and the Church strengthened both . . . the Eastern Roman Emperor and . . . the pat­ri­arch of Constantinople . . .” (Lapple 28)
   2. the Carolingians
      1. 496: “It was an entirely personal decision when Clovis, king of the Franks, whose Catholic wife Clotilda came from Burgundy, had himself baptized” at Christmas in R­heims. (Lapple 29)
      2. “Into the contest of Pope, patriarch, and emperor a fourth [29] player had now made his way.” (Lapple 29-30)
      3. 754: Pippin the Younger (741-768) was honored by the pope “with the title “Patricius Romanorum,” protector and defender of the Roman church and the Catholic faith . . . The [cause for] granting this title . . . was the threat from the Lombards . . .” (Lapple 30)
      4. 756: “The Peace of Pavia” (“Donation of Pippin”)” (Lapple 38)
      5. “. . . the link between the Pope of Rome and the head of the Eastern Roman Empire (once himself the “Patricius Romanorum”) had been severed.” (Lapple 30)
      6. 800: “coronation of Charlesmagne in Rome on Christmas Day . . .” (Lapple 31)
   3. Islam
      1. Muhammad, c 570-632. (Lapple 37)
      2. With “Islam’s pincer movement” (in the east, via Constantinople to Vienna; in the west, via Spain to Poitiers), “Flourishing Christian communities were strangled and des­troyed, like those in North Africa . . .” (Lapple 32)
      3. “. . . ties between the West and Eastern Christianity, already strained . . ., were almost entirely cut off . . .” (Lapple 32)
      4. “Church and Empire were forced to transfer their activities “inward.” . . . “The Chris­tian Middle Ages,” with its . . . lofty spirituality and artistic power, [was] the result of the concentration of energy in a Europe [32] . . . encircled by Islam.” (Lapple 32-33)
   4. Benedict of Nursia
      1. 529: Benedict founds the monastery at Monte Cassino, based on the principle, “Ora et labora” (pray and work). (Lapple 33)
      2. The monks vowed to observe “*stabilitas loci* (to live permanently in one place).” (Lapple 33)
   5. missions
      1. Benedict’s ideas “were given a radical rethinking by Pope Gregory I (590-604). This Pope was confronted by the urgent problems of evangelicalism . . . [So] a continual stream of Christian missionaries flowed out from Benedictine monasteries, and Benedict himself received the title “Father of the West.”” (Lapple 33)
      2. ““The Second Wave of Missionary Activity” . . . came from the countries . . . not threatened by the Arianism of the tribal migrations . . . England, Ireland, and Scotland [could serve] their Germanic tribal brothers. This kinship . . . simplified the process of learning their customs, [and] it made it easier to frame the Christian message . . . [The Germanic] strong sense of clan and family, their whole way of life, all left a clear im­print on their” Church. (Lapple 34)
      3. Some missionaries resisted “any overarching Church organization—as Boniface, the apostle of Germany, learned . . .” (Lapple 34)
      4. The Germanic tribes’ “notion of the relationship between a lord and his followers required that the religious beliefs of the local prince or duke be adopted by his [35] subjects. . . . The well-known Reformation dictum, *Cuius regio, eius et religio* (the ruler of any area decides what his subjects’ religion will be) has deep roots in Germanic tribal consciousness, and was applied as early as the fifth century.” (Lapple 35-36)
      5. The lord of a region “also had the exclusive right to build churches and monasteries on his land [and] the right to nominate [pastors and abbots]. Every Christian sovereign was thus a “little Constantine” . . .” (Lapple 36)
      6. “860 onward: mission to the Slavs led by Cyril (d. 868) and Methodius (d. 885)” (Lapple 38)
   6. Church councils
      1. 553: Constantinople II (Lapple 37)
      2. 680-681: Constantinople III (Lapple 37)
      3. 787: Nicea II (730-787, iconoclastic controversy) (Lapple 37-38)
      4. 794: Frankish General Council of Frankfurt (Lapple 38)
      5. 869-70: Constantinople IV (Lapple 38)
5. **1000s-1300s**
   1. introduction
      1. 1000-1400 “is called the Middle Ages . . . [though antiquity] ends, a large number of his­tor­i­ans maintain, after the age of Charlemagne . . .” (Lapple 39)
      2. 1100s: “the Romanesque style gave way to Gothic.” (For the date, see *Popes from the Ghetto*, Ana­clet chapter.) (Lapple 40)
         1. “The great open space created by Romanesque . . . was now divided up into many little chapels . . .” (Lapple 40)
         2. “The Romanesque image of Christ the King was replaced by the Gothic image of the crucified Man of Sorrows.” (Lapple 40)
      3. A “developing individualism loomed on the horizon.” (Lapple 40)
      4. 1264: Feast of Corpus Christi introduced. (Lapple 51)
   2. Eastern Schism (1054)
      1. 858: “Tension between Rome and Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople” (Lapple 38)
      2. In 1054 Cardinal Humbert, on behalf of the pope, “delivered a bull of excommunication against the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius.” (Lapple 44)
      3. There were “differences in theology and sacramental practice . . .” (Lapple 44)
         1. They “had wrangled for centuries over rank and order of preference.” (Lapple 44)
         2. There was “the conflict between the political forces backing the Pope [and] the patriarch . . ., clashing head-on during the mission to the Slavs and the Crusades.” (Lapple 44)
         3. “A sort of ecclesiastical iron curtain [fell] . . . [Only in 1965] was the bull of excom­munication lifted by the Second Vatican Council . . .” [44] At the end of the Coun­cil, “the anathemas from the year 1054 [were] solemnly lifted. . . . Paul VI in Rome and Patriarch Athenagoras in Istanbul released identical statements, proclaiming that the schism ought “to be blotted out . . .”” (Lapple 44, 92)
   3. Church and state
      1. 919-1024: Saxons rule the Holy Roman Empire. (Lapple 48)
         1. There were “no national states in the modern sense . . . Political leadership came from [the] “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.”” (Lapple 40)
         2. In the 900s “the Church escaped [the] Roman nobility by the nomination of six German bishops to the papacy—though of course this exposed the Popes to . . . the Empire.” [43] There were also 5 German popes from 1046-1058. (Lapple 48-49)
      2. 1024-1125: Franks rule the Holy Roman Empire. (Lapple 49)
         1. 1075: Gregory VII prohibits lay investiture. (Lapple 49)
         2. 1077: “the German Emperor Henry IV was forced to go to Canossa (1077) to have the ban of excommunication lifted [by] Pope Gregory VII . . .” (Lapple 43)
         3. 1122: Concordat of Worms. (Lapple 48)
      3. 1138-1244: Hohenstaufen rule the Holy Roman Empire. (Lapple 49)
         1. 1152-1190: Frederick I, Barbarossa. (Lapple 50)
         2. papal schisms (the papacy’s “darkest . . . moment,” Lap­ple, *Cath­o­lic Church* 43)
            1. 1159-1177 (2 popes)
            2. 1378-1417 (3 popes)
         3. “Popes Innocent III (1198-1216) and Boniface VIII (1294-1303) pressed their claims to uni­ver­sal power . . .” (Lapple 43)
         4. 1268: “Conrad, the last Hohenstaufen, executed in Naples by Charles of Anjou.” (Lapple 51)
      4. 1309-1377: “Babylonian Captivity” of the papacy, with “political dependency of the seven French Popes who lived in Avig­non . . .” (Lapple 43)
      5. 1337-1453: Hundred Years War (England and France). (Lapple 51)
   4. Crusades (1096-1270)
      1. 1076: Turks capture Jerusalem. (Lapple 49)
      2. The “pious slogan” of the Crusades was: *Deus lo vult* (God wills it). (Lapple 40)
      3. “What was originally a campaign launched by the Church in the name of faith degener­ated as early as the capture of Jerusalem (1099) into . . . naked struggles for power, as when Byzantium was ruled, from 1204 to 1261, by the Latin kingdom of Constantino­ple.” (Lapple 42)
   5. Scholasticism
      1. university foundings (Lapple 50-51)
         1. 1150: Paris
         2. 1222: Padua
         3. 1224: Naples
         4. 1348: Prague
         5. 1365: Vienna
         6. 1386: Heidelberg
         7. 1388: Cologne
      2. “. . . in 1210 a Parisian provincial council banned his [Aristotle’s] writings, a prohibition that was repeated in 1215, 1245, and again in 1263. The well-known Franciscan theolo­gian Bonaventure went so far as to talk about “whoring with Aristotelian reason.”” (Lapple 45)
      3. major scholastics
         1. Anselm (1033-1109)
         2. Peter Abelard (1079-1142)
         3. Albert the Great (1193-1280)
         4. Bonaventure (1221-1274)
         5. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274)
         6. Duns Scotus (1266-1308)
         7. William of Ockham (1280-1349)
      4. Aquinas
         1. Aquinas “read the works of Aristotle, despite their being on the Index . . .” (Lapple 45)
         2. “Up until then Christian thinkers . . . had looked upon theology as *sapientia,* . . . designed to lead to a state of existential involvement . . . Aquinas took Aristotle’s ideas on knowledge [and] understood theology [as] formal doctrine, *scientia.*” (Lapple 45)
         3. Scholasticism led to “tremendous achievements [but also] absurd logic-chopping [as in] how many angels could fit on the head of a pin.” (*Sic!*) (Lapple 45)
   6. mysticism
      1. “Into this scene of religious desiccation came the mystics of the fourteenth century, pointing the way to . . . introspective, Augustinian piety . . .” Hence there was “tension be­tween Scholasticism and mysticism.” (Lapple 45)
      2. major mystics
         1. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153
         2. Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179)
         3. Gertrude (1256-1302)
         4. Meister Eckhart (1260-1327)
         5. Henry Suso (1295-1366)
         6. John Tauler (1300-1361)
         7. Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373)
         8. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380)
   7. heresies
      1. 1140: “Cathars become active, especially in southern France.” (Lapple 50)
      2. 1176: “Waldensians become active.” (Lapple 50)
      3. 1209-1229: Albigensian Wars. (Lapple 50)
      4. Joachim of Floris (1130-1202) caused widespread belief that the world would end in 1200. [49] (There had already been “end-of-the-world fever” at 1000 because he devil had been “chained for a thousand years” (Rev 20:2).(Lapple 49, 39)
      5. 1320-1384: John Wyclif. (Lapple 51)
      6. The “common thrust of most of the late medieval heretical movements [was] *not* disobedience to the Church, but a . . . need to criticize the Church as it actually was . . .” (Lapple 47)
      7. “Almost all . . . invoked the Bible.” (Lapple 47)
      8. Inquisition
         1. 1184: episcopal inquisitions established. (Lapple 50)
         2. 1224: inquisition in Lombardy. (Lapple 50)
         3. 1231: papal Inquisition established. (Lapple 48)
         4. 1232: Inquisition extended to entire Empire. (Lapple 51)
         5. “. . . in the midst of the Albigensian crisis . . ., a synod of Toulouse decreed in 1229: “Apart from the psalter and the breviary lay people are not to own any book of Holy Scripture. And they are not to have copies of these in the vernacular.”” (Lapple 47)
   8. missions
      1. 1001: founding of the archbishoprics of Gniezno (Poland) and Esztergom (Hungary). (Lapple 49)
      2. “The Slavic peoples would suffer grievously from the “Christian mission” because they happened to live in places of political interest to both the Frankish and Byzantine rulers . . . The political violence marking the Slavic mission seriously impeded relations between Rome and the Christian East.” (Lapple 41)
      3. 1147: crusade against the Wends. (Lapple 50)
   9. religious orders
      1. 910: Cluny founded. (Lapple 48)
      2. 1084: Carthusians
      3. 1098: Cistercians
      4. 1126: Premonstratensians
      5. 1156: Carmelites
      6. 1210 or 1223: Franciscans
      7. 1216: Dominicans
      8. 1256: Augustinians (Lapple 51)
6. **1400s**
   1. “. . . the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Dutch historian Jan Huizinga called . . . “The waning of the Middle Ages.”” (Lapple 52)
   2. 1414-1418: Council of Constance (Lapple 64)
   3. 1415: Jan Hus burned
   4. 1429: Joan of Arc burned
   5. 1431-1447: (17th Ecumenical) Council of Basel (1431-33)—Ferrara (1438)—Florence (1439-42)—Rome (1442-47) (Lapple 64)
   6. 1439: Council of Ferrara-Florence’s “Decree of Union” (Lapple 63)
   7. “ca. 1450”: Gutenberg discovers printing (Lapple 64)
   8. 1453: Sultan Mohammed II captures Constantinople: “end of the Eastern Roman Empire” (Lapple 64)
   9. 1487: *Malleus Maleficarum*
   10. 1492
       1. Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) discovers America (Lapple 53, 65)
       2. “Conquest of Granada—the end of Moorish rule in Spain” (Lapple 65)
   11. 1498: Girolamo Savonarola burned (in Florence) (Lapple 53, 63)
   12. fl. c 1500
       1. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536)
       2. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527)
       3. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528)
       4. Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543) [64]
       5. Pope Alexander VI (1492-1503) (Lapple 64-65)
7. **1500s**
   1. 1502: University of Wittenberg founded (Lapple 65)
   2. “Large sections of Christendom held fast to distorted marginal truths of the faith: venera­tion of saints and relics, accumulation of indulgences, going on pilgrimages. Many Chris­tians were driven (and tormented) by . . . a highly quantified ethic of earning merit. Thus in the Castle Church of Wittenberg around [1517] it was possible for a believer, by reciting prayers and devoutly contemplating the elector’s relic collection, to accumulate 1,900,000 years worth of indulgences.” There was also “Belief in the devil and witches [and] anxiety over judgment [and] hell . . .” (Lapple 54)
   3. 1512-1517: Lateran Council V (Lapple 65)
   4. eight leading figures during the Reformation
      1. Martin Luther (1483-1546) (Germany)
      2. Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1556) (Zurich)
      3. John Calvin (1509-1564) (Geneva)
      4. Henry VIII (1509-1547) (England)
      5. Francis I (1515-1547) (France)
      6. Charles V (1519-1556) (Spain)
      7. Philip II (1555-1598) (Spain)
      8. Elizabeth I (1558-1603) (England) (Lapple 53)
   5. motives for the Reformation
      1. religious motives
         1. People like Wyclif, Hus, Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin had [54] “a deeper feeling of shock and pain [that] forced them to speak out.” (Lapple 54-55)
         2. There “was, initially, no intention of splitting the Church . . . As late as 1519 Martin Luther was saying, “I never liked the idea of dividing the Church, and I never will.”” (Lapple 56)
      2. political motives
         1. “In discussing the downfall of Catholicism in Scandinavia, the Protestant church historian Karl Heussi trenchantly remarks: “This reform arose, not from the religious needs of the people, but from the political needs of the princes who imposed their restructuring of the Church on the people.”” (Lapple 57)
         2. “Religion was clearly not the issue when the Church of England broke away from Rome over Henry VIII’s marital difficulties.” (Lapple 57)
   6. the Reformation
      1. Lutheranism
         1. Luther’s conversion is “the celebrated “tower experience” . . .” (Lapple 5)
         2. October 31, 1517: the 95 theses. (Lapple 57)
         3. “. . . says Joseph Lortz . . . “Luther’s psychic development into a reformer was, at its crucial points, the overthrowing of a Catholicism that was in reality not Catholic. . . . Had it not been for those distortions the schism would never have come about, and had it not been for the hostility and bitterness they engendered the distance separating Catholics and Lutherans would never have become so broad and so permanent.”” (Lapple 57)
         4. “Because of his conviction that the spirit of God is free, Luther had a strong anti­pathy to the idea of institutionalizing grace, of pronouncing on its availability. By contrast Calvin . . . defended the necessity of visible organizations [and] church discipline.” (Lapple 58)
         5. Historian Karl Steck has written, “the split of Western Christendom [62] . . . be­came a permanent reality only after Luther’s death. . . . Luther wrote only for Catholics . . . Luther never envisaged the Christianity split up into ‘confes­sions’ that we know today (and view as perfectly natural), and he would scarce­ly have ap­proved it.” (Lapple 63)
         6. 1530: “Imperial Diet at Augsburg (Confessio Augustana) . . .” (Lapple 63)
         7. Nonetheless, “Luther passively permitted . . . the development of the Reforma­tion, insofar as it led to new church systems and political sovereignty over the Church . . . Only in 1555 did the Peace of Augsburg [“*Cuius regio, eius et religio,*” 63] bring a divided Church and the beginning of the denominational era.” (Lapple 63)
         8. development of Lutheranism
            1. 1517: Luther posts the ninety-five theses (Lapple 66)
            2. 1519: disputation between Luther and Eck (Leipzig) (Lapple 66)
            3. 1521: Edict of Worms (Lapple 66)
            4. 1529: Marburg Colloquium between Luther and Zwingli (Lapple 66)
            5. 1530: *Augsburg Confession* (Lapple 66)
      2. Calvinism
         1. “Because of his conviction that the spirit of God is free, Luther had a strong anti­pathy to the idea of institutionalizing grace, of pronouncing on its availability. By contrast Calvin . . . defended the necessity of visible organizations [and] church discipline.” (Lapple 58)
         2. Calvin’s *Soli Deo gloria* (“to God alone be the glory) bears a “similarity to Ignatius Loyola’s “*Ad majorem Dei gloriam*” (To the greater glory of God) . . .” (Lapple 58)
         3. The final edition of the *Insitutio christianae religionis* (*Instruction in the Christian Religion*) was 1559. (Lapple 58)
         4. “Calvin proposed a radical doctrine of predestination: man has no influence on either his election or rejection by God’s inscrutable decree. As expounded by Cal­vin’s friend and follower Theodore Beza (1519-1605), Calvin’s teaching on predes­tination became the core of orthodox Calvinism.” (Lapple 59)
         5. “Calvin firmly resisted Luther’s notion of the “real presence,” which, he said, “pulls Christ into the bread.” In Calvin’s opinion the eucharistic forms of bread and wine were no more than the seal, the pledge, the sign of God’s saving action.” (Lapple 59)
      3. spread of the Reformation
         1. 1527: Reformation introduced into Sweden (Lapple 66)
         2. 1534: “Henry VIII declared supreme head of the Church of England” (Lapple 66)
         3. 1536: Reformation introduced into Denmark and Norway (Lapple 67)
         4. 1541: Reformation introduced into Scotland (by John Knox) (Lapple 67)
      4. Counter-Reformation
         1. “History proves that the protests and assaults of the Reformers damaged the Roman Church, but they also did it a lot of good.” (Lapple 58)
         2. But “The Church . . . was not simply a collection of corrupt, money-hungry Chris­tians . . . Two examples will have to serve . . .” (Lapple 59)
            1. “. . . Charitas Pirckheimer, the abbess of the convent of St. Clare in Nuremberg (1467-1532),” wrote her *Memoirs.* (Lapple 59)
            2. Thomas More, “not just an erudite humanist, but an excellent jurist, [was] called by Henry VIII to be his lord chancellor. [60] When Henry let him in on his plans for divorce and remarriage, More loyally took the part of the king, whom he wished to help. But in time he realized that he could not.” He was beheaded in 1535. (Lapple 60-61)
         3. The Catholic renewal “was not, in fact, a response to the demands and activities of the Reformers.” (Lapple 61)
         4. new religious orders
            1. Theatines (1524)
            2. Capuchins (1528)
            3. Jesuits (1534)
            4. Ignatius Loyola
            5. Francis Xavier († 1552 in China)
            6. Ursulines (1535)
            7. Hospitalers (1550)
            8. Oratorians (1564)
         5. Spain “had been enjoying a national euphoria.” (Lapple 61)
            1. In 1492 Moorish rule ended. (Lapple 61)
            2. “. . . the Spanish mystics [especially Teresa of Avila († 1582) and John of the Cross († 1591)] passed on a contagious passion for religion to Western Chris­tendom. New orders were founded, dedicated to pastoral care, nursing the sick, and he education and formation of youth, as well as to missionary work in the newly discovered regions of the earth.” (Lapple 62)
         6. Trent: 1545 (12/13/45)-49, 1551-52, 1562-63. (Lapple 67)
            1. Har­nack: “Had the Triden­tine decree on justification been in place before, Luther’s appearance would probably have been unnecessary.” (Lapple 62)
            2. Peter Mein­hold: “In a ‘Catholic Reformation’ the Catholic Church made up for lost time and met all the demands that Protestants had been making of it.” (Lapple 62)
            3. Trent “gave clarifying answers [but] the basic issue . . . was not dealt with. The lack of a clear doctrinal statement on the Church and the unsettled issue of conciliarism (whether a council had supreme authority over the Pope) gave rise in the next two centuries to theological uncertainties . . .” (Lapple 69)
         7. 1570: Roman Missal published (Lapple 68)
         8. in France
            1. 1562-98: Huguenot Wars (Lapple 67)
            2. 1572 (8/24/72): St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre (Lapple 68)
            3. 1598: Edict of Nantes (religious freedom for Huguenots) (Lapple 68)
         9. missions: 1569: Christianity reaches the Philippines
   7. secular events in the 1500s
      1. 1519-1522: Magellan circumnavigates the world (Lapple 66)
      2. 1521: Cortez captures Mexico City (Lapple 66)
      3. 1524-25: Peasant’s War in Germany (Lapple 66)
      4. 1527: sack of Rome [by??] (Lapple 66)
      5. 1529: Suleiman II beseiges Vienna (Lapple 66)
      6. 1534: Jacques Cartier explores the St. Lawrence River (Lapple 66)
      7. 1565: “Spanish land at St. Augustine, Florida” (Lapple 67)
      8. 1571: Turkish fleet destroyed, Gulf of Lepanto (Lapple 68)
      9. 1585: first English settlement in Virginia (Roanoke) (Lapple 68)
      10. 1588: British defeat the Spanish Armada (Lapple 68)
8. **1600s**
   1. philosophy
      1. major philosophers
         1. René Descartes (1596-1650)
         2. Blaise Pascal (1623-1662)
         3. John Locke (1623-1704)
         4. Benedict Spinoza (1632-1677)
         5. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716)
   2. science
      1. 1616: Copernicus
         1. “. . . the Roman Inquisition condemned the basic theses of . . . Nicholas Copernicus (1473-1543), namely that the sun is the center of the planetary system and that the earth revolves about its axis and the sun.” (Lapple 72)
      2. 1600: Giordano Bruno
         1. Bruno was “burned as a heretic in Rome . . .” (Lapple 79)
      3. 1633: Galileo
         1. In 1633 the Roman Inquisition con­demned the *Dialogue on the Two Great Systems of the World* (1623) of Galileo Galilei (1564-1642). [72] Galileo defended helio­­centrism. “The geocentric world picture of . . . Ptolemy was considered an separa­ble part of the Bible and a matter of faith.” (Lapple 72-73)
         2. “Historian Friedrich Dessauer does not hesitate to rank it [the Galileo case] with the Eastern Schism and the Protestant Reformation as the third great catastrophe in Church history . . .” (Lapple 73)
   3. religious orders
      1. new religious orders
         1. 1609: Institute of Mary
         2. 1625: Lazarists
         3. 1639: Sisters of Charity
         4. 1664: Trappists
         5. 1725: Passionists
         6. 1732: Redemptorists
      2. 1773: suppression of the Jesuits (by Clement XIV). “The Jesuits may have been guilty of . . . engaging in power politics under the cover of religion, and of running up [debts, but] their enemies (supporters of Gallicanism and Jansenism, and competing religious orders) [organized] a massive propaganda campaign. . . . they were simply attacking a champion of the papacy.” (Lapple 77)
   4. missions
      1. in the West
         1. “With the discovery of the New World an upsurge of missionary activity began . . .” (Lapple 73)
         2. 1609: establishment of the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay. [79] “In order to protect the native populations from the depredations of the “Christian” conquerors, the Jesuits, beginning around 1610, built settlements, called reductions, for the Chris­tian Indians in Paraguay.” (Lapple 79, 74)
      2. in the East
         1. From about 1250 “Franciscans and Dominicans had journeyed to India [74] and China . . .” (Lapple 74-75)
         2. Jesuits
            1. 1608: missionary work in India by Roberto de Nobili. (Lapple 79)
            2. 1615: mission to China. (Lapple 79)
            3. Chinese rite controversy (1633-1742)

The Chinese rite controversy began in 1633 “between Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans” (Lapple 80)

The Jesuits “argued that baptized Chinese should be allowed to retain the tra­ditional custom of venerating their ancestors, including Confucius. The cham­pions of this broad-minded and flexible accommodation were the Jesuit mis­sionaries Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656) in India, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) in Japan, and Johann Adam Schall (1591-1666) in China. . . .” (Lapple 75)

“The Chinese rite controversy lasted almost one hundred years, until Pope Ben­edict XIV (1740-58) put an end to it with the Apostolic Constitution *Ex quo singu­lari* (July 11, 1742). Terrible damage was done to the Far East missions, especially in China, by the struggles among the different mis­sionary orders and by the colonialism of the European “protecting powers.” . . . From the eighteenth century onward the mission stagnated [and] underwent persecution.” (Lapple 75)

* + - 1. An “incarnation of the Christian message in foreign cultures . . . would have ex­panded the horizon of the Western Church to that of a truly catholic world Church . . .” (Lapple 76)
  1. Church-state relations
     1. 1648: Peace of Westphalia
     2. 1643-1715: Louis XIV of France, “the Sun King” (Lapple 80)
     3. 1685: revocation of the Edict of Nantes
     4. The “papacy reached a lower point than it had known for centuries . . .” (Lapple 76)
        1. The “personal worthiness” of “the men who occupied the chair of St. Peter in the eighteenth century” was “unquestionable.” (Lapple 76)
        2. But, with monarchs “supported by national aristocratic churches” bound to them by kinship, “it was inevitable that they would clash with the Pope . . .” (Lapple 76)
        3. Also, the natural sciences “led to vehement assaults on the supernatural . . .” (Lapple 76)
     5. “The absolutist rulers acknowledged its [the Church’s] political and pedagogical task—of forming and motivating loyal subjects, conscientious taxpayers, and brave soldiers ready to die for “throne and altar.”” (Lapple 71)
     6. “. . . the Church let itself be used and misused to insure princely absolutism . . . because most of the Church’s high officials in that era came from the ranks of the nobility . . .” (Lapple 72)
     7. Pius VI (1775-1799) “died in France as a prisoner. His successor Pius VII . . . was led prisoner to Fontainebleau.” (Lapple 77)
     8. “With the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, the beginning of the French Revol­u­tion, we see the grandiloquently titled “Age of Constantine” starting to come to a close, though in drawn-out stages.” (Lapple 77)
  2. heresies
     1. Conciliarism “fought for the supremacy of a Church council over the Pope . . .” (Lapple 77)
     2. Gallicanism: 1682, “Declaration of the French clergy on the “Freedoms of the Galli­can Church”” (Lapple 80)
  3. America
     1. 1620: Pilgrims take Mayflower to America. (Lapple 79)
     2. 1622: establishment of the Con­gregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Lapple 78)
     3. 1626: Dutch found New Amsterdam (New York). (Lapple 79)
     4. 1634: Catholics settle in Maryland. (Lapple 79)
     5. 1639: Roger Williams founds Baptist Church in Providence, RI. (Lapple 80)
     6. 1673: “Jacques Marquette explores the Mississippi River” (Lapple 80)
     7. 1679: “Junipero Serra founds San Diego mission” (Lapple 80)
     8. 1700: “Eusebio Kino founds Catholic mission in Tucson” (Lapple 80)
  4. miscellaneous dates
     1. 1618-1648: Thirty Years War (Lapple 79)
     2. 1653: “Oliver Cromwell becomes Lord Protector of Britain” (Lapple 80)
     3. 1683: “Siege of Vienna by the Turks” (Lapple 80)

1. **1700s**
   1. philosophy
      1. major philosophers (Lapple 79-80)
         1. Voltaire (1694-1778)
         2. David Hume (1711-1776)
         3. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)
         4. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804)
      2. the Enlightenment
         1. “While rationalism was making inroads into theology and preaching, there was also an upsurge in religious life, with the practice of eucharistic adoration, devotions to the Child Jesus, the Sacred Heart, and Mary, the nuptial mysticism practiced in many covents [*sic*], the Jesuit theater, plays for Christmas, the Passion, and Easter, and the popular hymns that served as a catechetical accompaniment to the liturgical year.” (Lapple 70)
         2. “Alongside the radical skeptics and atheists there were . . . thinkers who argued for . . . “natural religion” . . . [Lessing said] that true religion could never be found and so all rel­i­gions ought to be treated with equal respect.” (Lapple 71)
         3. “In an essay called “What Is Enlightenment?” published in 1784, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) summed up the Enlightenment spirit . . .: “Enlightenment is man’s release from his self-incurred tutelage. Tutelage is man’s inability to make use of his understanding without direction from another. Self-incurred is this tutelage when its cause lies not in lack of reason but in lack of resolution and courage to use it with­out direction from another. *Sapere aude!* ‘Have courage to use your own rea­son!’—that is the motto of enlightenment.” (Lapple 71)
   2. heresies
      1. 1717: “foundation of the Grand Lodge of the Freemasons in London” (Lapple 80)
      2. Febronianism: in 1763, “Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim, suffragan bishop of Trier, using the pseudonym “Justinus Febronius,” publishes *On the Condition of the Church and the Rightful Power of the Bishop of Rome*” (Lapple 81)
   3. Church-state relations
      1. major rulers
         1. Peter the Great (1689-1725) (1721: restructures the Russian church) (Lapple 80)
         2. Empress Maria Theresa of Austria (1740-1780) (Lapple 80)
         3. King Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-1786) (Lapple 80)
         4. Empress Catherine the Great of Russia (1762-1796) (Lapple 81)
         5. King Louis XVI of France (1774-1792) (Lapple 81))
         6. Emperor Francis II of Austria (1792-1806) (Lapple 81)
      2. 1781: Emperor Joseph II issues the Edict of Toleration. (Lapple 81)
   4. miscellaneous dates (Lapple 81)
      1. 1754: French-Indian War begins
      2. 1775-1783: Revolutionary War (July 4, 1776)
      3. 1787: U. S. Constitution written
      4. 1789: fall of the Bastille
2. **1800s**
   1. “The reason why the Church was so hard hit by . . . the French Revolution is that [as] a Church of the aristocracy it had let itself be used and misused to defend a social order that was badly in need of change. . . . The foundations of the Age of Constantine were shaken—. . . the coalition and cooperation between the Church and the Empire. Many Christians, especially bishops and Popes, deluded themselves into believing that this coalition had been permanently established and kept viable by divine Providence.” (Lapple 82)
   2. the Church deprived of its power
      1. popes
         1. 1800-1823: Pius VII
         2. 1831-1946: Gregory XVI
         3. 1846-1878: Pius IX
         4. 1878-1903: Leo XIII (Lapple 95-96)
      2. In 1803: the German Estates meeting in Regensburg decided to secularize the Church . . . “Secularization” was a code name for the forcible transfer of Church property to the state . . . a violation of the law.” (Lapple 83)
      3. “The “poor” Church no longer held any appeal for noblemen . . . Men from the com­mon people were now being chosen as bishops . . .” (Lapple 83)
      4. “Owing to the suppression or destruction of almost all monasteries in Europe Catholics lost a group of unique educational centers . . . Monastery schools had once opened the way for many gifted sons of farmers and artisans to intellectual formation, . . . to careers as leaders in the Church and society.” (Lapple 83)
      5. “. . . secularization proved on balance to be a healthy unburdening for the Church. . . . the Church would have been a helpless target for communist attacks because of its wealth . . .” [It was anyway.] (Lapple 83)
      6. concordats
         1. In the United States, “a new system was [being] tried—total separation of Church and state . . . [In the U. S.,] a country that was supposed to be a land of tolerance. Opposition to the tide of Catholic immigration [became] Nativism which pitted native-born (mostly Protestant) Americans against newly-arriving Catholics and Jews.” (Lapple 84)
         2. “. . . the Church had to enter into tediously detailed negotiations with many newly powerful princes . . . through treaties called concordats. . . . rather than have Cath­olics become second-class citizens or be regarded as enemies of the state (so-called Ultramontanes), the Church signed a large number of concordats in a short time.” (Lapple 84)
         3. concordats (Lapple 95)
            1. 1801: France
            2. 1803: Italy
            3. 1817: Bavaria, Sardinia
            4. 1818: Russia, Naples
            5. 1827: Netherlands
            6. 1828: Switzerland
            7. 1851: Spain
            8. 1855: Austria
         4. “On one hand the concordats weakened the power of the bishops; on the other they strengthened that of the Popes, especially their right to consultation and the final word in appointing bishops. The Catholic charitable work [84] . . . under the pro­tection of the concordats—served the whole population of a country and not just Catholics.” (Lapple 84-85)
      7. religious orders
         1. The concordats protected “charitable work in hospitals and homes for the blind and handicapped, educational efforts in Church kindergartens, and monastery or con­vent boarding schools, and the abundance of religious associations and educational institutions for children and adults . . .” (Lapple 84)
         2. “Many new congregations were founded by parish priests in order to get co-work­ers in the vital areas of pastoral care (kindergartens, hospitals, youth centers, homes for the handicapped). Before World War II a period of a hundred years ended during which, in Germany alone, a new sodality for women was foun­ded every six months.” (Lapple 87)
         3. new religious orders (Lapple 88)
            1. Madames of the Sacred Heart (1800)
            2. Christian Brothers (1802)
            3. Sisters of Charity (1809)
            4. Sisters of Loretto (1812)
            5. Oblates (1816)
            6. Marist Brothers (1817)
            7. Pallotines (1835)
            8. Ursulines (1838)
            9. Paulists (1858)
            10. Salesians (1859)
            11. White Fathers (1868)
            12. Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (1891)
      8. missions
         1. “. . . around the middle of the nineteenth century [there was] an extraordinary renaissance of the missions.” (Lapple 87)
         2. “Their [missionaries’] pastoral zeal was strengthened by the apparitions of Mary at Lourdes (1858), by the exemplary life of Curé of Ars, John Vianney (1786-1859), by the revival of devotion to the Sacred Heart, and certainly too by the encourage­ment of frequent Communion and earlier Communion for children as urged by Pope Pius X (1903-14).” (Lapple 87)
      9. the Church under intellectual siege
         1. A new menace was “a motley coalition of . . . agnosticism, atheism, materialism, indifferentism, liberalism, communism, Marxism. In addition there [were] new religious groups . . .” (Lapple 85)
            1. Mormons (1830) (*Book of Mormon* published [95])
            2. Seventh Day Adventists (1845)
            3. Salvation Army (1861) (founded by Gen. Wm. Booth [96]
            4. Jehovah’s Witnesses (1872) (founded by Charles Russell [96])
            5. Christian Science (1876) (Lapple 86, 95-96)
         2. “If up to this point the [85] Church had been open to the world and ready for dialogue, it now . . . lapsed into a sort of fortress mentality . . .” (Lapple 85-86)
         3. 1832: Gregory XVI’s encyclical *Mirari vos* pointed “to “the insane notion that universal freedom of conscience should be proclaimed and fought for.”” (Lapple 86)
         4. Pius IX (1846-1878), though he began as a “liberal,” became negative about mod­ernism, largely because of the loss of the Papal States in 1860. (Lapple 86)
         5. 1864: Pius IX’s *Syllabus of Errors* (appended to the encyclical, *Quanta cura*). (Lapple 87)
         6. 1879: Leo XIII (1878-1903) in the encyclical, *Aeterni patris* encourages “Neo-Schol­as­ticism,” both the Augustinian-Bonaventuran strand and “Neo-Thomism.” (Lapple 87, 106)
   3. miscellaneous dates
      1. 1789: first American bishop (John Carroll, Baltimore)
      2. 1801: Concordat with Napoleon
      3. 1803: Louisiana Purchase
      4. 1804: “coronation of Napoleon I as emperor in Notre Dame”
      5. 1806: “Emperor Francis II abdicates . . .: end of the Holy Roman Empire”
      6. 1812-1815: British-American war
      7. 1814: Jesuits restored
      8. 1814-1815: Congress of Vienna (Europe reorganized)
      9. 1846-1847: Mexican-American war
      10. 1847: “Famine in Ireland; beginning of large-scale immigration to America” (Lapple 95)
      11. 1844: “Anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia”
      12. 1848: “*Communist Manifesto* published in London”
      13. 1848: Emperor Francis Joseph I of Austria
      14. 1854: (12/8/54) Immaculate Conception
      15. 1855: YMCA founded in Paris
      16. 1858: Lourdes apparitions
      17. 1860-1864: Civil War
      18. 1864: Geneva Convention (Red Cross)
      19. 1864: *Syllabus of Errors*
      20. 1869-1870: Vatican Council I: papal primacy and infallibility
      21. 1870-1871: Franco-Prussian War
      22. 1870: end of Papal States
      23. 1888: Emperor William II of Germany
      24. 1890: John Henry Cardinal Newman †
      25. 1890: Indians massacred at Wounded Knee, SD (Lapple 96)
      26. 1891: *Rerum novarum*
      27. 1896: first modern Olympics (Athens)
      28. 1898: Spanish-American War
3. **1900s**
   1. the Church shifts toward the Third World
      1. “. . . consider the German city of Munich: between 1970 and 1980 Catholics in that city went from 67.4% of the population to 60%, while Protestants went from 22.9% to 19.7%. At the same time people who were neither Catholic nor Protestant nor Jewish (i. e., members of sects or of non-traditional religious or philosophical groups or of the “third confession”) increased their share from 9.7% to 20.1%. Any realistic appraisal of the contemporary Church must register the fact that the pro­por­tion of Christians to the world’s population as a whole has clearly diminished over the last one hundred and fifty years (one of the reasons for this, of course, is the high birth rate among non-Christian African and Asian nations). Around 1850 Christians still made up something like one half the earth’s population. By 1950 this share had shrunk to one-third.” By 2000, it will be one-sixth. (Lapple 89)
      2. “In 1976 almost 58% of all Catholics lived in the third world. [89] . . . Within a few years more than half of all Catholics will come from” Latin Am­erica. (Lapple 89-90)
      3. “The Church has already begun to be de-Europeanized, [a process] that ought to have profound consequences in the Church’s decision-making structure, in the reformulation of dogmas, and in all areas of theology and pastoral care.” (Lapple 90)
      4. “Just as in the first century when the early Christian mission left the narrow limits of Palestine and plunged forward into the great open spaces of the Roman Empire, so at the end of the twentieth century this missionary thrust is extending itself beyond the confines of Europe and North America, so that now for the first time the Church can grow into a worldwide, genuinely Catholic stature.” (Lapple 91)
   2. ecumenism
      1. “Ecumenism” is “efforts to bring together the separated Christian communities into a single faith and Church.” (Lapple 101)
      2. “Many people have seen their hopes chilled. . . . an ecumenism which ignores history and truth is of no use to the Church . . .” (Lapple 91)
      3. 1948: establishment of “the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam. In the WCC’s Declaration of Principles (Toronto, 1950), which defines its purpose and activities, we read: “The World Council of Churches is not and must never become a superchurch. It is not a superchurch. It is not the world church. It is also not the one true Church that the creeds speak of. . . . By its very existence and activity the Council bears witness to the need for a clear statement on behalf of the unity of Christ’s Church. But it remains the right and duty of each church to draw from its ecumenical experience the conclu­sions to which it feels bound, on the basis of its own peculiar convictions. . . . Member­ship in the WCC does not imply acceptance of any specific doctrine on the nature of church unity. . . . There is room in the WCC for those churches which recognize other churches as the Church in the full and true sense of the word, and those which do not.”” (Lapple 92)
      4. “Even before [Vatican Council II] met, the Secretariat for Christian Unity . . . was found­ed.” (Lapple 92)
   3. 1962-1965: Vatican Council II
   4. “The personnel problem in the Church—the lack of priests and religious—has manifestly worsened in the second half of this century. Of course, Christ has assured his faithful that “the powers of death shall not prevail against his church” (Mt 16:18).” (Lapple 93)
   5. miscellaneous dates
      1. 1907: *Pascendi dominici gregis* (anti-modernism)
      2. 1914-1918: World War I
      3. 1910: First World Missionary Conference (“in Edinburgh, forerunner of World Coun­cil of Churches”)
      4. 1917: Russian Revolution
      5. 1917: “apparitions of Our Lady of the Rosary at Fatima, Portugal”
      6. 1919: Treaty of Versailles
      7. 1922: Mussolini seizes power in Italy
      8. 1925: First World Conference of Churches in Stockholm
      9. 1929: Lateran Treaties (Vatican and Mussolini regime)
      10. 1933: *Reichskonkordat* (Vatican and Nazi regime)
      11. 1937: *Mit brennender Sorge* (against Nazism)
      12. 1939-1945: World War II
      13. 1945: atomic bombing of Hiroshima
      14. 1946: Dead Sea Scrolls
      15. 1948: World Council of Churches founded (Amsterdam)
      16. 1950: assumption of Mary
      17. 1960: John F. Kennedy, only Catholic president
      18. 1961: first man in space (Yuri Gagarin, soviet)
      19. 1969: first men on the moon (Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin)
   6. popes
      1. 1903-1914: Pius X
      2. 1914-1922: Benedict XV
      3. 1922-1939: Pius XI
      4. 1939-1958: Pius XII
      5. 1958-1963: John XXIII
      6. 1963-1978: Paul VI
      7. 1978: John Paul I
      8. 1978-present: John Paul II (Lapple 97-98)

## Church Councils

All are ecumenical unless in brackets. “Ecumenical” means “worldwide.” Protest­ants accept ecumenical councils 1-4 (those of ad 325-451); Eas­tern Orthodox accept 1-7 (ad 325-787); and Catholics accept all 21.

**ancient**

1. 325 Nicaea I Arianism (Son is the highest creature, before time)

Father and Son are consubstantial (*homoou­sios*)

[362 Alexandria semi-Arianism (Father and Son are of like substance, *homoiousios*)]

2. 381 Constantinople I Apollinarianism (Son replaces Jesus’ human intellect and will)

Macedonianism (Holy Spirit is a creature)

the Holy Spirit is consubstan­tial with the Father and the Son

3. 431 Ephesus Nestorianism (Christ is two natures in two persons)

Pelagianism (man, without grace, can avoid sin)

Christ is 2 natures in 1 person

4. 451 Chalcedon Eutychianism (Christ is 1 nature after the incarnation)

hypostatic union: the Logos is the basis of the 2 natures’ union

5. 553 Constantinople II monophysitism (Christ’s divine nature absorbs the human nature)

Origenism (pre-existent souls fell into matter; Son subordinate to

Father)

[529 Orange semi-Pelagianism (man, without grace, can turn to God)]

[589 Toledo III *filioque* added to creed]

6. 680 Constantinople III monotheletism

7. 787 Nicaea II iconoclasm (use of images in worship is wrong)

**medieval**

8. 869 Constantinople IV Greek schism ended, Photius deposed

9. 1123 Lateran I simony, celibacy; Concordat of Worms confirmed

10. 1139 Lateran II papal schism ended; reforms

11. 1179 Lateran III Albigensianism and Waldensianism; papal-election laws

12. 1215 Lateran IV crusade planned; annual communion; Franciscans; reforms

13. 1245 Lyons I crusade planned; Frederick II deposed

14. 1274 Lyons II Greeks reunited; *filioque* reaffirmed; reforms

15. 1311-12 Vienne Beguines and Beghards; Knights Templars abolished; reforms

[1409 Pisa could not enforce councils’ authority over popes’]

16. 1414-18 Constance Huss executed, Wyclif condemned; Great Schism (3 popes) ended

17. 1431-45 Basle-Ferrara-Florence Greeks reunited; settlement with Hussites; reforms

18. 1512-17 Lateran V Neo-Aristotelians; reforms

**modern**

19. 1545-63 Trent Protestantism; reforms

20. 1869-70 Vatican I papal infallibility

21. 1962-65 Vatican II pastoral council

## Vatican Council II

Vatican II (2300 bishops, cf. Nicea I: 220 bishops) was not primarily dogmatic or reforming but pastor­al; it sought to enhance effective reaching out to the world. Based on renewals in biblical and li­turgi­cal stud­ies, it produced 16 documents; the most important theologically are the *Dog­matic Constitu­tion on the Church*, the *Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Re­vel­a­tion*, and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*. There were:

4 constitutions

*Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*

*Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation*

*Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*

*Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*

9 decrees

*Decree On the Bishops’ Pastoral Office*

*Decree On Priestly Formation*

*Decree On the Ministry and Life of Priests*

*Decree On the Renewal of the Religious Life*

*Decree On the Apostolate of the Laity*

*Decree On the Eastern Catholic Churches*

*Decree On Ecumenism*

*Decree On Missionary Activity*

*Decree On the Instruments of Social Communication*

3 declarations

*Declaration On Christian Education*

*Declaration On Non-Christian Religions*

*Declaration On Religious Freedom*

## Early or Major Church Fathers

**Apostolic Fathers** (c 96-150)

96 Clement (*1 Clement*)

author of *2 Clement*

c 108 Ignatius

Letter to the Ephesians

Letter to the Magnesians

Letter to the Trallians

Letter to the Romans

Letter to the Philadelphians

Letter to the Smyrnaeans

c 100 author of the *Didache*

author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*

Hermas (*The Shepherd of Hermas*)

author of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*

author of the *Epistle to Diognetus*

**Apologists** (c 130-180)

c 125 Quadratus

c 140 Aristides

c 155 Justin Martyr

c 170 Tatian

c 170s Melito of Sardis

c 177 Athenagoras

**major Church Fathers**, **30-750**

fl. c 180 Irenaeus (creed, canon, apostolic succession)

† 254 Origen

† 373 Athanasius

† 379, 389, 394 the Cappadocians (Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa)

† 420 Jerome

† 430 Augustine

† 635 Isidore of Seville

his *Book of Sentences*—brief statements of doctrine—is the West’s theological textbook till the 1100s

his *Encyclopedia* is the main source of knowledge of antiquity in the dark ages

## Doctors of the Church

“Doctors of the Church.” *Wikipedia*. 29 Dec. 2017. 11 Jan. 2018. Web.

1. Athanasius (298-373)
2. Hilary of Poitiers (300-367)
3. Ephraim (306-373)
4. Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386)
5. Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389)
6. Basil the Great (330-379)
7. Ambrose (c 340-397)
8. John Chrysostom (347-407)
9. Jerome (c 347-420)
10. Augustine (354-430)
11. Cyril of Alexandria (376-444)
12. Pope Leo the Great (400-461)
13. Peter Chrysologus (406-450)
14. Pope Gregory the Great, OSB (c 540-604)
15. Isidore of Seville (560-636)
16. Bede the Venerable, OSB (672-735)
17. John Damascene (676-749)
18. Gregory of Narek (951-1003)
19. Peter Damian, OSB (1007-1072)
20. Anselm, OSB (c 1003-1109)
21. Bernard of Clairvaux, O.Cist (1090-1153)
22. Hildegard of Bingen, OSB (1098-1179)
23. Albert the Great, OP (1193-1280)
24. Anthony of Padua, OFM (1195-1231)
25. Bonaventure, OFM (1221-1274)
26. Thomas Aquinas, OP (1225-1274)
27. Catherine of Sienna, OP (1347-1380)
28. John of Ávila (1500-1569)
29. Teresa of Ávila, OCD (1515-1582)
30. Peter Canisius, SJ (1521-1597)
31. John of the Cross, OCD ()
32. Robert Bellarmine, SJ (1542-1591)
33. Lawrence of Brindisi, OFM Cap (1559-1619)
34. Francis de Sales, CO (1567-1622)
35. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori, CSsR (1696-1787)
36. Thérèse of Liseux, OCD (1873-1897)

## Major Differences Between

## Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *topic* | *Catholicism* | *Eastern Orthodoxy* |
| ecumenical coun­cils ac­cepted | all 21 | first 7 |
| influential local coun­cils | Orange (529): against semi-Pel­a­gi­an­ism  Toledo (589): *filio­que* | Constantinople (1341 and 1351): hesychasm  Jassy (1642): Eu­char­ist, ec­clesio­lo­gy  Jerusalem (1672): canon |
| papacy | universal supremacy of jur­is­dic­tion | chief bishop, first in the epis­copal college |
| laity | rarely preachers or spiritual direc­tors | often preachers or spir­itual direc­tors |
| sacraments | 7, carefully distinct | 7 (called “mys­ter­ies”), not care­fully distinct from other rites (mon­as­tic pro­fes­sion, bles­sing the wa­ters at Epi­ph­any, bur­i­al, anointing a mon­arch, etc.) |
| baptism | by any running water | by immersion |
| confirmation | around puberty | immediately after bap­tism (called “chris­ma­tion”) |
| first communion | after age 7 | from infancy |
| Eucharist theory | transubstantiation | transubstantiation (some avoid term) |
| frequency of communion | every Sunday (or even daily) | 4-5 times per year, af­ter care­ful prepa­ra­tion and confes­sion |
| priests and celibacy | celibate priesthood | most priests mar­ried; unmar­ried priests can­not marry (even widow­ers) |
| bishops | drawn from secular priests | drawn from secular priests |
| liturgical language | Latin till 1965, mod­ern ver­naculars since | vernaculars (us­u­­a­lly an ar­cha­ic form) |
| icons | not very important | very important |
| prayers to Mary and saints during litur­gy | rare | common |
| intercessory prayers for the dead | common | emphasized |
| immaculate concep­tion of Mary | yes | no |
| bodily assumption of Mary | yes | yes |
| purgatory | yes | yes |

## Eastern Catholic Churches

1. **introduction**
   1. “Eastern Rite Church, also called Eastern Catholic Church, any of a group of Eastern Christian churches that trace their origins to various ancient national or ethnic Christian bodies in the East but have established union . . . or canonical communion with the Roman Apostolic See and, thus, with the Roman Catholic church. In this union they accept the Roman Catholic faith, keep the seven sacraments, and recognize the pope of Rome as supreme head of the church. They retain, however, all other characteristics—*e.g*., liturgy, spirituality, sacred art, and especially organization—proper to themselves.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. “. . . a rite indicates more than liturgy; it points to an entire lifestyle and discipline of a church tradition. . . . The term “rite” in “Eastern Catholic rite” signifies not only liturgical ceremonies but the whole organization of particular churches.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. The term “Uniate”
      1. Monophysites and the Orthodox call Eastern Catholics “Uniate” churches. “. . . Eastern rite churches were in the past often called Uniates . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. The term “Uniate” is “from the Slavic *uniya*, a term coined by the opponents of the Brest-Litovsk Union.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      3. ““Uniatism” implies hybridism, or the tendency for Latinization, and hence a betrayal of one’s ancient and nationalistic tradition.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      4. “Eastern rite churches would prefer to be considered as united churches rather than Uniate, with its negative implications.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   4. Western (Latin) Catholics “have a history continuous from the 1st century ad . . .” But Eastern Catholics acknowledged the primacy of Rome at a later time. (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   5. “Political factors also played a role during the reunion process; Eastern Christians have been greatly influenced by nationalistic loyalties in their respective regions.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   6. “Eastern Catholic churches correspond in kind to the more numerous Eastern Orthodox churches and the Eastern independent, or Oriental, churches—*i.e*., those that do not accept the decrees of the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451).” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   7. Compared to Monophysites and the Orthodox (“the Eastern Orthodox and non-Chalcedonian” churches; “Orthodox and Eastern independent churches”), “. . . Eastern Catholics as a group are the smallest segment within Eastern Christianity.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   8. “Permission for the various Eastern rites is a concession from Roman Catholic canon law . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   9. “In the late 20th century, the number of Eastern Catholics throughout the world numbered more than 12,000,000.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
2. **Eastern-rite groups who united with the Catholic Church before 1500**
   1. Italo-Albanians: in southern Italy and Sicily. (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. Maronites: “Lebanese Christians of the Syro-Antiochene rite . . .” These “became associated with Rome in the 12th century . . .” They are “the largest single group of Eastern Catholics in the Middle East and throughout the world . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. Armenians: Syria-Lebanon region. (“Eastern Rite Church”) “Some Armenians . . . reunited with Rome about 1150, others followed in 1439, but there were many relapses until a Catholic patriarchate was erected in 1742.” (Eberhardt)
3. **Eastern-rite groups who united with the Catholic Church between 1500-1725**
   1. “Eastern Catholics . . . trace their origins largely to the failure of the ecclesiastical authorities at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439 to unite Christians of the East and West. Stimulated by this unsuccessful beginning, however, and encouraged also by the later missionary activities of such monastic orders as the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, the proponents of the goal of the eventual reunion of Eastern and Western Christians began to achieve some elements of success.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. Nestorians: united with Rome in 1551. (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. Ruthenians (Belorus and Ukrainians): east-central Europe. United with Rome in 1596.
      1. In 1596 the Polish king (to whom the Ukraine was subject) demanded that the Ukrainian Orthodox bishops accept the primacy of the pope. All but two accepted. This became “The Brest-Litovsk Union . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. The Brest-Litovsk Union “signaled the effective advent of Eastern rite churches. . . . the Ukrainians who were united with Rome at this time were the largest branch of Eastern Catholics . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   4. Romanians: of Transylvania. United with Rome in 1698. (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   5. Melchites: Syrian Christians of the Byzantine rite. United with Rome in 1724. (“Eastern Rite Church”)
4. **relationship to other churches**
   1. Monophysites and the Orthodox look upon Eastern Catholics “with suspicion, primarily because of the Latinizing influence found in their ranks.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
5. **differences between Latin-rite and Eastern-rite Catholics**
   1. “Eastern Catholic rites permit a married clergy . . .” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. “Eastern Catholic rites permit . . . the immediate admission of baptized infants to the sacraments of Holy Communion (the Lord’s Supper) and confirmation.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. Vatican Council II (1962-1965) promulgated a document on the Eastern-rite churches (“Decrees on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite,” *De ecclesiis catholicis orientalibus*, November 21, 1964).
      1. In it the pope “reaffirmed the pledge of his predecessors to preserve the rites of the Eastern churches.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. The decree states: “All the Eastern Rite members should know and be convinced that they can and should always preserve their legitimate liturgical rite and their established way of life, and that these may not be altered except to obtain for themselves an organic improvement.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
6. **organization**
   1. “The supreme head of the Eastern rite churches is the pope. The central organ of the Holy See for them is the Congregation for the Eastern Churches. The prefect of this congregation is the pope himself, and a cardinal proprefect performs the ordinary functions of chairman. The Congregation is competent for the Eastern churches in all matters (except certain specified cases) and has exclusive jurisdiction in specified countries in eastern Europe and the Middle East.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. “The individual Eastern Catholic churches are organized differently according to their historical and ethnic situation, the number of adherents, the degree of evolution, and so on.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. *patriarchates*
      1. “Patriarchates comprise a certain number of dioceses of a single rite, under the jurisdiction of a patriarch. The patriarchs, according to the Eastern canon law, have special rights and privileges; in the general hierarchy they rank with the cardinals according to seniority (following the titular cardinal bishops of the suburban sees of Rome) and before all other bishops.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “In the late 20th century there were six Eastern Catholic patriarchates, as follows:
         1. “one of Alexandria, for the Copts;
         2. “three of Antioch, one each for the Syrians, Maronites, and Greek Melkites;
         3. “one of Babylonia, for the Chaldeans;
         4. “and one of Sis, or Cilicia, for the Armenians.
      3. “The patriarchs of Babylonia and of Sis are called *katholikos*.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   4. *archbishops*: “Major archiepiscopates are those that govern a certain number of dioceses of their rite but whose territory has not yet been erected into a patriarchate.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   5. *metropolitans*: “Metropolitanates govern ecclesiastical provinces independent of the patriarchates and major archiepiscopates and comprise a number of dioceses. One of them is the metropolis; and its archbishop, the metropolitan, is the head of the whole metropolitanate.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   6. *eparchs*: “Eparchies correspond to the Latin dioceses. Although they are usually subject to one of the aforementioned higher organizations, a few are immediately subject to the Holy See or to a Latin metropolitan see.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   7. *exarchs*: “Exarchies correspond to vicariates, and their bishops govern not by ordinary jurisdiction but by delegated authority.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   8. *apostolic administrations*: “Apostolic administrations concern territories whose administration the Holy See, for certain reasons, has assumed temporarily, entrusting them to the care of a neighbouring bishop or an apostolic administrator.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   9. *ordinariates*: “Ordinariates are the lowest organizational units, found either at an early stage of development, such as a mission, or in small congregations. Usually the head is not a bishop.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
7. **the rites**
   1. “In the late 20th century, there were five distinct Eastern rite traditions . . . each (except the [Armenian]) with two or more branches.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   2. the Byzantine rite
      1. “The Byzantine rite is by far the most significant, affecting the most persons and most territories worldwide (many of the faithful are in the Americas). . . . The liturgy is used by the majority of Eastern Catholics and by the Eastern Orthodox church (which is not in union with Rome).” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “Its liturgy is based on the rite of St. James of Jerusalem and the churches of Antioch, as reformed by St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      3. “The Byzantine [includes 16 branches:] the Albanians, Bulgarians, Belarusians, Georgians, Greeks, Greek Catholic Melkites, Hungarians, Italo-Albanians, Romanians, Russians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Ukrainians (or Galician Ruthenians), and Yugoslavs, Serbs, and Croatians.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   3. the Alexandrian rite
      1. “Its two branches are the Copts (of Egypt) and the Ethiopians.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “Its Coptic liturgy (known as the Liturgy of St. Mark) is derived from the Greek Liturgy of Alexandria, modified by several elements, including the Byzantine rite of St. Basil.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   4. the Antiochene rite
      1. “Its branches include
         1. “the Maronites . . .,
         2. “the Syrians, and
         3. “the Malankarese (of India).” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “The Antiochene rite can be traced to Book 8 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and to the Liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   5. the Chaldean rite
      1. “The Chaldean rite, though derived from the Antiochene rite, is listed as a separate and distinct rite by the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “Its branches include
         1. “the Chaldeans (descended from the Nestorians) and
         2. “the Syro-Malabarese (descended from the St. Thomas Christians of India).” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
   6. the Armenian rite
      1. “The Armenian rite, using the liturgical language of classical Armenian, is based on the Greek Liturgy of St. Basil, as modified by elements of the Antiochene rite.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)
      2. “It consists of one group, the Armenians, found in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Australasia.” (“Eastern Rite Church”)

## The Crusades (1095‑1272)

**introduction**: “In 1071 the Seljuk Turks crushed an imperial army at the Battle of Manzikert and overran most of Asia Minor. [Byzantine] Emperor Alexius I . . . appealed to the pope for aid against the Turks. Western Europe responded with a series of crusades . . .” (“Byzantine Empire”)

The crusades were “military expeditions undertaken by Western European Chris­tians to recover the Holy Land from the Muslims. In 1095 at the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II urged Christians to go to war to save the Holy Sepulcher, which had been despoiled by the Seljuk Turks who controlled Jerusalem. He promised that the journey would count as full penance. From crosses distributed at the meeting the name Crusade evolved. Peter the Hermit and others spread the message throughout Europe.” (“Crusades”)

“**Peasants Crusade** (1095‑96). Even before the first sanctioned crusade could get underway, several thousand French peasants that had set out toward Jerusalem had sacked Belgrade. German peasants turned to attacking Jews and had to be dispersed by the king of Hungary. When the remnants of these two groups reached Constantinople they were quickly shipped across to Jerusalem and easily defeated by the Turks.” (“Crusades”)

“**First Crusade** (1096‑99). An organized army under Bishop Ademar and Count Raymond IV of Toulouse captured Nicea (1097), Antioch (1098), and, finally, Jerusalem (1099). God­frey of Bouillon was elected the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.” (“Crusades”)

“**Second Crusade** (1147‑49). Preached by Bernard of Clairvaux after the fall of Edessa (1144) to the Turks, it failed in its goal of capturing Damascus.” (“Crusades”)

“**Third Crusade** (1189‑91). It followed the fall of Jerusalem (1187) to Saladin. Richard I of England was able to work out a truce with Saladin that allowed Christian access to the Holy Sepulcher.” (“Crusades”)

“**Fourth Crusade** (1202‑04). It never reached the Holy Land. Instead it fought with the Vene­tians against Hungary and in 1204 sacked Constantinople, overthrowing the Byzantine Empire and establishing the Latin Empire of Constantinople [1204-1261].” (“Crusades”)

“**Children**’**s Crusade** (1212). Led by a French peasant boy, Stephen of Cloyes, thousands of children embarked from Marseilles and other ports only to be sold into slavery or to die of hunger or disease.” (“Crusades”)

“**Fifth Crusade** (1218‑21). It struck at Egypt with little success.” (“Crusades”)

“**Sixth Crusade** (1228‑29). The only nonmilitary Crusade, it was led by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. He was able to negotiate a truce with the Muslims that restored some Christian control.” (“Crusades”)

“**Seventh** (1248‑50) **and Eighth** (1270) **Crusades**. Both led by Louis IX of France with little success. The Eighth was called off when Louis died in Tunisia.” (“Crusades”)

“**Ninth Crusade** (1271‑72). Led by Prince Edward (later Edward I) of England, little was accomplished.” (“Crusades”)

“The last Latin Kingdom (city state) in the Near East, Acre, fell to the Muslims in 1291.” (“Crusades”)

## The Development of Luther’s Theology

1. **1483-1517**: **youth**
   1. Luther was born in 1483. His father was an owner of mines and physically abusive.
      1. “According to Luther himself, the strict life his parents had required of him as a child sent him into holy orders.” [54] “They meant well,” Luther later wrote of his parents, “but they did not understand the art of adjusting their punishments.” [54 n. 9] (Jones 54, 54 n. 9)

2) Here add quotes from Heiko Oberman and/or Erik Erikson on physically abusive father (or the other bio—Haile?).

* 1. “Having been nearly struck down by a bolt of light­ning, he had resolved then and there to follow the noblest and most certain path.” He entered an Augustinian monastery. (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
  2. “But the church had a remedy only for sins confessed. . . . He suspected that there might be sins about which he did not even know or sins which he committed after leaving the confessional . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 16)
  3. He believed that “God was a righteous God who demanded one’s unswerving [15] obedience and destined one to salvation only if salvation was merited.” (Dillenberger and Welch 15-16)
  4. “To be justified, to be made right and just before God—[Luther’s life was] geared to that problem, on the basis of the actual and calculable righteousness of man. But that he was really righteous was Luther’s doubt . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 18)
  5. “. . . the question of certainty under God . . . drove him to confess his sins so frequently to his fellow monks as to annoy them.” (Dillenberger and Welch 16)
  6. “. . . his saintly superior, Staupitz, advising Luther to relax and to trust in the grace of God, did not help.” (Dillenberger and Welch 16)
  7. “He could not put aside the question of certainty . . . Perhaps God was a tyr­ant who never gave peace and who was not even trustworthy. According to late me­dieval nominal­ism, God could act in opposition to his declared intention. There were mo­ments when Luther hated God . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 16)
  8. “God extended mercy to those who trusted, [17] not themselves and their activities, but God. Theologically this was expressed by the term “justification by faith.”” (Dillenberger and Welch 18) But “by early 1519 he was consistently teaching that the sinner is justified (accepted, acquited, forgiven) before God by faith *alone* . . .” (Walker 425)
  9. “Protestants affirm that this renewed religious outlook [i.e., justification by faith,] [was] an act of God in which . . . the burden of a message was laid upon a human being.” In other words, Luther was a prophet sent by God. (Dillenberger and Welch 22)

1. **1517**: **the 95 theses**
   1. “Others, too, had repudiated the practice of purchasing and selling indulgences as a way of shortening the time of the departed in purgatory . . . It was as if one’s relation to God was on the level of barter and trade.” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
   2. “In the ninety-five theses, Luther did not reject indulgences outright. He rejected only the abuses.” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
      1. But he limited indulgences to penalties initiated by the pope: “The Pope could change or cancel only those penalties imposed by his own authority or by the canons of the church. Indulgences were valid only when confined to such human and organizational dis­cipline . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
      2. He denied “the extension of indulgences to purgatory.” (Walker 426) Indulgences could not “be said to have any effect on purgatory. . . . [They] had no necessary relation to the final destiny of any individual believer.” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
      3. In fact, “The papacy, he declared, did not have the power to remit *guilt* in respect to the least of venial sins . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
   3. “Repentance is not a single act of penance, but a constant change of heart and mind extend­ing over one’s lifetime.” (Walker 426)
      1. “The Christian seeks rather than avoids divine discipline.” (Walker 426)
      2. “The true treasure of the church is not the superabundant merits of Christ and the saints, subject to papal control, but “the most holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God,” freely offered to repentant sinners by faithful preachers.” (Walker 426)
2. **1518-1519**
   1. October 1518: Luther met with Cardinal Cajetan (1469-1534), “papal legate [and] learn­ed commentator on Aquinas,” for three days. Then “Cajetan ordered Luther to retract, especially his criticisms of the complete­ness of papal power of indulgence. Luther refused. . . . [A bull was] issued the same month by Leo X, defining indulgences in the sense which Luther had criticized.” (Walker 427)
   2. June-July 1519: Luther, at Leipzig, debated Jo­hann Maier of Eck (1486-1543), “pro­fessor of theology at the University of Ingol­stadt and Luther’s one-time friend . . .” (Walker 426)
      1. Luther proposed “that the supremacy of the Roman church is unsupported by his­tory or Scripture.” (Walker 428)
      2. He admitted “that his positions were in some respects those of Jan Hus and that in con­demning Hus the revered Council of Constance had erred. [This denied] the infallibility of a general council . . . He had already rejected the . . . final authority of the pope; he now proclaimed the fallibility of general councils. These steps . . . seemed to allow final appeal only to the Scriptures.” (Walker 428)
3. **1517-1519**: **developing heresies**
   1. A heresy is a “doctrine held in opposition to the . . . ­­doctrine of the Catholic Church.” (*Oxford English Dictionary*)
   2. October 31, 1517 (*Ninety-Five Theses*): Luther declared that the pope “did not have the power to remit *guilt* in respect to the least of venial sins . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
   3. October 31, 1517 (*Ninety-Five Theses*): Luther declared that indulgences do not “have any effect on purgatory. . . . [They have] no necessary relation to the final destiny of any individual believer.” (Dillenberger and Welch 15)
   4. “by early 1519”: Luther “was consistently teaching that the sinner is justified . . . before God by faith *alone* . . .” (Walker 425)
   5. June-July, 1519 (Leipzig debate with Eck): Luther proposed “that the supremacy of the Roman church is unsupported by his­tory or Scripture.” Thus he “rejected the . . . final authority of the pope . . .” (Walker 428)
   6. June-July, 1519 (Leipzig debate with Eck): Luther “proclaimed the fallibility of general councils [and restricted] final appeal only to the Scriptures.” (Walker 428)
4. **developing heresies, 1520**
   1. June 15, 1520: the pope issued a bull, *Exsurge domine*, condemning 41 propositions from Luther’s writings. (Walker 428) “Its publication was prohibited in Wittenberg, [but it was published] in the Netherlands [accompanied by] the burning of Luther’s books at Louvain, Liége, Antwerp, and Cologne.” (Walker 430)
   2. August 1520: *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Re­form of the Christian Faith*
      1. “Three years after the posting of the theses, Luther rejected indulgences themselves as . . . the “knavish trick of the Roman Sycophants.”” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
      2. Luther said “the church had built around itself three walls which prevented” reform. (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
         1. The first wall “was the claim for supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal order. The church claimed exclusive and absolute authority over one’s spiritual life. Such a unique position under God clearly argued for the church’s supremacy over all earthly affairs . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
         2. The second wall was that “One could not utilize the Bible to correct the church since the final right to interpret scripture was in the hands of the papacy.” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
         3. The third wall was that one could not utilize a council to correct the church “since the Pope alone was authorized to call a council.” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
      3. He denied “the claim for supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal order.” (Dillenberger and Welch 19) The “superiority of the spirit­ual to the temporal estate is baseless, since all believers are priests by virtue of baptism.” (Walker 429)
         1. “. . . Luther called upon the nobles and princes to effect the reformation. . . . This, too, had been done by Wyclife and Hus . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
         2. He denied “that a reformatory council can be called by none but the pope. “A true, free council” for reform of the church should be sum­moned by the temporal authorities.” (Walker 429)
      4. He denied that “the final right to interpret scripture was in the hands of the papacy.” (Dillenberger and Welch 19) The “universal priesthood casts down [also the] exclusive papal right to interpret the Scriptures . . .” (Walker 429)
      5. “Luther then proceeded to lay down a reform program . . .” (Walker 429)
      6. “Papal misgovernment [was] to be curbed [and] German ecclesiastical interests placed under a “primate of Germany” . . .” (Walker 429)
      7. “. . . clerical marriage [was to be] permitted . . .” (Walker 429)
      8. “. . . beggary “including that of the mendicant orders” [was to be] forbidden . . .” (Walker 429)
   3. October 1520: *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*
      1. Luther “appealed to the New Testament for the repudiation of many aspects of the develop­ment of the church.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
      2. Luther “had in mind . . . nothing less than the rejection of the entire sacramental system . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 19)
         1. “In such a system [one’s] relation to God was of necessity channeled through the agency of the church . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
         2. Also, one’s “relation to God . . . assumed a quantitative character, becoming a question of the amount of merit.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
         3. “Luther’s insistence that . . . grace was not confined to sacramental realities mediated by priests, challenged the very nature of the constituted church.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
      3. the number of sacraments
         1. Of the seven sacraments of the Church (baptism, reconciliation [confession, penance], Eucharist [communion, the Lord’s Supper], confirmation, anointing of the sick [extreme unction], marriage, and ordination), Luther retained only two: baptism and the Eucharist.
            1. “Restricting the name of sacrament to “those promises [of forgiveness] which have signs attached to them,” Luther held that Scripture recognizes only two such sacraments instituted by Christ himself: baptism and the Lord’s Supper.” (Walker 429)
            2. “Only baptism and the Lord’s Supper were instituted in the New Testament as events in which act, word and participation were involved. These three aspects . . . implied that a sacrament had been instituted.” (Dillenberger and Welch 21)
         2. The other five “were rejected as sacraments, though all of them were considered significant acts in the Christian life.” (Dillenberger and Welch 21)
         3. Though not a sacrament, Luther “wished private confession retained as “a cure without equal for distressed consciences.”” (Walker 430)
      4. He repudiated three aspects of the medieval Mass.
         1. “The first was the withhold­ing of the cup from the laity.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
         2. “The second [was] transubstantiation . . . the miracle of transforming the bread and wine into the actual blood and body of Christ appeared magical to Luther . . .” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
         3. Third “was the idea that the mass was a good work [in which] Christ was offered as a sacrifice to God each time the mass was said.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
            1. “. . . this made the mass a worthy act quite apart from the presence of any believers, except for the priest . . .” According to Luther’s reading of the New Testament, the Eucharist “had no efficacy apart from the believers who received it.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)
            2. Luther could not find in the New Testament “any basis for the notion of sacrifice [in relation to the Eucharist], since Christ was not offered to God but rather was given by God to us.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20)

|  |
| --- |
| an aside by dr. hahn on the eucharist as sacrifice  Luther is surely wrong to say that there is no basis in the New Testament for the Eucharist as a sacrifice.  That the bread and wine lie separate on the table foreshadows the impending violent separation of Jesus’ body and blood. (This separation is found in all four institution narratives: Matt 26, Mark 14, Luke 22, 1 Cor 11).  “. . . he *broke* it” (the bread) anticipates the breaking of his “body.” (Matt 26:26, Mark 14:22, Luke 22:19, 1 Cor 11:24.)  “This is *my body*” and “This [is] *my blood*” is sacrificial language. (Matt 26:26, 28; Mark 14:22, 24; Luke 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:24-25.)  “This is my body, which is *given*” and “this is my blood . . . which is *poured out*” is sacrificial language. (Matt 26:28, Mark 14:24, Luke 22:19-20.)  “This is my body, which is given *for you*” and “this is my blood . . . which is poured out *for many*” is sacrificial language. (Matt 26:28 [this verse even adds, “poured out for many *for the forgiveness of sins*”], Mark 14:24, Luke 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:24.)  “This cup . . . is the *new covenant* in my *blood*.” (Luke 22:20, 1 Cor 11:25.) This recalls the blood that sealed the first covenant, at Sinai.  Exod 24:5-8, “He sent young men of the people of Israel, who offered burnt offerings and sacrificed oxen as offerings of well-being to the Lord. 6Moses took half of the blood and put it in basins, and half of the blood he dashed against the altar. 7Then he took the book of the covenant, and read it in the hearing of the people; and they said, “All that the Lord has spoken we will do, and we will be obedient.” 8Moses took the blood and dashed it on the people, and said, “See the blood of the covenant that the Lord has made with you in accordance with all these words.””  Jer 31:31-34, “The days are surely coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah. 32It will not be like the covenant that I made with their ancestors when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt—a covenant that they broke, though I was their husband, says the Lord. 33But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. 34No longer shall they teach one another, or say to each other, “Know the Lord,” for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the Lord; for I will forgive their iniquity, and remember their sin no more.”  Lastly, the references to “blood” and to “new covenant” indicate that Jesus was alluding to Isaiah’s “Servant of Yahweh,” a sacrificial figure. (The “Servant of Yahweh” or “of the Lord” shows up in four passages in Isaiah: 42:1-4, 49:1-6, 50:4-9, 52:13-53:12.)  Isa 42:6, “I am the Lord . . . I have given you [the Servant] as a *covenant* to the people . . .”  Isa 49:8, “I have kept you and given you as a *covenant* to the people . . .”  Isa 53:12, “he [the Servant] *poured out* himself to *death*, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the *sin* *of many*, and made intercession for the transgressors.”  Compare Matt 26:28, “this is my *blood* of the *covenant*, which is *poured out* for *many* for the forgiveness of *sins*.  In his Eucharistic words, Jesus “lets it be known that His approaching death is going to replace the sacrifices of the old covenant and free men [from] sin. For such a work God had need of the Servant.” (Benoit 125) |

* + - * 1. “In the theory of the mass, of course, Christ is sacrificed to God in order for us to receive Christ also. There is both an upward and [20] a downward motion. For Luther there could be no upward motion.” He wrote in *Babylonian Captivity*: “the only worthy preparation and proper observance is faith, the faith by which we believe in the mass, that is, in the divine promise.” (Dillenberger and Welch 20-21, qtd. from *Luther’s Works* 36.44)
        2. For most Protestants (including most Anglicans), “the sacri­ficing of Christ to God is an event of the past and is not repeatable by priest­ly function.” (Dillenberger and Welch 21)
      1. “. . . monastic vows, pilgrimages, and works of merit are seen to be man-made substitutes for the forgiveness of sins freely promised to faith in baptism.” (Walker 430)
  1. 1520: *The Freedom of a Christian*: “his third great tractate of 1520” was largely ethical in con­tent. (Walker 430)
  2. December 10, 1520: Luther burned the papal bull, *Exsurge domine*, and the canon law. (Walker 430)

1. **Lutheranism**: From Luther’s divergence from the Catholic faith, “there resulted the constitution of parishes independent of Rome.” (Dillenberger and Welch 21)

## Major Differences Between

## Catholicism and Protestantism

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Topic* | *Catholicism* | *Protestantism* |
| ecumenical councils accepted | all 21 | first 4 |
| sources of authority in religion | Scripture, in Tradition, in the Church; reason emphasized | Scripture alone; experience emphasized |
| canon | Old Testament: 46 books;  New Testament: 27 | Old Testament: 39 (not Tobit, Judith, 1-2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch);  New Testament: 27 |
| papacy | universal supremacy of jurisdiction | merely another bishop, or merely another Christian |
| church government | clergy: pope, bishops, priests, deacons | bishops (Episcopalians); committee of elders (Presbyterians); or local congregation (Congregationalists) |
| concept of church | mystical body of Christ; community of the new covenant | association of Christians for mutual support |
| original sin | weakened our nature | devastated our nature |
| justification | justification begins by faith (trust and belief); it begins the process of sanctification | justification is by faith alone (trust); no process of sanctification; once saved, always saved (Calvinists) |
| certainty of salvation | no one can know they are justified without a special revelation | no one can be justified without knowing it |
| predestination | God wills everyone to be saved, but permits those who choose it to go to hell | God predestines some to heaven and some to hell (Calvinists) |
| sensory aids in worship | plentiful: crucifix; music, flowers, banners, candles, incense, etc.; stained glass (representational); statues | minimal: bare cross; music, flowers; stained glass (often abstract); no statues |
| sacraments | 7: baptism, reconciliation, Eucharist, confirmation, marriage, ordination, anointing of the sick | 2: baptism, Lord’s Supper |
| baptism | infants as well; by any running water | adults only (some Protestants); by immersion (some Protestants) |
| Christ’s presence in communion | transubstantiation | consubstantiation; or symbol |
| the Mass is a true sacrifice | yes | no |
| saints | venerated (respected) as fellow Christians whose prayers can help us | veneration of saints encourages idolatry and derogates from God’s sovereignty |
| purgatory | yes | no |

## Protestantism in the United States

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia*: *A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2001.

Episcopalians

“Sir Francis Drake touched the shores of California in 1578, claiming the New World for the British queen and the Church of England . . .”

1607: foundation of the Virginia colony; Anglicans begin evangelistic work.

1776-1781: “Anglicanism nearly came to an end at the time of the Revolutionary War, with many of its clergy fleeing to England or Canada.”

1789: Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA adopts constitution

1873: Reformed Episcopal Church (first of several minor schisms)

as of 1995: 8 provinces in the US (Province IX covers Latin America) and almost 100 dioceses

Congregationalists

Congregationalists “have always had their strength in New England.”

1620: the Pilgrims come to Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts Bay

1959: Congregationalists and the (Presbyterian?) Evangelical and Reformed Church merge to form the United Church of Christ (at union, 64% Congregationalist and 36% Evangelical and Reformed Church). Each congregation has total autonomy, but “there are area associations, regional conferences and the general synod at the national level . . .”

1962: Consultation on Church Union begins, proposing to unite 9 churches: Disciples, Episcopalian, 1 white Methodist group, 3 black Methodist groups (African Methodist Episcopal Church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church), 2 Presbyterian groups, and the United Church of Christ.

: The Evangelical and Reformed Church joined with the Congregationalists to become the United Church of Christ. (Hudson 176)

Presbyterians and Reformed

Presbyterians are those of British origin (Scots and Irish).

Reformed are those of Continental origin, mainly Dutch.

“In North America the Presbyterian wing is by far the most significant.”

1706: Presbyterian Church in the USA

: Associate Presbyterian Church

: Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church

1857: Presbyterian Church in the USA splits over slavery

1858: Associate Presbyterian Church and Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church merge to form United Presbyterian Church of North America

1861: Presbyterian Church in the USA splits again slavery

1865: the 2 southern groups merge to form Presbyterian Church in the US

1958: Presbyterian Church in the USA and United Presbyterian Church of North America merge to form The United Presbyterian Church in the USA (largest). It has congregations, presbyteries, synods, and an annual general assembly, general council, and judicial commission.

1730: Germans in Pennsylvania form Reformed Church in the US

1840: Evangelical Synod of North America

1934: Reformed Church in the US and Evangelical Synod of North America merge to form Evangelical and Reformed Church (German Calvinistic body)

1628: Dutch settlers in New York found Reformed Church in America

1837: in Michigan, Christian Reformed Church splits from Reformed Church in America over questions of discipline and doctrine

*digression*: *established churches in America*

1609: Virginia establishes the Church of England by law

1610: Virginia statute requires compulsory church attendance

1632: Maryland is “created as a home for Catholics . . .”

1689: Protestants gain control in Maryland and pass laws that discriminate against Catholics

1702: Maryland establishes the Church of England

“. . . a strong anti-Catholic bias existed everywhere except in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.”

1693: lower New York establishes the Church of England

1706: South Carolina establishes the Church of England

1711: North Carolina establishes the Church of England

1758: Georgia establishes the Church of England

later: Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey establish the Church of England

: Massachusetts and Connecticut establish the Congregational Church (the Pilgrims were anti-Angli­can)

*disestablishment*: “the idea of the separation of church and state . . . had been growing since before the Revolutionary War.”

1776-90: “The desire for religious freedom, accompanied by resentment against Anglicanism because of its ties to Great Britain, . . . resulted in the disestablishment of the Church of England in the southern and middle colonies . . .”

1787: formulation of the federal constitution; God is not mentioned, and the US is “a secular state in which church and state are legally separated.”

1789: first federal constitution

1791: First Amendment’s establishment clause: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof”

1818: Connecticut disestablishes Congregationalism

1833: Massachusetts disestablishes Congregationalism

1954: Congress adds the words “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance

1945 on: church-state issues include: “abortion, prayer in public schools, taxation of church-owned property, an appointment to the Vatican by a president, and birth-control issues and devices dispensed by public agencies”

Lutherans

1623: Lutherans from Germany first come to New York

by 1649: New York Lutherans have organized a congregation

1748: first synod of German Lutherans (the Ministerium of Pennsylvania) is assembled

1818: American Lutheran Church (German)

1820: first general synod of German Lutherans

1860: Augustana Lutheran Church (Swedish)

1872: the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish)

1890: Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church

1847: German immigrants from Saxony join with others to found in Missouri the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States. It is now called the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and is about half the size of the ELCA. “This church has been noted for its doctrinal conservatism but has in recent years been rent by division over alleged liberalism in its principal theological school, Concordia Seminary.”

1896: United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish)

: Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian)

1918: German synods merge to form United Lutheran Church

: Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod

1962: American Evangelical Lutheran Church, Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and United Lutheran Church merge to form Lutheran Church of America

1960: American Lutheran Church, United Evangelical Lutheran, and Evangelical Lutheran Church merge to form The American Lutheran Church

1963: Lutheran Free Church (Norwegian) merges into The American Lutheran Church

1987: Lutheran Church in America and American Lutheran Church merge to form Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, “by far the largest Lutheran denomination in the USA.”

Baptists (largest Protestant denomination in the US)

the Southern Baptist Convention (largest Baptist church in America)

1845: formed “in reaction to the refusal of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, with headquarters in Boston, to accept slave-owners as missionaries”

“Southern Baptists immediately established a strong central administration, a factor which has contributed to their extraordinary growth over the past century. Conventions now exist in 35 states, and there are a large number of denominational organizations. Of special note are their impressive Sunday school program in the USA and extensive overseas missionary work, the latter with 4,000 workers in over 120 countries in 1995. Unlike many large Protestant denominations, Southern Baptist numerical growth has shown few signs of decreasing in recent years.”

“Schisms and the creation of new Baptist denominations have taken place almost since the beginning . . .”

the American Baptist Churches in the USA

the largest of the northern Baptist denominations

look to Roger Williams as the founder of the country’s first Baptist church, in Providence, Rhode Island in 1639

pre-1776: for a century and a half only local communities existed

post-1776: associations were formed in several states

1907 the first national body (the Northern Baptist Convention)

1950: name is changed to the American Baptist Convention

1972: name is changed to the American Baptist Churches in the USA

smaller Baptist denominations over 100,000

1701: National Association of Free Will Baptists

1714: General Association of General Baptists

c 1830: Primitive Baptists

1852: Baptist General Conference

recent fundamentalist groups over 100,000

1905: American Baptist Association

1947: Conservative Baptist Association of America

1950: Baptist Missionary Association of America

1950: Baptist Bible Fellowship International

and “there are many small Baptist denominations and independent congregations”

Methodists (largest Protestant denomination in 1900, second largest now)

1736: John and Charles Wesley work in Georgia

1766: first Methodist society in the New World

1784: Methodist Episcopal Church organized

1830: Methodist Protestant Church secedes over episcopal authority

1845: “the whole southern branch of the church [secedes] over slavery.”

1939: Methodist Episcopal Church, Methodist Protestant Church, and southern branch merge to form The Methodist Church

1968: the Methodist Church and the Evangelical United Brethren Church merge to form the United Methodist Church

The United Methodist Church “is organized into 5 jurisdictional and 81 annual conferences (including Puerto Rico) and 45 episcopal areas. The United Methodist Church is about half the size of the Southern Baptist Convention, the difference being that the former has experienced annual decreases in adherents in recent years, while the latter has continued to grow in membership.”

holiness movement: “Other Methodist denominations exist which have broken with the main denomination in order to re-emphasize the Wesleyan doctrine of sanctification, and which now form part of the 2-million strong American holiness movement . . .”

1843: the Wesleyan Church

1860: the Free Methodist Church

the Church of the Nazarene

the Church of God (Anderson)

the Christian and Missionary Alliance

Pentecostals

Pentecostals “grew out of the 19th-century American holiness movement, adding to its teaching an emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, faith healing, and the exercise of charismatic gifts.”

1898: Pentecostal Holiness Church. Emphasizes both holiness and pentecostalism

1886: study and fellowship group in Cleveland, TN, develops

1903: A. J. Tomlinson (formerly of the American Bible Society) joins the study group

1909: A. J. Tomlinson becomes the study group’s moderator

: the study group becomes Holiness Church (the first Pentecostal body), later called Church of God (Cleveland)

1923: Tomlinson is removed from office and separates to form his own Pentecostal body

1953: Tomlinson’s Pentecostal church adopts the name Church of God of Prophecy

1906: predecessor of Assemblies of God

1914: founding meeting of Assemblies of God (largest white Pentecostal body). Congregations are entirely self-governing, but are organized into 47 districts.

1918: Aimee Semple McPherson’s revival meetings in Los Angeles

: from Aimee Semple McPherson’s revival meetings comes International Church of the Foursquare Gospel

1914: United Pentecostal Church

1919: Pentecostal Church of God of America

1900s: “In the 1990s the Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal continued to spread rapidly across most older churches, and numbered over 75 million adherents (of whom 7% [were] Pentecostals, 26% Charismatics, and 68% Independents).”

Disciples of Christ

There are 3 branches to the Disciples of Christ. From most liberal to most conservative:

(1) the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (which, for example, supports affirmative action and civil rights for gays) (c 1 million members in 4000 congregations) (headquartered in Indianapolis; the national body is the general assembly; below it, the church is divided into 40 regions),

(2) the Undenominational Fellowship of Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, and (every congregation is autonomous; musical instruments are allowed)

(3) the Churches of Christ (musical instruments are not allowed, as unscriptural) (“one of the fastest-growing denominations in the USA at the present time,” Barrett, Kurian, and Johnson).

1801 “The Great Western Revival (1801) produced a variety of religious movements dedicated to overcoming the barriers of denominationalism through a return to primitive Christianity.” (Willis)

1804 one such movement, Presbyterians in Kentucky concerned for Christian unity and led by Barton W. Stone, call themselves merely “Disciples”

1809 another such movement, Presbyterians in Pennsylvania concerned for Christian unity and led by Thomas Campbell, call themselves merely “Christians”

1832 the “Disciples” and “Christians” join to form the “Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)”

c 1850 conservatives complain that (a) forming societies for missions and for publishing tracts and (b) using reed organs to accompany congregational singing during worship are unscriptural

1906 by asking to be listed separately in the US census, the conservatives separate and become the Churches of Christ

c 1915 “A number of congregations . . . began to separate from the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) during and after World War I over such issues as ecumenical cooperation in missions, biblical criticism, and the rising influence of liberal theology.”

1968 The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) adopt denominational institutions (a general office, a biennial delegate assembly, and participation in the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches).

1968 Fearing that denominational institutions will infringe on the freedom of the local congregation, a third of the congregations separate and form a loose alliance, the Undenominational Fellowship of Christian Churches and Churches of Christ (also called “Independent Christian Churches”). Unlike the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), each congregation is autonomous; but unlike the Churches of Christ, they use instrumental music.

other Christian denominations

1844: Seventh-day Adventist Church; 9 USA unions

1880: Salvation Army; 38 USA divisions

: several Brethren (German Baptist or Dunker) groups

1656: earliest Quaker group in America; Now 5 USA groups

1683: earliest Mennonite group in America

non-denominational churches

“. . . there are over 2,500 single independent congregations unaffiliated with any particular Protestant tradition, some of which have up to 8,000 members each. Altogether they total around 1.3 million adherents.”

marginal churches

“Several large churches exist on the periphery of American Protestantism which are not properly termed Protestant because they do not accept mainline Protestant christocentric orthodoxy.”

Mormons

1830: Joseph Smith has visions at Fayette, New York

“Since 1831 at least 89 schismatic offshoots have split from the mother LDS church . . . The largest is the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; others are known as Temple Lot, Bickertonites and Strangites.”

“Mormonism has 2 orders of priests, the higher priesthood of Melchizedek and the lesser priesthood of Aaron. Church organization is highly centralized, including the First Presidency, which is the supreme executive and legislative body of the church, and the Council of the Twelve Apostles, which carries out the directives of the First Presidency and ordains ministers. The geographical districts of the church are called stakes and local congregations [are called], wards. Mormons are responsible for an extensive educational and social service program and are heavily involved in missionary work. In addition to full-time missionaries, some 5,000 youth are sent out yearly in pairs to spend a 2-year short-term service in propagating Mormonism throughout the world. The result has been vast expansion on all other continents except Africa, due to, until recently, the Mormon refusal to open its priesthood to Blacks, a problem which has also hindered Mormon work among Blacks in the USA.

Jehovah’s Witnesses

1870: Charles Taze Russell, Congregationalist, is influenced by Adventism

1872: Russell organizes his first congregation, in Pittsburgh. They are known as “Russellites, Millenial Dawnists, and International Bible Students.”

1884: Russell registers his first incorporated society

1931: the name “Jehovah’s Witnesses” is adopted

Jehovah’s Witnesses have three societies: “the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, and the International Bible Students Association. Congregations meet in kingdom halls and are grouped into circuits and districts, there being 31 districts in the USA. There is no separate clergy; all members are ministers and are expected to give personal witness and distribute literature from door to door, resulting in a massive voluntary missionary enterprise technically known as publishing, with members being called publishers.”

Several schisms have moved “in a mainline Protestant direction . . .”

1918: Laymen’s Home Missionary Movement

: Churches of the Kingdom of God

: Greek Bible Students

: Converted Jehovah’s Witnesses

Unitarianism

1778: first Universalist church

1796: first Unitarian church

1961: Universalists and Unitarians merge to form Unitarian Universalist Association

present: “The strength of the movement has been in New England and Boston remains the national headquarters, but membership is declining.”

Christian Science

Christian Science is “centered on spiritual healing.”

1866: Mary Baker Eddy experiences healing

1879: Mary Baker Eddy founds the Church of Christ, Scientist in Boston (the First Church of Christ, Scientist in Boston is still the Mother Church)

“The Christian Science Board of Directors in Boston is the supreme administrative body of the church. In addition to Sunday and weekday services, local churches maintain reading rooms and an extensive literature distribution program. Key congregational leaders are known as readers, teachers, and practitioners, the latter bearing special responsibility for healing.

Unification Church

“Alleged messiah Sun Myung Moon (right) and wife (left) performed mass wedding of 2,200 couples, New York 1982.”

Spiritism or Spiritualism

Spiritualism “is organized into many separate groups, the largest being the International General Assembly of Spiritualists formed in 1936.

“A host of over 300 smaller marginal Protestant bodies of all kinds are also active in the USA. Many of them have expanded overseas during the 20th century.

Unity

1973: Unity School of Christianity’s largest congregation (in Los Angeles, with 5,000 members) becomes pentecostal and splits.

Black/American Indian/Hispanic/Third-World churches

“Some 34.8 million US Blacks, American Indians, Spanish-Americans and immigrants from Third-World countries belong to churches indigenous to their own communities, separate from, unsupported by and uncontrolled by White denominations.”

Black churches

Catholicism: there are over 1,000,000 African Americans in predominantly Black churches.

Protestantism: “over 140 separate Blacks denominations . . . have split either from predominantly White or White-controlled denominations or from other Black groups over the past 2 centuries.”

Black Baptists

The largest Black group of denominations: “there are many small Black Baptist denominations and independent congregations.”

1773: first independent black Baptist congregation, at Silver Bluff near Augusta, Georgia

1836: Providence Baptist Association of Ohio (first association of black Baptists)

1880: Foreign Mission Baptist Convention (first national body)

1886: American National Baptist Convention (national body)

1893: Baptist National Educational Convention (national body)

1895: Foreign Mission Baptist Convention, American National Baptist Convention, and Baptist National Educational Convention merge to form National Baptist Convention of America

1915: “a major dissension occurred from which emerged 2 churches, the National Baptist Convention USA, and the National Baptist Convention of America. These remain the largest Black denominations in the USA.”

1961: Progressive National Baptist Convention splits from the NBCUSA

: National Primitive Baptist Convention (large denomination)

Black Methodists

“The second largest church tradition claiming the allegiance of Blacks is Methodism.”

The United Methodist Church has some 400,000 Black members.

Many small Black Methodist churches are also active.

1787: black dissidents appear in Philadelphia

1816: black dissidents in Philadelphia form African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME)

1796: black dissidents in New York City eventually become African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AME Zion)

1870: black dissidents split from Methodist Episcopal Church South to form Colored (now Christian) Methodist Episcopal Church (CME)

1962: “The AME, AME Zion and CME churches are all now involved in church union negotiations among themselves, as well as being members of COCU, the Consultation on Church Union [formed in 1962].”

Black pentecostal churches

“Pentecostalism has had a wide appeal among Blacks. . . . Black pentecostals (in USA denominations) totalled 3.2 million by 1978.”

1895: a Baptist interested in “the doctrine of entire sanctification through the outpourings of the Holy Spirit” forms Church of God in Christ (largest)

1969: Church of God in Christ International splits from Church of God in Christ

1914: Pentecostal Assemblies of the World

1886: United Holy Church of America

many small churches and individual congregations

American Indian churches (“begun by, and indigenous to, American Indians”)

1741: Narraganset Indian Church, Charlestown, Rhode Island (oldest independent Indian group)

post-1750: Yaqui Church (started by Jesuits in Arizona; now very small)

1870: Native American Church of North America (NACNA) (largest)

“. . . now found among almost all American Indian tribes.”

1961: The US Supreme Court declares the NACNA’s peyote ritual legal because “The NAC is a legitimate church entitled to the protection of the 1st Amendment.”

23 chapters and over 400,000 members

“Because of its incorporation of Indian traditional religious concepts and practices . . ., it is regarded by most other American churches as only marginally Christian.”

c 1900: Navajo Native American Church (c 60% of all Navajos)

1990: “. . . some 20 separate groups [were] in existence in 1990.”

Hispanic churches (“begun by, and indigenous to, Spanish speakers, especially those from Puerto Rico and Mexico”)

Third-World indigenous churches (“i.e. originating in the Third World among Non-White peoples”)

: the Spanish wing of the Assemblies of God (1 of 2 largest) (from Mexico)

: Apostolic Assembly (1 of 2 largest) (from Mexico)

: African Apostolic Church of Johane Maranke (from Zimbabwe)

: Kimbanguist Church from Zaire and the Church of the Lord (Aladura) (from West Africa)

: Church of the First-Born (from Jamaica)

: International City (from Jamaica)

: True Jesus Church (China)

: Church of Christ (Iglesia ni Cristo) (from the Philippines)

1990: “More than 60 such churches existed in the USA in 1990 . . . most are still small . . .”

## Liberalism

1. Liberalism “meant doing away with all privileges due to birth, giving the middle class political power, and putting an end to arbitrary government.” (Bokenkotter 249)
2. It “also stood for complete economic freedom . . .” (Bokenkotter 249)
3. “. . . Napoleon’s Code did embody the essential elements of the Revolutionary program by its affirmation of the equality of all citizens before the law, the right of the individual to choose his profession, the supremacy of the law state, and a regime of tolerance for all religious beliefs.” (Bokenkotter 257)
4. “The process of secularization introduced by the [French] laws of 1794 opened a new chapter, and the secular spirit continued to spread. Civil divorce, civil marriage, and the secular school system were its most visible expressions.” (Bokenkotter 259)
5. Liberalism was “the new political movement that espoused the ideals of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.” (Bokenkotter 263)
6. “Liberalism drew its supporters largely from the rising middle and professional classes. They wanted a parliamentary system of government based on a written constitution that would guarantee personal rights, including freedom of religion. Rationalists and secularists in regard to religion, they opposed the Church’s control over such matters as marriage and education . . .” (Bokenkotter 263)
7. “Once you accept the liberral idea of separation of Church and state, Lamennais argued [Felicité de Lamennais (d. 1854), French priest, founder of liberal Catholicism], then you must necessarily accept the rest of the liberal program: freedom of education—because without it true religious freedom and freedom of thought could not be safeguarded; freedom of the press—since a Christian must believe in the power of truth rather than trusting in censorship, which never succeeded anyway in stamping out error. Finally, Lamennais moved a half century ahead of his times—even beyond most liberals—by espousing complete democracy, demanding universal suffrage as the only way of achieving these freedoms.” (Bokenkotter 265)
8. “Rome saw in liberalism two main errors: a rejection of all supernatural revelation, and religious indifferentism.” “It would obviously take more time and experience for the Church to make the distinction between the philosophy of liberalism and the political and social techniques it made use of.” (Bokenkotter 268)
9. “It is well to keep in mind the diversities of liberalism presented by its history.” (Bokenkotter 269)
   1. “The first stage of liberalism—which found expression in the French Revolution—was predominantly a political liberalism concerned with establishing constitutional guarantees for the rights of the individual: freedom from arbitrary taxation and imprisonment, freedom of speech and association.” (Bokenkotter 269)
   2. “Under the influence of romanticism, political liberalism was extended to include opposition to the domination of one nation by another. Liberals demanded liberation for “oppressed” and “enslaved” people and joined forces with nationalists.” (Bokenkotter 269)
   3. “With the advent of industrialization, another form of liberalism came to the fore: economic liberalism. These liberals dreamed of a coming materialistic millenium, which could be realized if only the businessman and industrialist was given complete freedom of operation. Their ideal was a free market unencumbered by any combinations, whether of employers or workers. They were against [269] all customs, duties, and tariffs—protective measures of any kind—and were particularly hostile to trade unions. . . .” (Bokenkotter 269-70)
   4. “Other liberals, however, saw the danger . . . And so economic liberalism begat its terrible adversaries, socialism and even anarchism.” (Bokenkotter 270)
   5. “In time, however, the economic liberals acquired a virtual monopoly over the term; they were the sectarian Liberals (with a capital letter), the ones mainly responsible for giving liberalism an ugly connotation in the minds of many: the Liberal industrialists, big businessmen, bankers, railroad builders, traders. The liberal Catholics had little sympathy with economic liberalism . . .” (Bokenkotter 269-70)
10. “The German liberal Catholics . . . never regarded separation of Church and state as an ideal; but their leaders . . . thought that in certain [271] circumstances it might be the lesser of evils.” (Bokenkotter 271-72)
11. Pius IX “could never accept . . . freedom of the press, an institution he could not consider consistent with the laws of the Church, which was obligated to guide public opinion and inculcate morality [274] on the minds and the behavior of the people.” (Bokenkotter 274-75)
12. Liberal techniques included: “freedom of the press, democratic constitutions, separation of Church and state, and civil liberties, including freedom of religion and trade unions. . . . Leo XIII made the distinctions that made it possible for Catholics to accept the techniques of liberalism without subscribing to its philosophy.” (Bokenkotter 299)
    1. Leo XIII summarized “progressive Catholic social thought . . . in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* which he issued in 1891.” (Bokenkotter 303)
    2. “Against the socialists the encyclical insists on private property as a natural right and asserted that the family is the primary social unit, prior to the state, and also rejects class warfare as an inevitable necessity.” (Bokenkotter 303)
    3. “Against the liberal capitalists it upheld the need of some state intervention to safeguard the spiritual and material interests of the worker. It asserted the right of the worker to a living wage, refusing to allow the right to be subordinated to the necessities of so-called economic laws. It defended the right of the worker to organize to protect his interests.” (Bokenkotter 303)
    4. “Finally it emphasized the importance of religion in fostering relations of justice and charity among men.” 303
13. “. . . Christian trade unions differed from . . . socialists on three main points . . .” (Bokenkotter 304)
    1. “They emphasized the need for decentralization as opposed to socialist belief in state control . . .” (Bokenkotter 304)
    2. “They favored what might be described as “collaboration through conflict—employer-worker collaboration was possible and indeed necessary, though it could become effective only if each party was ready and able to stand up for its own views and interests.”” [See: Fogarty, M. *Christian Democracy in Western Europe 1820-1953*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957. 191.]
    3. “And finally, they insisted on the cultivation of individual personality as the goal, rather than the socialist tendency to subordinate the individual to the mass.” 304

## Some Less-Orthodox Christian Groups

**Quakers**

Founded in England as “The Society of Friends” by George Fox in 1647. A seed of God exists in everyone; it produces an inner Light that can lead to new revelations about God, equal in importance to biblical revela­tions. Pacifism. No sacraments, ministers, or churches (though some present-day Quaker denominations are like mainline Protes­tant churches).

**Unitarians**

Deny the Trinity. Broke from Congregationalists in 1819. In 1960, united with the Universalists (now called the “Unitarian Universalist Associa­tion”). “Today the followers of the Unitarian Universalist Association each believe what his conscience dictates.” (Earl M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* [Boston: Beacon, 1945] 486). Many do not believe in any sort of God.

**Mormons**

Joseph Smith claimed to receive angelic revelations near Palmyra, New York, 1820-1830. Revelation still continues. After a mob killed Smith in Carthage, Illinois, most Mormons followed Brigham Young to Utah to escape persecu­tion, and they became “The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.” “The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,” a smaller group, formed around Smith’s son. Because Mormons believe in ad­ditional revelations, beliefs about the Trinity, the Incarna­tion, the sac­raments, the last judgment, etc., differ from normal Christian be­liefs.

**Seventh-Day Adventists**

William Miller predicted the second coming for October 22, 1844; after the “Great Disappoint­ment,” three followers formed the Seventh-Day Adventists. Since God’s commandments don’t change, the Old-Testament sabbath (Saturday) and dietary laws must be followed. Most other Adventist beliefs resemble those of Southern Baptists.

**Jehovah**’**s Witnesses**

Members of the “Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society” are called Jehovah’s Witnesses. All are missionaries, warning of the impending second coming. The Holy Spirit is not divine.

**Christian Science**

Founded by Mary Baker Eddy. Her book, *Science and Health with a Key to the Scriptures* (1875) is read in place of a sermon at services. God fills all space; therefore evil does not exist. “Sickness, pain, etc. are in people’s minds and can be removed by prayer” (Brandon, Samuel George, ed. *Dictonary of Comparative Religion*. New York: Scribner’s, 1970. 89). No baptism or communion (though they share bread and wine on Sundays).

**Unification Church**

Officially, “The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity.” Founded by Sun Myung Moon in Korea in 1954; based on Moon’s *Divine Principle.* Jesus achieved our spiritual but not our physical redemption; a “Lord of the Second Advent,” or “True Parent,” is fathering “perfect children” who are free from original sin. The National Council of Churches in 1977 declared that the Unification Church is not a Christian church.

## Major Forms of Christianity

Paul Hahn, University of St Thomas, Houston

Small capitals: five major forms of Christianity.[[3]](#footnote-3) Italics: movements, not denominations.

Numbers of adherents are from *Encyclopædia Britannica* 1997.

**ad 30** Roman

Catholicism (981 million)

│

Council of Ephesus: │ ad 431 Assyrian Church of the East (Nestorians) (.4 million)

Council of Chacedon: │ ad 451 Oriental Orthodoxy (monophysites) (53 million) (in communion with each other)

**ad 500** │ │

│ │ │ │ │ │ │

│ Armenians Jacobites Malankarese Copts Abyssinians Eritreans

│ (Syria) (India) (Egypt) (Ethiopia)

│

**ad 1000** │

Eastern Schism: │ ad 1054 Eastern Orthodoxy (218 million)

│ groups in communion: schismatic groups:

│ Greek Cypriot Ukrainian

│ Russian Georgian Belarusian

│ Serbian Albanian Macedonian

│ Romanian Bulgarian Montenegrin

│ Czech-Slovak Polish Old Believers

**ad 1500** │

Reformation: │ ad 1517 Protestantism (404 million)

│ │

│ │ │

│ *mainline Reformation* *radical Reformation*

│ │ │

│ │ │ │ │

│ Lutheranism Calvinism Anglicanism Anabaptism

│ (Germany, 1517) (Switzerland, 1536) (England, 1534) (Netherlands, 1525)

│ │ ↘ │ ↙ │

│ Presbyterianism (1560) │ Mennonites (1525)

│ Dutch Reformed (1571) │ Amish (1693)

│ │ │

│ │ │ │ │

│ │ Congregation- Baptists *evangelicalism* (1726)

│ │ alists (1592) (1609) │

│ │ (e.g., Pilgrims, │

│ │ 1620) │ │ │

│ │ │ Methodism (1739) │

│ *premillennialism* │ │ │

│ (1820) │ │ │

│ │ Christian Church (1832) *holiness* │

│ │ (Disciples of Christ, *movement* Adventists

│ │ Churches of Christ) (1839) (1843)

│ │ │

│ *fundamentalism* (1878) *Pentecostalism* (1901)

│ │ │

│ │

│ │ │

**ad 2000** │ *neo-evangelicalism* (1950s) *neo-fundamentalism* (1979)

# Islam

## Islam: An Overview

### Introduction and Life of Muhammad

1. “**Islam**”
   1. “Islam” is from *salaam*, “peace.” (Ahmed 17) It primarily means “to submit.”
   2. Islam is the *Shariah*, the “path,” which consists of the *Quran* plus the *sunna* (traditions about Muhammad). (Ahmed 3)
   3. “. . . the ideal [that is Islam] is eternal and consistent; Muslim society is neither . . .” (Ahmed 3) “The farther from the ideal, the greater the tension in society. Muslims would interpret success in worldly endeavours as a sign of divine approval.” (Ahmed 31)
   4. Islam is primarily found in a belt that stretches across the top of N Africa, through the Middle East, across Central Asia and northern India (S Asia), and through SE Asia (Malay­sia, Indonesia, etc.).
   5. There are more than 800 million Muslims. 8 40% live in S Asia (Pak­is­tan, Bangladesh, and India). (Ahmed 5)
   6. Islam always syncretizes with pre-Islamic religion. (Ahmed 73)
2. **Muhammad**: **life** (all dates are ad)
   1. 570
      1. Muhammad is born in the Quraysh tribe (aristocrats among the Arabs). (Ahmed 17) “Muhammad” means “praiseworthy” (“Ahmed” is a variant form), from *hamd*, “praise.” (Ahmed 26)
      2. Arab society c. 600: “Exclusive tribal codes, animistic practices, female infanticide, worship of some 360 com­pet­ing idols . . .” (Ahmed 19)
   2. 595
      1. Muhammad works for the Mecca-to-Syria caravan business of a wealthy widow, Khadijah, 15 years his sen­ior, of the Umayyad clan within the Quraysh tribe. He later marries her. (Ahmed 19) She was his only wife till her death in 620. “Muhammad eventually married fifteen wo­men, [at least one person] new every year after Khadija’s death.” (Anis A. Shor­rosh, *Islam Revealed*: *A Christian Arab*’*s View of Islam* [Nash­ville, TN: Th. Nelson, 1988] 56.)
   3. 610
      1. Muhammad’s call (c. age 40). In a cave he sees the angel Gabriel, who comman­ds him, “Read!” (*iqra*, whence *Quran*). (Ahmed 15)
      2. “Muhammad’s conversion, the awakening of his religious enthusiasm [is] still, in spite of all treatises on psychology and religion, a miraculous occurrence . . .” (Wensinck 17)
      3. Muhammad’s first converts are Khadijah (wife), Ali (cou­sin, aged 10), and Abu Bakr (best friend and, in 620, father-in-law). (Ahmed 19)
      4. The Quraysh persecute the Muslims because Muhammad’s teach­ings—that all Muslims are equal and that in­fan­ti­cide, promiscuity, and alco­hol are wrong—hurt business. (Ahmed 19)
      5. Some Muslims flee to Ethiopia. (Ahmed 19)
   4. 622
      1. Medina (a city to the N) invites Muhammad to come and ar­bit­rate a dispute between rival clans; he and the remaining Muslims of Mecca go. Their trip is known as the *hijra*, “migration,” and is the first event in the Muslim cal­en­dar. [19] Muhammad becomes Medina’s ruler and pro­mul­gates its charter. (Ahmed 19-20)
      2. “. . . the change in his career brought about by the *hidjra* and its conse­quences, produced a change in his general attitude. . . . It was not long before his religious position in Madina became also that of a political leader. Here we have . . . the genesis of a theocracy. Such a phenome­non, however, was certainly unknown in Arabia, and unexpected by Muhammad himself.” (Wensinck 17)
      3. “The belief in his own election, which he retained with a miraculous firm­ness, enabled Muhammad to endure scorn and disdain . . .” (Wen­­sinck 17)
      4. In his new *umma* (Muslim community), “There was a considerable Jewish element which ought to have been ready to recognize the identity of Muhammad’s gospel with their own. Could any hope of their adherence be entertained, in accor­dance with Muhammad’s ideas of the place of Prophets and Apostles in history and of their being one in spirit and tendencies? Events turned out otherwise. The Jews of Madina—three comparatively important clans—­proved not to be disposed either to recognize the alleged identity or to look upon the newcomer from Makka as a second Moses. This was a severe blow to Muhammad. It threatened to overthrow a conception that had hitherto guided him in his religious career. But he took fresh courage by assuming that the Jews had forsaken their original religion, which had been that of Abraham; and Abraham is from this time onward called in the Kuran the originator of Islam, the builder of the sanctuary at Makka and the inaugurator of the rites of pilgrimage. Instead of Jerusalem, Makka became the palladium of Islam.” (Wensinck 18)
      5. The Jews in the theocracy at Medina “had to be got rid of; the three clans were banished or done away with in the course of a few years. The second consequence was that the theocratic idea became strengthened. It is no longer the story of how earlier Prophets and Apostles had suf­fered at the hands of their contemporaries that forms the subject of the Madina revelations. We now find questions of law, military expeditions and booty, relations with the pagan tribes and regulations of religious rites taking the most prominent place; and the dominating point of view in the later portions of the Kuran is: obedience to Allah and His [18] Apostle [3:29, 126; 4:62; 5:93; 8:1, 20, 48; etc.], just as it is in the diplomatic documents addressed to the Arab tribes. This is the real world of the theocracy of Madina as well as of the world-empire that was to come into existence within half a century. The enforcement of this obedience on the peoples of the Eastern world at the point of the sword was justified by the tradition: “I am ordered to make war on people, till they say: There is no God but Allah” [Muslim, *Īmān*, trad. 32].” (Wensinck 18-19)
   5. 624
      1. Battle of Badr: 313 Muslims defeat 900 Quraysh from Mecca. (Ahmed 20)
   6. 630
      1. Muhammad and 90,000 Muslims from Medina are warmly received by 124,000 Muslims in Mecca. (Ahmed 20, 232)
   7. 632
      1. Muhammad smashes the idols in the Ka`ba, a shrine that housed statues of Arab polytheistic deities. (Ahmed 20)
      2. Muhammad dies in Medina. (Ahmed 20)
      3. The tomb of Muhammad in Medina “pos­ses­ses an almost mythical, magical quality.” (Ahmed 37)

### Basic Teachings of Islam

1. **two most basic beliefs**: monotheism and Muhammad
   1. “There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet.” This is recited in each of the 5 daily prayers. (Ahmed 26)
   2. Muhammad is the last of a series of 124,000 prophets; these prophets included Adam, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. (Ahmed 15)
2. **sources of authority in Islam**
   1. Disputes are decided first of all by the *Quran*. (Ahmed 24)
   2. If that does not settle it, then the *sunna* are consulted. (Ahmed 24)
   3. If that does not settle it, then con­sul­ta­tion, reason, and consensus decide it. (Ahmed 24)
3. **the Qur**’**an**
   1. God communicated the Qur’an to the angel Gabriel, who dictated it to Muhammad, word for word. (Ahmed 16)
   2. It consists of 114 *surahs* (chapters), roughly in the order of longest to shortest (i.e., they are not chronological). About 300 pages. (Ahmed 16)
   3. *Surah* 17 is a good example; it is on basic morality: do not kill, commit adultery, or cheat; honor your parents; help the poor; repent and God will forgive; etc. (Ahmed 16)
   4. *Ilm*, “knowledge,” is the second most frequent word in the Qur’an. (Ahmed 16)
   5. The Qur’an contains 99 names for Allah. Most describe him as com­pas­sion­ate; only 5 emphasize anger and retribution. (Ahmed 16)
   6. “. . . for the formation of his religious terminology Muhammad had recourse chiefly to two sources: the religious terms of the Jews and the Christians, which he partly translated and partly took over as borrowed words; and the commercial terms of his native town.” (Wensinck 174)
4. **the sunna**
   1. “. . . the ideal times of the Prophet” is the “Golden Age” to Muslims. (Ahmed 4)
   2. Muhammad’s words and deeds (called *hadith*, “traditions”) are the basis of the *sunna*, “customs.” (Ahmed 3) Imam Bukhari selected 7300 from 600,000 *hadith* (some say a million existed). (Ahmed 24)
   3. Traditions “are put into the mouth of Muhammad, but were undoubtedly compiled in later times in reference to current questions and circumstances. It may indeed be argued that the main part of Tradition originated in this manner.” (Wensinck 14)
   4. Muslims try to imitate Muhammad in everything. “The *sunna* includes . . . abstaining from alcohol and pig’s meat, colouring a man’s beard with henna, using green for clothes and flags, enjoying honey, talk­ing softly, eating moderately and sleep­ing little.” (Ahmed 24)
   5. “His respect for learning, tolerance of others, gen­er­os­i­ty of spirit, concern for the weak, gentle piety and desire for a better, cleaner, world would constitute the main elements of the Muslim ideal.” (Ahmed 21)
   6. Muhammad was gentle [22], humble [23], and af­fec­tionate to­ward the poor and women. [22-23] E.g.: when the mother of Muawiyah ate the liver of Mu­ham­mad’s uncle raw, Muhammad forgave her, and she con­ver­ted. (Ahmed 23)
5. **the five pillars of Islam**
   1. monotheism (*tauhid*)
   2. 5 daily prayers (*salat*): sunrise, noon (most important), c. 3 p.m., sunset, and in the evening (Alicia Ahuja, private conversation)
   3. Ramadan fast (*sawm*)
   4. annual redistribution of wealth (*zakat*)

“Real estate . . . purchased, built upon, and later sold to attain a profit . . . is to be considered a trade item and Zakat is required at 2.5% of its value. If one buys or builds a building or a store with the purpose of renting it, then it is not considered a trade that is subject to Zakat. However, Zakat is required on revenue derived and received from their rents. This is by analogy similar to agricultural lands and its yield of crops and produce. What is the required rate on the revenue derived? Is it 2.5% like cash Zakat, 5% similar to the Zakat required from land that is mechanically irrigated, or is it 10% from the net revenue after deducting for expenses, depreciation, etc.? These are the three different rates for calculating Zakat. The 5% rate is perhaps the closest, although the 2.5% rate may be easier and most popular amongst people while at the same time has a valid reason. Regardless, a Muslim should pay Zakat on the revenue he obtains from these properties or buildings after he has collected it at the beginning of every month. He should not wait until the end of the term, the passing of one Islamic calendar year, based on the general and absolute meaning of the text and by analogy to agriculture as stated in the verse: “And pay the due thereof (it’s Zakat) on the day of its harvest.” (6:141).” (14 Apr. 2002. http://www.islam-online.net/completesearch/english/Fatwa­Display.asp?hFatwaID=1892, 04-14-02)

* 1. once-in-a-lifetime pilgrimage to Mecca (*haj*). (Ahmed 17)

1. **the *ummah*** (community of all Muslims)
   1. There are to be no distinctions of dignity based on race or class. (Ahmed 20)
   2. Muhammad made Bilal, a favorite slave and a black, his first *muezzin*. Bilal is now a cult figure in Africa. (Ahmed 27)
2. **war**
   1. “. . . regarding war, the Prophet’s sayings include: . . . ‘He has [23] forbidden looting and mutilation” and ‘He has forbidden the killing of women and children’.” (Ahmed 23-24)
   2. Abu Bakr in 632 “laid down the rules of war reflecting the principles of the Prophet: [33] ‘[Do not] misappropriate any part of the booty; do not practice treachery or mutilation. Do not kill a young child, an old man, or a woman. Do not . . . cut down fruitful trees. Do not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel, except for food. You will meet people who have set themselves apart in hermitages; leave them . . .’” (Ahmed 33-34)
   3. *Jihad* normally means a “holy war,” one fought for the principles of Islam. But it had a deeper meaning: “Islam is a *jihad*—struggle, fight—to improve the world . . .” (Ahmed 61)
   4. “When faced with unbearable majority opposition to their faith Muslims have either fought—*jihad*—or migrated—*hijra*.” (Ahmed 108)

### The First Four Caliphs

1. **terms for Islamic leaders**
   1. “caliph”: “religious successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad and a leader of the entire Muslim community.” (“Caliph.” *Wikipedia*. 4 Jan. 2018.)
   2. “imam”
      1. “For all Muslims: (1) Prayer leader; (2) Honored religious leader.” (Pipes 255)
      2. “For Shi’is only: (3) Caliph; (4) Intermediary figure between man and God.” (Pipes 255)
   3. “mufti”
      1. “A Muslim religious authority with the authority to deliver *fatwas*.” (Pipes 256)
      2. A *fatwa* is “an opinion on religious doctrine or law.” (Pipes 255)
   4. “mullah”
      1. “Iranian religious figure; comparable to a rabbi.” (Pipes 256)
2. **632**: **caliph 1**: **Abu Bakr**
   1. Elders and Muhammad’s companions chose Muhammad’s friend and father-in-law as *Kha­li­fa*, “successor” (to Muhammad), i.e., rightful ruler of Is­lam. (Ahmed 33)
   2. “Abu Bakr won the title *al-Siddiq*, the believer; Siddiqis [his purported descendents] claim descent from him.” (Ahmed 33)
3. **634**: **caliph 2**: **Umar**
   1. “Umar owned one shirt and one mantle . . . his order to scourge his son to death for immorality best illustrates Umar’s character.” (Ahmed 35)
   2. Conquests: “Islam under the first caliphs witnessed a marvellous expansion, such as its founder had never dreamt of.” (Wensinck 36)
      1. 635 Iran
      2. 636 Syria
      3. 637 Iraq
      4. 638 Palestine
      5. 642 Egypt
   3. 644: “a Christian Persian slave assassinated him in the mosque.” (Ahmed 35)
4. **644**: **caliph 3**: **Uthman**
   1. 656: killed by rebel Muslims. (Ahmed 35)
   2. “His body lay unburied for three days as the assassins plundered the treasury. The Islamic revolution was turning sour . . .” (Ahmed 35)
5. **656**: **caliph 4**: **Ali**
   1. Ali was the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad (he was married to Muhammad’s daughter Fatima).
   2. 656-661: first *fitna* (civil war): Ali vs. Muawiyah (governor of Syria): Muslims vs. Muslims for the first time. (Ahmed 35)
   3. 661: the Kharijis (a return-to-the-golden-age sect) assassinate Ali. Muawiyah becomes caliph number 5, the first ruler of the Umayyad dynasty. (Ahmed 36)
6. **summary**: “The behaviour of the four caliphs approximated to the original ideal: Abu Bakr, wise and pious, Umar courageous and just, Uthman gentle and religious, Ali brave and schol­arly.” (Ahmed 36)

### The Umayyad Dynasty (661-750)

(N Africa, Near E, Persia. Capital: Damascus. Sunni.)

1. **caliphs**
   1. “The Arabs before Islam constituted a traditional, tribal community led by respected pat­ri­archs and elders. . . . Arab society now slipped into the established imperial patterns of the de­feated Byzantines and Sasanids . . . characterized by an arrogant bureaucracy, pow­er­ful ar­mies and the total power of the rulers.” (Ahmed 38)
   2. The Umayyad was the first of the two Arab dynasties, but “Muawiyah became caliph with his power base outside the Arabian peninsula. The Arabs on the peninsula were about to fall into a deep sleep from which they were to awake only in the late twentieth century.” (Ah­med 38)
   3. Yazid I (Muawiyah’s son): 3-year reign; massacre at Karbala; in­tro­duc­tion of the principle of hereditary rule (“tribalism—or nepotism in politics”). (Ahmed 39)
   4. Abdul Malik (685-705). (Ahmed 38)
   5. Al Walid (705-715). (Ahmed 37, 41)
   6. Sulayman (715-717): “a debauch. His cruelty established methods that would be imitated later, particularly the hacking of captives with dull swords.” (Ahmed 39)
   7. Umar II (717-720): Muawiyah had instituted a condemnation of Ali from the pulpits. The pious Umar II “placated the Shias . . . and treated all Muslims, whether Arab or not, alike.” (Ahmed 39)
   8. Yazid II (brief reign): “spent his time in song and dance.” (Ahmed 39)
   9. Yazid III (744): “By the time of Yazid III the Umayyad’s sphere of influence had shrunk to Damascus.” (Ahmed 39)
2. **social groups**
   1. **women**: “During the Umayyad and early Abbasid period women remained . . . stateswo­men, as commanders of troops, as poets and as musicians . . .” (Ahmed 42)
   2. **the *mawali***: a new class developed under the Umayyad dynasty. “A *mawla* was a Muslim who was not a member of an Arab tribe by descent, a Persian or an Egyptian, for example. The term did not include non-Muslims, *dhimmis*. Indeed Christian Arabs were preferred to Muslim non-Arabs. . . . As Muslims the *mawali* were theoretically equal to the Arabs. However, during the Umayyad period this equality was not fully conceded. The tension between Arab and *mawali* found a natural expression in the Shia movement of the Abbasids . . .” (Ahmed 40)

### Rise of the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258)

(N Africa, Near E, Persia. Capital: Baghdad. Sunni.)

1. **overthrow of the Umayyads**
   1. “The Abbasids rode a wave of popular sympahthy against the Umayyads. They declared themselves an Islamic kingdom as distinct from the Arab dynasty of the Umayyads.” (Ahmed 40)
   2. The Abbasids were Shi’ite (see p. 106 below). “They saw themselves as Imams, the holy inheritors of the Islamic tradition, burning with a desire to avenge Ali and his descen­dants. Black—the color of death and mourning, for Ali and his family—became associa­ted with the Ab­ba­sids . . .” (Ahmed 40)
   3. “The Abbasid general Abdullah invited eighty leading Umayyads to din­ner on a hot night in June 750, at his home near Jaffa. When the guests sat down to eat they were set upon by soldiers. After the slaughter of the Umayyads retainers spread carpets on their squirm­ing, dying bodies and the guests continued to eat and make merry.” (Ahmed 40)
2. **social changes in the early Abbasid period**
   1. “As the language spread the distinctions between Arab conqueror and non-Arab faded.” 42 “Arab supremacy faded and first Persians and then Turks were in the ascendant.” (Ahmed 41)
   2. “Arabic died out as a court language . . .” 41 But by the 1000s, Arabic, “although dead at court, had become the main language from Persia to the Pyrenees, superseding older languages like Coptic, Aramaic, Persian, Greek and Latin.” (Ahmed 42) Persian “by the tenth cen­tury had recovered from the stunning blow dealt it by Arabic.” (Ahmed 46)
   3. Baghdad was made the capital (in 762) [41], though for 60 years during the 800s it was moved 60 miles north to Samarra. (Ahmed 41-42)
   4. “The caliph became a mystical, semi-divine figure shrouded in court etiquette . . .” (Ahmed 41)
   5. women
      1. All Umayyads (except Yazid III, with a Persian mother) were pure Arabs, but “Abbasid preference for concubines and harems des­troyed the principle of racial purity.” All but three Abbasid caliphs were sons of Greek, Persian, or Berber slaves. (Ahmed 42)
      2. “Women sank to the low level depicted in *The Arabian Nights* due to the extensive concubinage, laxity and luxury of the later Abbasids.” (Ahmed 42)
   6. non-Muslims: “Apart from certain minor social marks of distinction in token of Islamic primacy, non-Muslims, *dhimmis*, were left to them­selves. Non-Muslims enjoyed religi­ous, economic and in­tel­lec­tual freedom . . .” (Ahmed 43)
3. **wealth**
   1. “. . . trade went farther and farther afield; the wealth was con­cen­tra­ted in the hands of the grasping few.” (Ahmed 42)
   2. “. . . mansions adorned the capital Baghdad, and the provincial cen­tres of Bukhara, Samar­kand, Balkh, Shiraz, Damascus, Aleppo, Jer­u­sa­lem, Cairo, Tripoli, Tunis, Fez, Palermo and Cordova.” (Ahmed 42)
   3. “Slave boys and singing girls [provided] novel pleasures . . .” (Ahmed 42) Al Mu­ta­wakkil “had 4,000 concubines all of whom shared his bed. *Ghilman*, male slaves including eunuchs, following Persian precedent, bwecame a social institution . . . Al Amin established their use for homosexual pur­poses.” (Ahmed 51)
   4. “. . . the wealthy induged [in wine] to the full, and their minstrels vied with one another to sing its praises.” 42 Since assassination was a constant threat, “The razor’s-edge uncertainty perhaps stimulated the desire for sensual pleasures.” (Ahmed 49)
   5. But there were exceptions: Saladin “left behind after his death 47 dir­hams and a gold piece . . .” (Ahmed 43)
4. **Saladin** (1138-93)
   1. “Saladin” is a European corruption of *Salah-al-din*, which means “rec­ti­tude of the faith.” (Ahmed 50)
   2. Saladin, a Sunni of Kurdish background, eventually became ruler of Shi­ite Egypt. He united Egypt and Syria against the Crusaders. “The high point of his career was the re-taking of Jerusalem in 1187 . . . He pos­sessed the heroic Islamic virtues of courage, generosity and piety.” (Ahmed 51)
   3. Saladin is seen by Muslims as the “ideal Muslim ruler.” (Ahmed 50)
   4. Because of his encounters with Richard the Lion Heart, “To the European he came to symbolize ideal, romantic Muslim chivalry.” (Ahmed 50)
5. **learning**
   1. There was a reverence for learning: “In 891 there were a hundred bookshops in Baghdad.” (Ahmed 43) “Rulers acknowledged them [scholars] and ordinary people revered them.” (Ahmed 44)
   2. sources of learning
      1. Greece: “Within a hundred years the Greeks had been translated into Arabic. . . . [They included] Plato, Aristotle, Euclid and neo-Pla­ton­ic commentaries, and medical treatises such as those of Hip­po­crates and Galen.” (Ahmed 44)
      2. Persia: “The Persian influence was restricted to art and belles lettres . . .” (Ahmed 44)
      3. India: “Astronomy, mathematics and later the decimal system were inspired by India.” (Ahmed 44)
   3. famous scholars
      1. Al Fazari, by translating an Indian work c. AD 800, became the first Muslim astronomer. (Ahmed 44)
      2. “Al Khwarizmi, the first great mathematician of Islam spread the use of the Hindu numeral system . . .” He also wrote the oldest text on algebra. (Ahmed 44) “The word “algorithm” for a system­atic mathematical procedure originated from the name of the mathe­matician and astronomer al-Khwārizmi, and the word “algebra” is a dis­tor­tion of the first word of the title of his book *Al-jabr wa*’*l muqābalah*, which means “rearrange,” referring to the rearrange­ment of terms to solve an algebraic equation.” (New­ton 10)
      3. Al Razi (864-925) devoted himself to medicine in Baghdad. “. . . 176 contraceptive and abortifacient methods, including coitus in­ter­rup­tus, for which he located numer­ous *hadith*, were listed.” 44 In his encyclopedia of medicine, the *Comparative Book* [44], Al Razi “cites Greek, Indian, Persian and Arab opinion on diseases . . .” (Ahmed 45)
      4. Al Farabi was “A pupil in Baghdad of Christian scholars who had themselves played a prominent part in the first renaissance of Greek learning . . . he attempts to Islamize Plato’s *Republic* and *Laws*.” (Ahmed 45)
      5. Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980-1037) wrote an exhaustive *Canon of Medicine*. (Ahmed 45)
      6. Ibn Rushd (Averroes) “made a greater mark on Christian Europe than the Islamic world” because he belonged to the western part of the Muslim world, whereas Avicenna belonged to the eastern part. (Ahmed 45)
      7. Al Ghazzali (1058-1111) was the greatest of all Muslim scholars. “The in­tellectual crisis for Muslim Arabs between orthodox and Sufi forms of Islam, complicated by Hellenistic intellectual and other ide­o­log­i­cal influences, was resolved by Al Ghazzali . . .” His major work, *Ihya-ulum al-din*, “was inspired by a vision of the Prophet seen in Makkah.” (Ahmed 45) “Al Ghazzali, eminent jurist, theologian and practicing mystic, routed from the field the followers of [free­think­ing philos­ophers like] Razi and Avicenna.” (Ahmed 45)
   4. literature: see Ahmed pp. 46-48.
   5. jurisprudence (Islamic law)
      1. the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence (“But two or more schools co-exist in the large cities like Cairo,” Ahmed 48)
         1. Hanifi: by Abu Hanifa (700-767), Ottoman and Mughal empires
         2. Maliki: by Malik ibn Anas (710-795), N Africa
         3. Shafi’i: by Muhammad ash-Shafi (767-820), N Egypt, E Africa, S Arabia, SE Asia
         4. Hanbali: by Ahmed ibn Hanbal (780-855), Saudi Arabia. (Ahmed 48)
      2. “. . . Shafi created the discipline of *usul al-fiqh*, principles of jurisprudence, which laid the foundation for the first ‘school’, influencing the others. The principles rest on the *Quran*, *sunna*, *ijma* [i.e., consensus,] and *qiyas*, analogical reasoning.” (Ahmed 48)
      3. “In Arabic each school was called a *madhhab*, and had slightly dif­fering views, for example on inheritance, private prayers and public worship. All four were, none the less, ac­ceptable to Sunnis . . .” (Ahmed 48)
      4. For refusing to subordinate Islamic principles to temporal au­thor­ity, [49] Hanifa, Shafi, and Hanbal were imprisoned and Malik flogged. [48-49] “. . . their vast erudition and penetrating per­cep­tion so awed their followers that they elevated the Imams to the status of saints and declared ‘the gates of *itjihad*, independent judge­ment, henceforth closed.’” (Ahmed 48)

### Fall of the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258)

1. **750-850**
   1. “Within the first hundred years the zenith [40] had been reached, sym­bolized by the reign of the renowned Haroon-ur-Rashid [785-809, famous from *The Arabian Nights*]. Then the slow, fitful decline began, a win­ding, complex, process of palace coups, pro­vinces breaking away, and rebellious dynasties emerging. Towards the end the caliph’s authority would be restricted to Baghdad.” (Ahmed 40-41)
   2. “Harems, debauchery, gold . . . Ordinary Muslims in the eighth century were disgusted with what they saw and heard. Their murmurings were to lead to an unending series of revolts and rebellions.” (Ahmed 53)
2. 1000: by 1000, formerly Abbasid areas were independent (the first two were most impor­tant).
   1. Andalusian Umayyads: Andalusia (in Spain)
      1. “The youthful Abdur Rahman, a grandson of Hisham, the tenth Umayyad caliph, escaped to Spain . . .” (Ahmed 40)
      2. “. . . the rule of the Umayyads in Andalusia . . . reached its glory in the . . . litera­ture and learning of Cordova and Granada. The col­leges in Andalusia were to providea model for those at Oxford and Cambridge.” (Ahmed 41)
      3. The Spanish Muslims “were given a clear choice: conversion to Christianity or migration. Many of the migrants to the Maghreb in North Africa, such as those who founded Salé in Morocco, still keep the keys of their houses in Spain . . . The Inquisi­tion in Spain ensured the extinction of Muslim civilization even in its most superfi­cial aspects.” (Ahmed 41)
   2. the Fatimids: Egypt, Palestine, S Syria
   3. Hamdanids: N Syria, parts of Iraq
   4. Buwayids: Iraq and Iran
   5. Samanids: E Iran and W Afghanistan
   6. Ghaznavids: Afghanistan
3. 1258: the end came when the Mongols of the “Golden Horde” (the Kipchak Empire of Russia and the Ukraine) destroyed Baghdad. But the Mongol advance “was broken by the superior bravery of the Mamelukes (mercenary slaves from the Black Sea region), who [established military] rule over Egypt (to 1517) . . .” (Kinder, Hermann, and Werner Hilgemann. *The Anchor Atlas of World History*. Vol. 1, *From the Stone Age to the Eve of the French Revolution*. Trans. Ernest A. Menze. Garden City: Doubleday, 1974. 179.)
   1. c 1250-1450: “It would be another two to three centuries before Muslim destiny would again take firm chape in the form of the three great em­pires.” (Ahmed 55)

### Sufism

1. **definition**
   1. “Sufism is universalist and humanist Islam striving for spiritual pur­ity.” Its foundation (and motto, 93) is *sulh-i-kul*, “peace with all.” “The gentle­ness, contemplative solitude, and universal tolerance of the Prophet are re­flec­ted in Sufi behaviour. Ali, too, is a source of Sufi inspiration.” (Ahmed 91)
   2. The key concept is *fana*, “negation of self, annihilation . . .” (Ahmed 91) “No mystical experience can be realized if the binding injunctions of the *Shariah* are not followed faithfully first.” These put the mystic on the path (*tariq*); he goes “through different stations (*maqam*) until he reaches his goal, the perfect *tauhid*, the existential confession that God is One.” (Ahmed 91) *Tauhid* is “unity.” (Ahmed 92) A Sufi poem says, “when slumber closes my eyes, I find Thee between the eye and the lid.” (Ahmed 93)
   3. “Sufism is the en­dear­ing—and enduring—side of Islam.” (Ahmed 91) Thus Ahmed identi­fies Sufism with the Islamic ideal; thus he tends toward more lib­eral Islam.
2. **origins**
   1. The name comes from Mohammad’s clothes of wool (*suf*). (Ahmed 91)
   2. “From the life of the Prophet, another way to the truth had been shown, the path of direct experience of the Divine. This was the way of the Sufis and it attracted simpler people. Ascetic beginnings and ecstatic climaxes led to theosophical speculation, as the Sufis came under the all-pervading influence of neo-Platonic thought.” (Ahmed 43)
   3. Abu Yazid of Bistam, a Persian, “claimed to have met and conversed with God, indeed to have been absorbed into God.” (Ahmed 43)
   4. Al Junaid of Baghdad, an Arab, worked out with Quranic texts and dicta of the Prophet a doctrine of spiritual union.” (Ahmed 43)
   5. Al Junaid’s disciple, Al Hallaj, after terrible asceticisms, declared, *ana-al-Haq*, “I am God.” 43 “This sentence . . . has become the most famous of all Sufi claims, inspiring Sufis throughout the ages.” Al Hallaj went to the gallows singing. (Ahmed 92)
   6. “Al Hallaj became a symbol in the Mevlevi Sufi order, the ‘whirling dervishes’, whose patron saint was Rumi,” author of the *Mathnawi*. (Ahmed 93)
   7. Ali Hujwiri, one of the earliest Sufis to go to India, is the most venerated saint in Pakistan. 96-97 Muin al Din (whose shrine at Ajmer draws 5000 pilgrims daily—mostly Hindu), came later (c. 1200), is the most revered Sufi saint in India. (Ahmed 95-97)
   8. “Along with magic the other characteristic of Indian Sufism is its devotion to poetry and singing. The tradition derives from Persia. In the Persian-speaking world the connections between poetic sensibility and Sufism are almost inseparable.” The great Indo-Persian poets—­Rumi, Sadi, Hafiz, Amir Khusraw, and Amir Hasan—were Sufi. (Ahmed 97-98)
3. **historical role**
   1. “. . . the Prophet had said, ‘What have I to do with this world?’ Poverty was made respec­table; austerity desirable. The poor and the dis­pos­ses­sed could thus identify with Sufi values. The Sufi therefore became, willy-nilly, a rebel figure . . .” (Ahmed 91)
   2. “The Sufis, saints[,] and scholars are the ‘opposition’ party, as it were, of Islam. The line between Sufis, saints and scholars is usually a thin one. Identifying with and living by the ideal, this group often finds itself in opposition to the rich and powerful. . . . Many a well-known clash is recorded between the master of the age and a re­cal­ci­trant Islamic scholar. . . . On the other hand, many rulers felt it wsier to leave these people alone or acknowledge their superiority in reli­gious matters. We thus have . . . Akbar the Mughal walking barefoot to Sheikh Salim . . .” (Ahmed 90)

### Shi’ism

1. **introduction**
   1. Shias are about 10% of all Muslims. (Ahmed 55)
   2. They are mostly in Iran [55] and South Asia (20% of Pakistanis [58]). (Ahmed 55-56)
   3. *Shia* means “one who loves and follows Ali and his descendants.” Loyalty to “Ali and his descendants . . . is at the core of the sect.” (Ahmed 56)
   4. “A sense of exclusiveness identifies the Shia”: they see themselves as an “elect” within the Muslims. (Ahmed 56)
2. **Shi**’**ite history**
   1. “There is no substantial difference between the core theological beliefs of Shia and Sunni. . . . The problems are rooted in the history not the­o­logy of Islam.” (Ahmed 57)
   2. “Islamic history, Shias maintain, began to go wrong when Ali, married to Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet, was not made the first caliph after the death of his father-in-law.” (Ahmed 57) The first three caliphs (Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman) are “seen as usur­pers by Shias. In particular Umar, revered widely by Sunnis, is cast as a villian. Extremists among the Shia magnify the role of Ali sometimes larger than that of the Prophet. One small group even elevate him to the level of Allah.” (Ahmed 56)
   3. 680: Ali’s son Hussain and 70 followers were massacred by thousands at the battle of Karbala—”the classic confrontation between good and evil.” [57] Symbols of Hussain’s flag, horse, and shrine at Karbala are universal symbols of mourning for Shi’ites. 57 The “myth of Karbala” became “a powerful and emotional rallying point against tyranny and oppres­sion.” (Ahmed 57)
   4. The Persians adopted Shi’ism to asserted their separateness from their Arab conquerors. (Ahmed 57)
3. **basic beliefs**
   1. The “pure five” (five key figures of Shia history and theology: Mu­ham­mad, Fatimah (daughter of Muhammad and Khadijah), Ali (Muhammad’s cousin and Fatimah’s hus­band), and Ali’s two sons, Hassan and Hussain, “are symbolically represented by a hand-print in most parts of the Shia world.” (Ahmed 56)
   2. Ali, Hasan, and Hussain were martyred. “Followers are thus expected to respond with fervour to a call for sacrifice. A sense of sectarian un­ique­ness, of group loyalty, faith in the leadership, readiness for sac­ri­fice, devout ecstasy, divine ritual, marks the commun­ity.” (Ahmed 56)
   3. Small differences in customs (washing one’s feet before instead of after a daily prayer, for example) “act as social diacritica . . .” 58 But other customs are more important.
   4. The *muta* (temporary marriage) is characteristic of Shi’ism: it is marriage for a fixed term (even just a few hours), for a pre­de­ter­mined financial arrangement; the argu­ment is that suppression of sexual desire sometimes causes physical or mental illness. “Sunnis scoff at the *muta* deriding it as a lustful act . . .” (Ahmed 58)
   5. Ten days of mourning for Karbala occur during the month of Muharram: Shias “flagel­late themselves, bring out processions symbolic of Karbala, and recite moving poems of the tragedy at Karbala.” Armed conflict with Sunnis often erupts when figures representing Umar are abused. (Ahmed 58)
   6. women
      1. Because Khadijah and Fatimah are revered, Shi’ism is generous to wo­men in its divorce and inheritance laws. [58] “Shia women often inherit shares equal to [men]. Among the educated Sunni, women receive, at best, one-half of what a male inherits . . .” (Ahmed 58-59)
      2. Women can be *mullas*, preachers. (Ahmed 59)
      3. But “in Tehran today . . . the *chaddar*, veil-sheet, must be worn by women. They risk public disgrace, even danger—throwing of acid, for example—without it.” (Ahmed 89)
   7. hierarchy
      1. A ranking based on scholastic achievement is: *mullah*, *mujtahid*, *Ayatullah* (“sign of God”), and *Ayatullah al-Uzma* (supreme Ayatullah of the age). (Ahmed 59)
      2. “The mullah is a religious functionary, supervising the village mosque and rarely rising above village politics . . .” (Ahmed 63)
      3. Imam Khomeini, an *Ayatullah al-Uzma*, wrote: “other schools have preached submis­sion to rulers even if they are corrupt [59] . . . we Shi’is . . . consider only the Imams and those whom they appointed to be legitimate holders of authority.” (Ahmed 59-60)
4. **Mahdism**
   1. Muhammad promised, “God will send to this community, at the head of every hundred years, one who will renew for it its religion.” Such a one was called a *mahdi*. “In common belief a cycle—a hundred years or a thousand years, hence millenarian, was most popu­lar—would bring change and relief for the majority.” (Ahmed 61)
   2. “From the assassination of Ali the idea of the Hidden, Infallible or Rightful Mahdi (or Imam) took root.” This person, of lowly origins but divinely appointed, would restore the Islamic ideal. “In its romantic simplicity the idea provides vast scope for Mahdist and millenarian activity.” (Ahmed 61)
   3. “Although religious in form and idiom, Muslim movements in history have been motiv­ated by ethnic, political and economic factors . . .” 62 Though most claim descent from Ali, “Leaders have often been poor peasants and from deprived ethnic groups.” (Ahmed 64)
   4. Mahdis in history
      1. A self-proclaimed Mahdi in 762 was eventually killed at Medina. (Ahmed 62)
      2. The movement supporting Muqanna (“the veiled one”), a Persian peasant, spread throughout Central Asia from 776-789. (Ahmed 62)
      3. A revolt of poor villagers became the sect of the Khurramiya. Their leader, Babak (816-837), ordered them “to attack the landowners and plunder their possessions.” (Ahmed 62)
      4. The rebellion of the Zanjis (black slaves) from 869 was led by Ali ibn Muhammad, who claimed descent from Ali. African work gangs drained land for agriculture and extracted salt. They revolted, defeated one im­per­ial army after another, sacked Basra, built their own capital of Al Mukhtara (“the Chosen”), and considered all other Muslims to be in­fi­dels. [62] The Abbasids took Al Mukhtara in 883. (Ahmed 62-63)
      5. the Ismaili: “Claiming descent from Ali, Ismail and his son Muhammad organized their devoted followers into a well-knit group. Their doc­trines, many of which were kept secret, included neo-Platonic and Indian ideas. . . . The sect has endured to the present day, and . . . they command wide respect and influence.” (Ahmed 63)
      6. Dan Fodio launched a successful *jihad* against the Hausas. (Ahmed 63)
      7. The Sudanese Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmad, fought General Gordon at Khar­toum. (Ahmed 63)

### The Ottoman Empire (c. 1299-1922)

(Near East. Capital: Istanbul. Sunni. Foe: Christian Europe)

1. **introduction**
   1. “Ottoman” is from an ancestor, Uthman (not the third caliph but a name­sake). “Uthman” became “Osmanli,” which became “Ottoman.” (Ahmed 65)
   2. “. . . in the direct male line, 36 sultans ruled from 1300 to 1922 . . .” (Ahmed 65)
2. **rise**
   1. 1453: the Ottomans take Constantinople and rename it “Istanbul,” “city of Islam.” The most famous Ottoman architect, Sinan (80 of his build­ings are extant), built the Sulaman­yih mosque deliberately to exceed by 16 feet the church of Santa Sophia, built by Justinian in the 500s ad. (Ahmed 66)
   2. “. . . the zenith [came] with Sulayman, the Magnificent [1520-1566] . . . This was the time of greatest expansion. The North African conquests date from this period—all of North Africa, save Morocco, formed part of the empire.” (Ahmed 65)
   3. 1529: Sulayman almost takes Vienna. (Ahmed 65)
3. **characteristics**
   1. “The Ottoman empire was eclectic. Persian notions of absolute monarchy, the tradition of constant warring from Central Asia, Byzantine ideas of government and, above all, the Arabic script, sciences and religion formed its character. . . . The Arabs were to the Otto­mans what the Greeks were to the Romans.” (Ahmed 66)
   2. “The eclectic nature of the empire allowed, indeed demanded, status to be rewarded on merit . . . Turk or Arab, Slav or Armenian, once they be­came Muslim were eligible . . . the sultan [was] the only position de­ter­mined by birth.” (Ahmed 66)
   3. “The Ottoman flag was a crescent and star, adopted since by many Muslim nations. The proudest possessions of the Topkapi Palace are the mantle and staff of the Prophet brought by Sultan Salim from Cairo in 1517.” (Ahmed 66)
   4. “The Janissaries—Yeni Ceri, new soldiers—. . . were almost entirely born Christian but raised as Muslim soldiers. They knew only discipline . . .” (Ahmed 66)
   5. “The heart of the Ottoman empire was the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul,” over 30 acres. (Ahmed 66)
   6. At the heart of the Topkapi palace was the harem, where the sultan “lived, played, and died . . . He also ruled from here. [66] . . . he shif­ted his chambers nightly for fear of assassina­tion. Here demented sul­tans, captive concubines and scheming eunuchs lived in the 350 warren-like rooms. . . . Women of all colours and castes were brought, bought or kidnapped . . . Their lives, waiting for the sul­tan’s notice, were empty. The jealousy, intrigue, and squabbles were, like the rooms, claus­trophobic. Women jockeyed for favour. Favourite sons were suddenly elevated to rule vast territories, out-of-grace sons were locked away in cage-like rooms in the harem to go mad slowly in is­o­la­tion. Over 1,200 concubines were kept in the seventeenth century. In the same century Sultan Ibrahim, mad with drugs or rage, ordered 280 of his women to be sewn in weighted sacks and thrown into the Bosphorus.” (Ahmed 67)
4. **decline**
   1. Some developments “were a deviation from the Islamic ideal—dynastic principle, the opulence of the court . . .” (Ahmed 89)
   2. After the second failed attempt to capture Vienna in 1683, “bits and pieces began to fall off . . .” (Ahmed 67)
      1. “. . . nationalism claimed some, European colonial avarice took others.” (Ahmed 67)
      2. “. . . the attempts of the Greeks to break away from Istanbul evoked strong emotion­al support in Europe. . . . Shelley and Byron sang of Greek valour . . .” (Ahmed 67)
      3. “The very word Turk became synonymous with treachery and cruelty. It was a land where people bore—and still bear—the name Atilla with pride.” (Ahmed 68)
      4. “From the eighteenth century onwards attempts to imitate Western institutions were made. . . . training institutes, particularly for the army and navy, were run by Europe­an, mainly French, in­struc­tors. . . . European literature was widely translated into Turkish . . .” (Ahmed 68)
5. **Ataturk**
   1. “. . . the first thing Ataturk did was to abolish the Ottoman ca­li­phate and move the capital from Istanbul to Ankara.” (Ahmed 67)
   2. The Ottoman empire’s retention of Asia Minor was “due almost en­tirely to the military genius of one man, Kamal Ataturk . . .” (Ahmed 69)
   3. Ataturk “Europeanized Turkey . . . the Santa Sophia mosque was con­ver­ted to a museum, the fez was banned and replaced by European hats, Sufi and dervish orders were suppres­sed, Islamic law [was] su­per­se­ded by European legal codes and Latin not Arabic letters were used for the Turkish script.” 69 He abolished the caliphate in 1924. 88 “Even today a woman covering her head or a man cultivating a beard, both suggesting Islam, risk termina­tion in government service.” (Ahmed 69)
   4. “Ataturk’s picture is everywhere, in houses, cafes and government of­fi­ces . . . in European dress usually wearing a bow-tie . . .” (Ahmed 69)

### The Saffavid Empire (1501-1736)

(Persia. Capital: Isfahan. Shi’ite. Foes: Ottomans and Mughals)

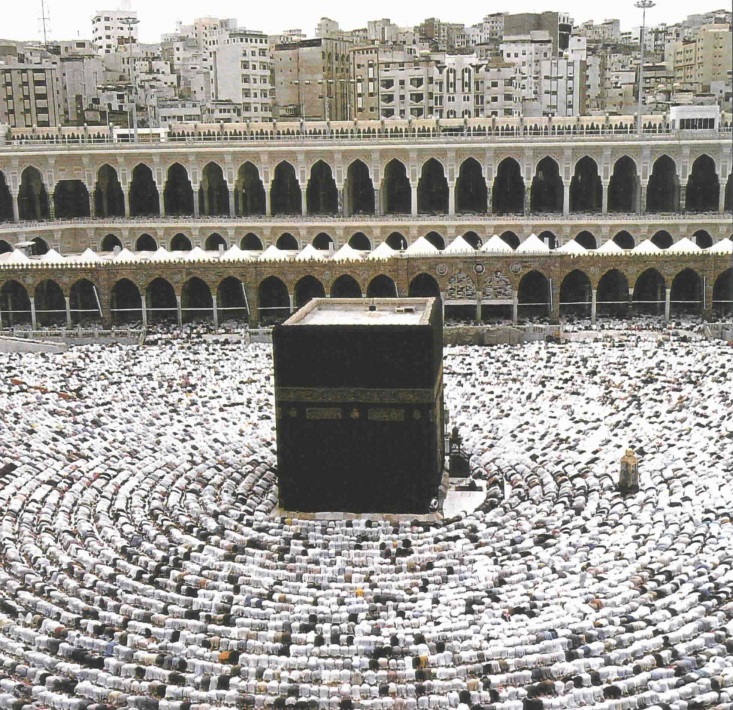
1. **introduction**
   1. “The Saffavid dynasty originated in the Sufi order founded by Safi-al-din (1252-1334). During the fifteenth century the order converted to a revolutionary movement.” (Ahmed 69)
   2. Saffavids were called “Qizilbash or red-heads. The Saffavids wore red turbans with twelve folds commemorating the twelve Shiite Imams.” (Ahmed 69)
2. **rise**
   1. 1501: “Shah Ismail I, only fourteen years old, was proclaimed ruler after defeating a Turkish [i.e., Ottoman] army. [He] declared that the official religion of the state would be Twelver . . . Shiaism. The Saffavid state was to be a theocracy, Shah Ismail personi­fied the twelfth Imam in the flesh. Shah Ismail conducted a vigorous campaign to convert the predominantly Sunni population to Shiaism.” (Ahmed 70)
   2. 1606: the Saffavid empire peaks under Ismail’s grandson, Shah Abbas the Great (1588-1629—his contemporaries were Akbar of India and Elizabeth of England). Manufacture of silk and carpets flourishes. “Brilliant miniature paintings reached new heights,” but “Sensu­ality became in­creasingly prominent in the later Saffavid paintings and eroticism bla­tant.” (Ahmed 70)
3. **decline**
   1. 1600s-1700s: “Most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were taken up by the rule of four drunken shahs,” [71], but “the Shia *ulema* were be­gin­ning to challenge the theory . . . that the shah was the Imam in­car­nate, the shadow of God, *zilallah*, on earth. [70] . . . Soon the *ulema* were vigorously arguing that the Imam must be a genuine *mujtahid*, a man of learning and impeccable character.” (Ahmed 70-71)
   2. 1687: Muhammad Majlisi, “a precursor of Imam Khomeini,” imposed Shi’ism on the court: “Hundreds of thousands of wine jars in the royal cellars were smashed.” In 1687 Majlisi became “Sheikh al-Islam of Isfahan.” “He wrote more than sixty books. He initiated a campaign against Sunnis and Sufis . . .” (Ahmed 71)
   3. Mutual toleration between Sunnis and Shi’ites ented with the Saffavids. (Ahmed 71) “The hatred served two purposes: it reinforced Shia sectarian iden­tity as it underlined Persian against Arab ethnicity. Another de­velopment was the Shia rejection of Sufism and concen­tration on law and the external observances of religion and ritual.” (Ahmed 72)

### The Mughal Empire (1526-1857)

(N India. Capital: Delhi. Sunni. Foe: Hinduism)

1. **introduction**
   1. syncretism
      1. “Ali transformed into an avatar with four arms; [72] Duldul, the Prophet’s mule, equated to Hanuman, the monkey god. Flying holy men, starving saints, divine figures with human attributes . . . were locked into a coherent if unbounded and malleable philosophy in Hindu India.” (Ahmed 72-73)
      2. Hindu influences included “astrology, caste, mag­ic,” [76] as well as “tomb worship, consulting Brahmans for omens and celebrating Hindu festivals . . .” (Ahmed 78)
      3. “. . . the Hindu *yogi* and Muslim *faqir* bore a suspicious resemblance . . . Hindus and Muslims visited them with equal fervour to request miracles . . .” (Ahmed 87)
   2. The first six emperors, “from Babar, [a Turk from Kabul] who founded the dynasty in 1526 by gaining Delhi [to] Aurangzeb who died in 1707,” ov­er­shadowed the unimportant emperors who followed (“many were drunks and drug addicts,” 76). The empire’s zenith was under Shah Jahan (1628-1658), who built the Taj Mahal for his empress, Mumtaz Mahal; and under his sons, Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb. (Ahmed 74)
2. **Aurangzeb** (1658-1707)
   1. Dara Shikoh was syncretistic (he found Hindu scriptures in the *Qur­an*); he emphasized universalist humanism, encouraged art, and was anti-clergy (“Paradise is wherever there is no mullah”). But “For all his syn­cre­tism his ideal, like that of Aurangzeb, remained the Prophet of Islam.” Aurangzeb was legalistic; he emphasized the *um­mah*, discouraged art music and dancing, and supported the cler­gy (*u­le­ma*). Aurangzeb executed Dara Shikoh to become emperor. 80 The contrast between the brothers can be seen throughout Islamic history (e.g., in recent Pakistan, Bhutto = Dara Shikoh and Zia = Aurangzeb [and Zia signed Bhutto’s death warrant], 82-83), for Muslims face two choices: “legal, ortho­dox, formality on the one hand and ec­lec­tic, syncretic, informality on the other.” (Ahmed 79)
   2. “Assertive Hindu revivalist movements were spreading rapidly in In­dia and often . . . converted into nationalist-ethnic armed struggle against the Mughals . . .” (Ahmed 78)
   3. “. . . the *bhakti* movement begun in south India made its impact on northern India. Although the *bhakti* movement had grown with figures like Kabir preaching universal peace, and borrowed certain features of Islam, such as monotheism and egalitarianism, by the late sev­en­teenth century it assumed an anti-Muslim stance.” (Ahmed 78)
   4. “Aurangzeb spent the entire second half of his long reign in a seemingly futile attempt to crush the Marathas in the south [led by Sivaji].” (Ahmed 78) (They were not defeated until 1761, by an Afghan ru­ler. Ahmed 78-79)
   5. “The Sikhs (founded by Guru Nanak, whom Aurangzeb killed, and then led by Guru Gobind Singh [d. 1708]) were committed to fighting the Mughals.” (Ahmed 78) In the late 1700s they moved more and more toward Hinduism. “In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they were to rule with an iron hand large Muslim populations in north India who were constantly in rebellion.” (Ahmed 79)
3. **Shah Waliullah**, a great Muslim scholar, called for “a reversion to pristine Islam. . . . he trans­lated the holy Quran into Persian in order that it should reach a wider readership; his sons translated it into Urdu.” (Ahmed 78)
4. **the British**: the last Mughal emperor was removed by the British in 1857. [74] He “lies buried under a public latrine in spite of official protests . . .” [86] (Ahmed 74, 86)
5. **Islam in modern India**
   1. “. . . liberalism and secularism [are] the official philosophy of modern India.” (Ahmed 85)
   2. “. . . 2,000 mosques have been captured by militant Hindu groups or resumed by the authorities.” (Ahmed 86)
6. **populations**: Muslim communities “have grown up in the past thirty years, most of whose mem­bers live at the bottom of the social ladder—Turkish factory workers in Germany, Algerian street cleaners in France, and Indian store clerks in Great Britian. . . . 10,000 Yemenis in the United States [are] working mostly in the agricultural fields of California and the mills of New York State. . . . Muslims total anywhere between 1 and 6 million in the United States [5 million: Pipes 184]. In West Europe, they number about 11 million. [215] . . . They make up one-quarter of . . . Dearborn, Michigan. [215]” (Pipes 215-16)

## The Ka`bah (Ka`abah)



1. **in general**
   1. *Ka`bah* literally means “cube.”
      1. Actually it is about 43 × 38 × 43 feet (wdh) (13m × 11.5m × 13m).
   2. It is the principal Muslim shrine.
      1. It is called “the House of Allah.”
      2. It (not Mecca around it) is the *qiblah*, or point faced for daily ritual prayers (*salat*).
      3. It is located directly below the heavenly ka`bah.
2. **history**
   1. early
      1. Its origin is unknown. It existed several centuries before Muhammad.
      2. by the 500s ad
         1. It had become central Arabia’s principal religious shrine.
         2. It was at the center of a sacred territory (*haram*).
         3. It had the characteristics of a Semitic sanctuary. (See articles “*Haram*” and “*Hawtah*.”)
      3. ad 632: Muhammad captures the ka`bah and empties it of idols.
      4. The *Qur*’*an* says that every Muslim must make at least one pilgrimage there.
      5. after Muhammad
         1. Since the 600s, it has been damaged by fire, flood, earthquake, and attack.
         2. One of the earliest builders was Abdullah (named by Muhammad), grand­son of Abu Bakr (Muhammad’s best friend and, from 620 on, his father-in-law). (Ahmed 37)
         3. the Umayyad dynasty (660-750)
            1. The Umayyads rebuilt it in gold. (Ahmed 37)
            2. The caliph Al Walid (705-715), son of Abdul Malik, sent Byzan­tine architects, who tore down the old building and rebuilt the ka`bah opulently. (Ahmed 37)
   2. medieval
      1. “Later, Roman and Persian influences can be detected as distant caliphs sent their finest architects.” (Ahmed 37)
      2. Ottoman Empire (c. 1299-1922)
         1. “The last and most important influence, still clearly visible, was that of the Ottomans. Sulay­man the Magnificent sent the most renowned Muslim architect of the age, Sinan.” (Ahmed 37)
         2. 1500s: the Ottoman ruler Sulay­man the Magnificent sent the most renowned Muslim architect, Sinan, to improve it.
         3. Since the 1600s, the ka`bah has had stones from earlier buildings.
   3. modern
      1. The ka`bah is now at the center of the great open Haram Mosque.
      2. 1956: the Saudi government enlarged the Haram Mosque. It is now 175,732 square feet (16,326 square meters) and holds 300,000 people.
      3. 1958: Saudi government repaired the walls and roof.
3. **the present-day ka`bah**
   1. the building
      1. granite
      2. 17+ yards (16+ meters) high, 14+ yards (13 meters) long, 12 yards (11 meters) wide
      3. There are no windows. A single door two meters above the pavement allows entry, but the ka`bah is rarely opened. Inside, 3 wood pillars support ceiling, gold and silver lamps suspend from the ceiling, and there are mobile stairs.
   2. the black stone
      1. It is of unknown pre-Islamic origin, possibly meteoric.
      2. It fell from heaven or was brought by angels as an original white cornerstone.
      3. It is in the east exterior corner. It is usually called “the cornerstone of the House,” or “the right hand of God on earth.”
      4. It is now dark red-brown; darkened by human touch over centuries, it serves as a register of human degradation.
      5. It is encased in a massive silver band.
      6. It is not an idol: it is not worshiped.
   3. the *kiswah* (“robe”)
      1. This usually covers ka`bah.
      2. It is made of thick embroidered cloth, black and gold.
      3. It has wide bands of Arabic calligraphy, mostly Qur’anic verses.
      4. before 1927: it was provided each year by Egypt, by pilgrimage caravan from Cairo.
      5. now: it is made each year by Meccan artisans.
   4. near the ka`bah
      1. “the Station of Ibrahim” (Abraham)
         1. A footprint of Ibrahim is preserved in stone (now in a gold cage).
         2. Ibrahim supposedly stood there to finish constructing an earlier ka`bah.
      2. “Zamzam” (sacred well)
         1. It was supposedly made by God for Hajar (Hagar) and Isma`il (Ishmael) after commanding Ibrahim to abandon them (see Gen 16, 21).
         2. It is opposite the black stone, in a small building.
         3. Pilgrims drink its water, after circumambulations and prayers.
4. **circumambulation rite** (*tawaf*)
   1. Circumambulation occurs during the pilgrimage season (the month of Ramadan).
   2. beginning of circumambulation rite: Muslims kiss or touch the Black Stone, as Muhammad supposedly did.
   3. end of circumabulation rite: Muslims press their bodies to the *multazam* (section of wall between the black stone and the raised door) to receive the ka`bah’s *barakah* (“blessing,” “power”).

## English Translations of the Qur’an

1. ad 1143: Robertus Retenensis (English monk) (Arberry 7)
   1. a translation into Latin; “The first rendering of the Koran into a western language . . .” (Arberry 7)
   2. solicited by Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (Arberry 7)
   3. copied many times (Arberry 7)
   4. 1543: printed in Basle by Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) of Zurich (Arberry 7)
   5. “It abounds in inaccuracies and misunderstandings, and was inspired by hostile intention . . .” (Arberry 7)
2. 1649: André du Ryer (French businessman) (Arberry 7)
   1. 1647: Ryer’s French translation appeared (Arberry 7)
   2. translated by Alexander Ross (Arberry 10)
   3. “his version is very far from perfect.” (Arberry 8)
3. 1694: first printing of the Qur’\_n in Arabic (Arberry 10)
   1. editor: Abraham Hinckelmann (Arberry 10)
   2. place: Hamburg (Arberry 10)
4. 1698: Fr. Maracci, new translation into Latin (Arberry 10)
5. 1734: George Sale (English lawyer), *The Koran* (Arberry 10)
   1. used Hinckelmann and Maracci (Arberry 10)
   2. a “justly celebrated version . . .” (Arberry 10)
   3. It reached an 8th ed. in 1878 (Philadelphia: Lippincott).
6. 1841: Arabic edition the Qur’\_n (Arberry 14)
   1. Edited by Gustav Fluegel. (Arberry 14)
   2. Published in Leipzig. (Arberry 14)
7. 1861: J. M. Rodwell (Anglican priest), *The Koran* (Arberry 14)
   1. Rodwell used Fluegel’s edition [16-17] and so “follows the division into verses established in Fluegel’s edition . . .” (Arberry 17)
   2. “the order of the Suras [was] completely changed, with the object of reconstituting the historical sequence of its original composition.” (Arberry 14)
   3. Rodwell based himself on Nöldeke’s chronology, in his *Geschichte des Qorâns* (1859) (Arberry 14)
   4. Reprinted in Everyman’s Library (London: Dent, New York: Dutton) since 1909. (Arberry 14)
8. 1880: Edward Henry Palmer (Arberry 18)
   1. Commissioned by Max Müller for *Sacred Books of the East*, OUP. (Arberry 18)
   2. “Palmer, a poor orphan who was thought in his teens to be dying of consumption, had remarkable gifts as a translator . . .” (Arberry 19)
   3. “his translation, in two volumes, was published . . . two years before its author was murdered in the Egyptian desert.” (Arberry 19)
   4. The *suras* are in traditional order, and “he also avoided the italics that tediously interrupt the flow of the narrative in Sale and Rodwell.” (Arberry 19)
   5. He “divided the matter into paragraphs of varying length . . .” (Arberry 19)
9. 1930: Marmaduke Pickthall (English novelist, convert to Islam) (Arberry 20)
   1. Entitled *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*. (Arberry 21)
   2. Pickthall wrote, “The aim of this work is to present to English readers what Muslims the world over hold to be the meaning of the words of the Koran . . . The [20] Book is here rendered almost literally and every effort has been made to choose befitting language. But the result is not the Glorious Koran . . .” (Arberry 20-21)
   3. “Nevertheless Pickthall’s version is not free of errors.” (Arberry 21)
   4. And “Being based upon a text lithographed in Turkey, it follows a numeration of the verses frequently differing from that adopted by Fluegel.” (Arberry 21)
   5. “Translation is also interpretation, . . . and the virtue of *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, an English convert to Islam, is that the translation reflects in fact a traditional Muslim interpretation of the text.” (F.E. Peters 7)
   6. “The strictly orthodox Muslim Marmaduke Pickthall is careful not to title his English translation of the Koran simply *The Koran* or *The Glorious Koran*, but rather *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: Knopf, 1930). He states in his Foreword, “The Koran cannot be translated. That is the belief of old-fashioned Seykhs and the view of the present writer.”“ (Montgomery)
10. 1937-39: Richard Bell (professor of Arabic, University of Edinburgh) (Arberry 22)
    1. Bell, Richard. *The Qur*’*ân*: *Translation with a Critical Re-Arrangement of the Surah*. 2 vols. Edinburgh: 1937-1939.[[4]](#footnote-4) (Not at UST.)
    2. “a most erudite scholar of Arabic . . .” (Arberry 22)
    3. “he quite literally took the Koran to pieces and put it together again . . . it is virtually unreadable . . .” (Arberry 23)
    4. See now also: Watt, W. Montgomery. *Bell*’*s Introduction to the Qur*’*ân*. Edinburgh: 1970. (Not at UST.) (Cited in: Basetti-Sani, Giulio, O. F. M. *The Koran in the Light of Christ*: *A Christian Interpretation of the Sacred Book of Islam*. Trans. W. Russell Carroll, O. F. M., and Bede Dauphinee, O. F. M. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977. 213.)
11. 1955: Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*
    1. Though a translation, Arberry calls his work *The Koran Interpreted* because “the Koran is untranslatable.” (Arberry 24)
    2. An earlier work was *The Holy Koran*: *An Introduction with Selections* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953). (Arberry 24)
    3. “. . . the most readable English translation, and one that catches some of the flavor of the original, is probably A.J. Arberry’s [6] *The Koran Interpreted*.” (F.E. Peters 6-7)
12. Maulvi (or Maulana) Muhammad Ali (d. 1951), *Holy Qur*’ *an*, *Containing the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary* (Montgomery)
    1. Ali was a leader of the Ahmadiyya sect in India. (Montgomery)
    2. “Muhammad Ali’s translation of the Koran tries, within the limits of Arabic vocabulary and syntax, to tone down difficult passages and thus to provide the twentieth century reader with a more scientifically and historically palatable text. For example, Muhammad Ali removes any notion of miracles from the statement of Joseph in Egypt to his brothers as given in Surah 12:93.” (Montgomery)

## Major Denominations in Islam

Majd, Vahid J., and Ali Abbas. “Islamic Sects and Followings: Shi’ite Beliefs and Practices.” *A Shi’ite Encylcopedia*. *Islamic Paths*. Vers. 2.0. Oct. 1995. 28 Apr. 2004. Web.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *larger groups* | *smaller groups* |
|  |  |
| Sunnis (83% of all Muslims) |  |
|  |  |
| Shi’ites (16% of all Muslims) |  |
|  |  |
| most early Shi’ites (Husaynids) | Hasanids (followers of Hasan) |
| followers of Husayn and his descendants |  |
|  | Hanafids (followers of Hanafiyya) |
|  |  |
|  | others (followers of other relatives of Muham­mad) |
|  |  |
| most Shi’ites  the fifth Imam is Muhammad, 677-733 | Zaydis (third largest Shia group)  the fifth Imam is Zayd, Muhammad’s brother  any descendant of Hasan or Husayn can be the Imam  Imams are fallible and can be multiple, in different areas  most Zaydis are in Yemen |
| most Shi’ites  the seventh Imam is Musa | Ismailis (ad 700s) (second largest Shia group)  the seventh Imam is Ismail, Musa’s brother |
|  |  |
|  | Nizaris (ad 1094: the next Imam is Nizar)  today the leader is the Aga Khan |
| most Shi’ites  “Twelvers” (largest Shi’ite group)  the twelfth Imam was occulted in ad 874  since 874, scholar-clerics are the Hidden Imam’s spokesmen |  |
| Mustalis (ad 1094: the next Imam is Mus­tal)  the last Imam was occulted in the 1000s  he communicates through a earthly leader (the *Dai*)  presently the *Dai* lives in India |
|  |  |
| other sects (1%) |  |
| the Ahmadiyya Movement |  |
| Bahai’ism |  |

## The Twelve Imams of Twelver Shi’ism

Majd, Vahid J., and Ali Abbas. “Islamic Sects and Followings: Shi’ite Beliefs and Practices.” *A Shi’ite Encylcopedia*. *Islamic Paths*. Vers. 2.0. Oct. 1995. 28 Apr. 2004. Web.

Of the twelve imams, all but the twelfth (believed to be still alive) were martyrs; the first and third were stabbed, and the others were poisoned.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Abdul Muttalib | |  | |  |
|  |  |
|  |  | |  | |
| Abdullah Abu Talib | | | |  |
|  |  | |  |
| Muhammad | | |
|  |  | |
| Fatima 1. Ali (ad 600-661) | | | |
|  | |  |
|  | |  | |
|  |  | |  |
| 2. Hasan (625-670) | | 3. Husain (626-680) | |
|  |  |
| 4. Ali (659-712/13) | |
|  |  |
| 5. Muhammad  (677-733) | |
|  |  |
| 6. Ja`far (702-765) | |
|  |  |
| 7. Musa (746-799) | |
|  |  |
| 8. Ali (765-818) | |
|  |  |
| 9. Muhammad  (811-835) | |
|  |  |
| 10. Ali (827-868) | |
|  |  |
| 11. Hasan (846-874) | |
|  |  |
| 12. Muhammad  al-Mahdi (869- ) | |

## Sufi Orders

Ernst, Carl W. “Spiritual Life and Institutions in Muslim Society.” In *The Muslim Almanac*: *A Reference Work on the Peoples*, *Cultures and History of Islam*. Ed. Azim A. Nanji. New York: Gale Research, 1996, 253-59. 14 Apr. 2002. Web.

1. Bektashiyya (a history of close association with the elite Ottoman troops known as the Janissaries)
2. Chishtiyya (named after Mu’in al-Din Chishti, d. 1236) (India and Pakistan) (uses music and dance)
3. Mevleviyya (uses music and dance) (whirling dervishes)
4. Muridiyya (Senegal)
5. Naqshbandiyya (Central Asia) (distinctive practice: silent *dhikr*[[5]](#footnote-5) recitation) (a history of close association with political power)
6. Nimatullahiyya (Iran)
7. Qadiriyya (named after ‘Abd al-Qadir Jilani, d. 1166) (oldest extant order) (North Africa to Southeast Asia)
8. Rifa’iyya (Egypt, SW Asia) (distinctive practice: loud *dhikr* recitation)
9. Safawiyya (strongly Shi’i and messianic) (basis for the Safavid empire)
10. Shadhiliyya (named after Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, d. 1258) (N Africa, Arabia)
11. Suhrawardiyya (S and central Asia) (a history of close association with political power)
12. Tijaniyya (N and W Africa)

## The Ahmadiyya Movement

1. **introduction**
   1. “The Ahmadis considered themselves the purest of Muslims. To their reverence for the Prophet they had grafted on a reverence for a Promised Messiah, Ahmad, who had appeared in India in the nineteenth century. Ahmad’s followers, the Ahmadis, claimed that Ahmad had appeared to purify the decayed faith. To other Muslims this reverence for the Promised Messiah derogated from the Prophet’s “finality” as a prophet and was the blackest sort of blasphemy. There had been repeated campaigns against the followers of Ahmad; and in Mr. Bhutto’s time the hated Ahmadis had been declared non-Muslims.” (Nai­paul 213)
2. **interview with an Ahmadi woman**
   1. “. . . she said, “We believe in the Pro­phet. But three years ago we were declared non-Muslims by the [Pakistani] government. We are Ahmadis. . . . [Bhutto] declared us non-Muslims.” . . . The sect began, she said, with a man called Ah­mad, who was born in north­ern India in the last century. In [1890] he came to the realization, by many signs given him, that he was the Mahdi or the Promised Messiah. He was a pious man; he fought the convic­tion, but in the end he couldn’t resist it. There were Muslims who believed that the Messiah wasn’t going to come until doomsday; but another interpretation of the prophecy was that the Messiah would appear when Islam had degenerated . . .” (Nai­paul 108)
   2. “I said, “So you are like the Bahais of Iran? They believe that the Hidden Imam or someone like him appeared in the last century.” But she had never heard of the Bahais.” (Nai­paul 108)
   3. “She was an Ahmadi convert. And the Ahmadis themselves, she told me, were divided. Some—like herself—believed in the successor to the Messiah; others didn’t. But how had she, a Muslim, come to accept this idea of the Messiah? The idea was hateful to Muslims. Muslims believed that Mohammed was the final Prophet; this idea of the Indian Messiah came close to denying that finality . . . she had married an Ahmadi. [108] . . . Her husband had talked to her, instructed her; and she was now so con­vinced a believer that she spoke of the Messiah, Ahmad, with a little tremor . . .” (Nai­paul 108-109)
3. **interview with some Ahmadis in Lahore**
   1. “. . . it was not easy in Lahore to get introductions to Ah­madis. The Ah­madis themselves were, understandably, secretive. And Muslims not of the sect didn’t want to know about them; either they pretended not to hear, or they raged. I heard that the Ahmadis indulged in casuistry; that the man they publicly spoke about only as the Promised Messiah was accepted by them in private as a second prophet. I heard that the original Ahmad had been encouraged by the British to divide Indian Muslims. I also heard that they were strong in the armed for­ces; that they were good businessmen and “looked after their own”; that to become an Ahmadi was to be secure and looked after.” (Nai­paul 213)
   2. “Some probably were businessmen. But they had an extra authority: they were men in their own estimation made tremendous by their faith. It was not given to many to recognize a Messiah, to be among the first: to be linked in this way to the earliest believers in the Pro­phet’s mission. The courage of those early believers was now vindicated, as theirs would be when the whole world turned to the Promised Messiah. And as a mark of their faith—in spite of persecution—some wore a very thin crescent of beard on the chin. A hundred years before there was only Ahmad, one man. Now there were ten million Ahmadis all over the world. In a hundred years from now, why not ten million times ten million?” (Nai­paul 214)
   3. “It was what the Lahore Imam or bishop (who had a crescent beard) had told a doubt­er in London. [214] . . . There were always people who preferred to deny the signs, the Imam said. It had been prophesied, for instance, that when the Promised Messiah appeared or declared his mission there would be an eclipse of both the sun and the moon. When such eclipses had occurred in close conjunction in 1894, a doubter banged his head in frustration against a wall and said, “Now that man”—the Promised Messiah—“is *right*!” But the doubter had not given up his doubt.” (Nai­paul 215)
   4. “Christ hadn’t died on the cross. He was only in a coma when he was taken down from the cross. The Turin shroud proved that blood had flowed from a man who was still living. Christ’s broken limbs were healed and he went about preaching to the lost tribes of Israel. He made his way to Kashmir, in northern India, and died there at the age of 120. . . . that belief about Christ was central to the Ahmadi faith.” (Nai­paul 215)
   5. “Some Muslims believe (though there is no sanction for it in the Koran) that Christ (to Muslims, one of the prophets before Mohammed) will return to earth as the redeemer or the Mahdi. The Ahmadis say that the prophecy has been misinterpreted [because] Christ is dead. . . . he cannot come back to earth for a second spell. The true prophecy, according to the Ahmadis, was that someone [215] *like* Christ was going to come back to earth as the Promised Messiah, to cleanse religion at a time of darkness and restore the purity of Islam. And that man was Ahmad . . .” (Nai­paul 215-216)
   6. Ahmad was “born in 1838 in the village of Qadian, now in India, just across the bor­der from Pakistan. Jesus was born thirteen hundred years after Moses; Ahmad was born thirteen hundred years after the Pro­phet. Jesus was born in a Roman colony; Ahmad was born in a British colony. Those were just two of the numberless similarities. Ah­mad’s family had been landowners. But under the British administra­tion they had lost their eight villages, and family division of the remaining property had left little for Ahmad. Of Ahmad’s childhood or early life little is said. It is known that Arabic, the holy language, came to him without instruc­tion; and that he suffered from vertigo and diabetes and had a slight stammer. He had his first revela­tion when he was forty. But it wasn’t until he was fifty-one or fifty-two, in 1890, that he announced his mission. It was found then that many of the things about Ahmad—including his physical disabilities and the name of his birthplace—had been prophesied. His revelations came to him in words, and that was important. If he had claimed merely to be inspired, he would not have been able to claim much for his words. He was charged at one time with attempted murder—it was an early attempt to discredit him—but he was acquit­ted. He married late and had a son at the age of fifty (the year before he announced his mission); the son became the third head of the movement (Ahmad died in 1908). All these events were prophesied.” (Nai­paul 216)
4. **prophecies**
   1. “. . . during a long morning drive to the Ahmadi settlement at Rabwah [216] . . . The land through which we had been driving was flat. . . . Beside the hills was the Chenab River, one of the rivers of the Punjab . . . I asked Idrees whe­ther it wouldn’t have been better for the Ahmadis to stay in India, in their original headquarters in Ahmad’s birthplace. Idrees said, “With­out Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah, India would have been another Spain.” “Spain?” “A land where Islam has been wiped out.” . . . Long before partition [of India and Pakistan], though, the second caliph or successor (Ahmad’s son) had prophesied a migration: a migration similar to Christ’s, after he had been taken down from the cross. The prophecy had come to him in a dream. . . . The second caliph, after he had prophe­sied the migration from India, had seen a landscape . . . in a dream, . . . red rocky hills and [a] river channel . . . [according to Idrees,] “a place which was hilly, which had mounds, and some sandy area also.” The hills were important in this migration that had to resemble that of Christ: it was re­ported that Jesus and Mary, after leaving Galilee, had moved to some physically elevated place. And the river was important, because the Promised Messiah himself had prophesied that times would [217] be hard for his people and that then, to solace them, he would appear on the banks of the Nile or a river like the Nile. In an unreal world, “simile”—to use the word Idrees constantly used—was everything. The Nile, Idrees said, rose in the Moun­tains of the Moon; Chenab meant “Moon River.”” (Nai­paul 217)
   2. “The outlawing of the sect by Mr. Bhutto had been prophesied. So had the punish­ment of Mr. Bhutto. It had been pro­phesied that a ruler was going to declare them *cafars*, infidels; and that afterwards both hands of this ruler were going to be broken. “The hand that held that declaration,” Idrees said, “and the hand that authenti­cated it.”” (Nai­paul 216)
   3. “We talked about dreams. The second caliph’s dreams had been famous even in the British time. Sir Mohammed Zaf­rullah Khan, one of the most distinguished Ah­madis, used to pass them on to the British viceroy, who was scep­tical until he received in this way some precise information about Allied warplanes. But dreams and prophecies had to be handled with care; they couldn’t be broadcast; they could be provocative. It was better for prophecies to be made public after they had come to pass—like the prophecy about Mr. Bhutto and the breaking of both his hands.” (Nai­paul 221)
   4. Idrees said, “Did you make a note of that prophecy? By 1989 the world will be tired of waiting for the coming of Christ. The Iranians will get tired of waiting for the Twelfth Imam. They will then turn to us.” (Nai­paul 222)
5. **at Rabwah**
   1. “. . . the cur­rent head of the sect” was at Rabwah, “The Imam, the Promised Messiah’s grandson, [who] was seventy and an M. A. from Oxford . . .” (Nai­paul 218)
   2. “In the publications section [Idrees] showed the Korans language by language . . . The Ahmadis were active in Africa: they had Korans in Luganda, Swahili, Yoruba. . . . But the Ahmadis aimed at nothing less than the conversion of the world. They were banned in many Muslim countries; but the work went on elsewhere. The tall man in white had come back from a missionary posting in Denmark. [He said] that the Scandinavians were looking for new beliefs and he had built up a good little con­gregation for the Promised Messiah in Denmark.” (Nai­paul 219)
   3. One man “had served on and off for twenty years in London. He had a congregation of ten thousand (mostly Pak­istan migrants, I would have thought) . . .” (Nai­paul 219)
   4. “Idrees himself believed in the strict seclusion of women; his own wife kept *purdah*.” (Nai­paul 220)
   5. “We saw the school where students from different countries were being trained—train­ing taking from six to seven years—to go back and spread the word about the Pro­mised Mes­siah.” (Nai­paul 221)
   6. “Abruptly, as we were talking, Idrees held his open palms together in the Muslim ges­ture of prayer. We were passing the cemetery. It was his custom, he said after­wards, to say a prayer for them, “that they might be elevated even higher in hea­ven.”” (Nai­paul 221)

## Bahai’ism

1. Bahai’ism is a “Muslim sect . . .” (Naipaul 19)
2. “The Bahais . . . had their own secret frenzy, and it derived from the frenzy of Iran. The Shias were waiting for the Twelfth Imam; the Bahais believed that in the nineteenth century a deputy or surrogate, or the Twelfth Imam himself, had come and gone, and only they, the Bahais, had recognized him.” (Naipaul 18)
3. “The Bahais’ claim about the Twelfth Imam is to the Shias of Iran the most punishable kind of blasphemy . . .” (Naipaul 19)
4. “The Bahai movement in the nineteenth century was subversive. . . . in 1852 there was an attempt to kill the king.” (Naipaul 19)

## Islam and Women

women in the qur’an

In the Qur’an, “An egalitarian statement concerning males and females is made, but the husband is recognized as “one degree higher” (2:228) because he earns by his strength and expends on his wife. Polygamy is limited to four wives with the provision that “if you fear you cannot do justice [among them], marry only one” (4:3), and the further admonition that such justice is impossible “no matter how much you desire” (4:129). Kind and generous treatment of wives is repeatedly emphasized; celibacy is strongly discouraged, although not banned outright. The basic equality of all people is proclaimed and ethnic differences discounted: “O you people, we have created [all of] you from a male and a female, and we have made you into different nations and tribes [only] for the purpose of identification—otherwise, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is the most righteous” (49:13).” (Rahman 308)

women in the shari`ah

“In modern-day Islam, the Hanafi school commands a greater following than any other school of law. This survey is, therefore, based on shari`ah law as developed within the framework of the Hanafi school. Wherever Hanafi law diverges from the law of the other three Sunni schools (Shafi`i, Maliki, and Hanbali), their differences are outlined. References to Shi`i law generally relate to the Twelver Shi`i school, which is mainly adhered to in Iran and has the largest following of all the branches of Shi`i Islam.” (Mayer 444)

*Marriage*

“Like any other private contract, marriage under shari`ah law is concluded by the mutual agreement, oral or written, of the parties or their representatives. The only formality required is the presence of two witnesses at the conclusion of the contract, and even this is not necessary under Shi`i law. Formalities usually observed, such as ceremonies performed in the presence of a religious leader, are matters of customary practice and not a legal requirement.” (Kamali 446)

“The requirements of a marriage contract are basically the same in all shari`ah schools. First, the parties or their representatives must be legally competent persons, and second, there must be no legal impediment to marriage. Sanity and majority are the basic requirements of the legal capacity to contract. Legal majority is established with physical puberty, which is attained upon proof of sexual maturity rather than at a specific age. Unless proven otherwise, a boy below the age of twelve and a girl below the age of nine are legally presumed to be minors. Similarly, both sexes are presumed to have attained majority with the completion of the fifteenth year. A boy or girl who has reached the minimum age of majority but is still below fifteen is permitted to marry provided he or she shows signs of puberty. A person who has attained majority (*baligh*) and is of sound mind (*`aqil*) has rights and obligations, must fulfill religious duties, and incurs criminal responsibility. The minor (*saghir*) and the insane (*majnun*) are wholly capable [*sic*] of contracting marriage. The idiot (*ma`tuh*) and the imbecile, who are incapable of managing their own affairs, have the capacity only to conclude purely advantageous transactions, such as the acceptance of a gift, but they are not permitted to contract marriage. A major who is incompetent (*safih*) may be subjected to interdiction (*hajr*) and placed under the supervision of the authorities, and this procedure could lead to restrictions on his capacity to contract. An adult woman has the capacity to contract her own marriage only in Hanafi and Shi`i law. According to the other three Sunni schools, her marriage guardian (*waliy*) must conclude the contract on her behalf. All schools recognize, in principle, the compulsory power of the marriage guardian, which is known as *ijbar*. The guardian is accordingly authorized to contract his ward, whether the ward is male or female, in marriage at his discretion regardless of the ward’s wishes. But the precise extent of this power varies among the schools. In Hanafi law, only minor wards are subject to *ijbar*, and the power is absolute only when exercised by the father or paternal grandfather. In all other cases, the ward has the right to repudiate the marriage on attaining puberty. This option of puberty (*khiyar al-bulugh*) is, however, lost by the affirmative act of consummating the marriage. Guardianship in marriage is vested in the nearest male relatives in accordance with the order of priorities that is applied in inheritance, that is, the father, grandfather, brother, nephews, uncles, and cousins, and failing them, the female relatives.” (Kamali 446-47)

“Under the Hanafi doctrine of *kafa’ah* (equality), the guardian of an adult female may oppose the marriage of his ward on the ground that the prospective spouse is not her equal. This doctrine is, however, mainly applicable to the man, who is required to be the equal of his prospective wife in respect of lineage, religion, freedom (as opposed to slavery), piety, means, and profession. If, however, both the guardian and bride fail to raise the question of equality before the contract, neither can have the marriage annulled upon discovery that the husband is not the equal of his wife. In both the Shafi`i and Maliki schools, the adult virgin is denied the right to conclude her own marriage; since the guardian himself is concluding the marriage, the doctrine of *kafa’ah* is not applicable under these schools.” (Kamali 447)

“Marriage is prohibited between close relatives. Relationships that constitute permanent impediments to marriage fall into three categories: (1) blood relationship (*garabah*), which implies that a man may not marry any of his lineal descendants, lineal ascendants, the offspring of his parents, or the immediate child of any grandparent; (2) affinity (*musaharah*), which creates a bar to marriage between a man and the ascendants or descendants of his wife, or the wife of any of his ascendants or descendants; (3) fosterage (*rada*), which arises when a woman breast-feeds the child of someone else. Fosterage creates a bar to marriage not only between foster brothers and sisters, but also between the foster mother and all her relatives on the one side, and her foster children, their spouses, and descendants on the other.” (Kamali 447)

“In addition, difference of religion is a bar to marriage: a Muslim woman may not marry a non-Muslim man unless he professes Islam. A Muslim man is, on the other hand, allowed to marry a *kitabiyah*, that is, a woman who follows a religion that has a revealed scripture, such as Judaism or Christianity. The Qur’an further prohibits both Muslim men and women from marrying polytheists or fire worshipers. Finally, a man may not marry a woman who is already married or who is observing *`iddah*, that is, the waiting period that a woman must observe following a divorce, with the exception of a divorce ending an unconsummated marriage. *`Iddah* usually lasts for three menstrual cycles or, where the wife proves to be pregnant, until the delivery of the child. The main purpose of *`iddah* is to determine a possible pregnancy prior to marriage. A widow must observe a waiting period of four months and ten days following the death of her husband.” (Kamali 447)

“The marriage contract is classified into three types, namely valid (*sahih*), irregular (*fasid*), and void (*batil*). A marriage contract is valid when it fulfills all the legal requirements. This contract brings about a fully effective union that renders intercourse lawful between the spouses, entitles the wife to dower and maintenance, obligates the wife to be faithful and obedient to the husband, and creates prohibited degrees of relations and mutual rights of inheritance between the spouses.” (Kamali 447)

“A void (*batil*) marriage is one that is unlawful from the outset and that does not create any rights or obligations between the parties. In such a marriage no illicit sexual intercourse (*zina’*) is considered to have been committed if the parties were unaware that the marriage was void. Marriage with a woman within the prohibited degrees and marriage that is brought about without the consent of the adult parties are void. The offspring of a *batil* marriage is illegitimate.” (Kamali 447-448)

“An irregular (*fasid*) marriage, on the other hand, is not unlawful in itself, but involves some irregularity of a temporary nature that could be rectified by means of a new contract. Marriage without witnesses, marriage with a fifth wife (the maximum limit being four), marriage with a non-*kitabiyah* (a woman who is neither Jewish nor Christian), and marriage with a woman undergoing *`iddah* are examples of *fasid* marriages. Such a marriage may be terminated by either party or by a judge, should it come to his notice. A *fasid* marriage has no legal effect before consummation, but when consummated, the wife is entitled to dower and maintenance, and the issue of the marriage is legitimate. A *fasid* marriage does not create any right of inheritance between the parties.” (Kamali 448)

“Islamic law requires the husband to pay his wife a dower (*mahr*). The amount of dower and the terms of its payment are matters of agreement between the parties. Anything that can be considered as goods (*mal*) may be given as a dower, but objects which are prohibited in Islam, such as wine and pork, are excluded from the definition of *mal*. If no dower is specified in the contract, the wife is entitled to a “proper” dower (*mahr al-mithl*), that is, a dower that is equivalent to the dower usually received by women of similar status. A dower may be paid at the time of the contract, or it may be deferred, in whole or in part, subject to the agreement of the parties. A deferred dower remains a debt on the part of the husband and is payable upon the dissolution of the marriage by death or divorce. In the event of a divorce prior to consummation, the wife is entitled to half the specified dower; if no dower is specified in the contract, the wife is entitled to a gift (*mut`ah*), which consists of a set of clothing.” (Kamali 448)

“The husband is bound to maintain his wife as soon as she cohabits with him. Should she refuse to cohabit or refuse herself to him, the husband is relieved of his duty, unless her refusal is for a lawful cause such as the husband’s failure to pay the dower or unsuitability of the lodging for a person of her status. In such cases, the wife’s refusal to cohabit does not relieve the husband of his duty of maintenance, which includes food, clothing, and accommodation. According to the majority of jurists, the wife is entitled to maintenance in a style that conforms to the husband’s status, regardless of her own premarital position. Should the husband desert his wife without providing for her maintenance, a judge may authorize the wife to make the necessary arrangements at her husband’s expense. The wife is not, however, entitled to a decree for past maintenance unless the claim is based on a specific agreement. Shafi`i and Shi`i law, on the other hand, entitle the wife to claim her past maintenance. The general rule in maintenance is that no individual who is capable of maintaining himself is entitled to receive maintenance from others; the only exception is the wife, who is entitled to maintenance regardless of her own financial status. The father is bound to maintain his sons until they attain puberty, and his daughters until they are married; he is also responsible for the maintenance of a widowed or divorced daughter. The law entitles every blood relative to maintenance provided that, if male, he is a child and destitute, and if a female, she is destitute whether a child or an adult. A widow is not entitled to maintenance during the period of *`iddah* following her husband’s death, since in this case she would be entitled to a share of the inheritance. The liability of a person to support these relatives is generally proportionate to his or her share of their inheritance.” (Kamali 448)

“The shari`ah entitles the husband to discipline his wife lightly when she transgresses. The law is not precise as to how and when the husband is entitled to do so, nor indeed as to what amounts to a transgression (*ma`siyah*). She must not dishonor him, refuse herself to him without lawful excuse, or cause him loss of property that is deemed unacceptable according to normal social usage. The wife is entitled to visit her parents once a week and other relatives once a year, even without the permission of her husband. She may also leave the husband if he refuses to pay her a dower. Similarly, unreasonable requests by the husband—that she should accompany him on long journeys, for example—may be refused by her. The wife retains her full capacity to enter contracts and transactions with regard to her own property as if she were not married. Indeed, the law recognizes no merger of either the personality or the property of the wife into that of her husband’s. Separation of property is the norm in shari`ah law and is presumed to apply unless the parties make a specific agreement to the contrary. If a man beats his wife without reason (even lightly), or beats her for cause but exceeds moderation, he is liable to punishment following her complaint to the court.” (Kamali 448)

“Islam allows a man to marry up to four wives simultaneously provided that he does not combine, as co-wives, two women so closely related that if either of them were a male, they would themselves be within the prohibited degrees of marriage. Each of the co-wives is entitled to a separate dwelling and to an equal portion of the husband’s time and companionship.” (Kamali 448-449)

“Modern legislation in Muslim countries has either sought to restrict the practice of polygamy or to abolish it altogether. At the one extreme is the Tunisian law of 1957, which prohibits polygamy outright. At the other is the Moroccan law of 1958, which entitles the wife to seek judicial divorce if she has suffered injury as a result of polygamy. Syria, Iraq, and Pakistan have adopted a middle course by requiring official permission before a polygamous marriage is contracted. The modernists have generally justified their reforms by direct resort to the Qur’an and a reinterpretation of the Qur’anic verse on polygamy (5:4), which permits polygamy but at the same time expresses the fear of injustice in polygamous relationships. Modern reformers have reasoned that the fear of injustice in a polygamous marriage is bound to be present in every case of polygamy and therefore have concluded that abolishing polygamy is consistent with the Qur’anic dispensations.” (Kamali 449)

“Marriage under Sunni law is a lifelong union, and any stipulation that sets a time limit to it nullifies the contract. Shi`i law, however, recognizes temporary marriage, known as *mut`ah*. This is a contractual arrangement whereby a woman agrees to cohabit with a man for a specified period of time in return for a fixed remuneration. *Mut`ah* does not give rise to any right of inheritance between the parties, but the issue of *mut`ah* is legitimate and entitled to inheritance. As the reader will note, *mut`ah* also signifies a gift of consolation to a divorced woman; the word appears in the Qur’an in both senses (2:236, 4:24), hence the origin of its double legal meaning.” (Kamali 449)

“Modern legislation in most Muslim countries compels marriage registration, and failure to comply is usually liable to legal sanctions. The law similarly requires the express consent of the parties to a marriage in order for it to be valid. To facilitate meeting the consent requirement, parties to a marriage contract must be of marriageable age. This age is almost everywhere enacted at sixteen for females and eighteen for males. Modern reforms concerning the age of marriage have thus departed from the classical shari`ah, which stipulated no specific age for marriage and only presumed the minimum and maximum ages of legal majority; the age of marriage established under the new codes also signifies the age of majority for all legal purposes. A marriage in which the parties have not reached the specified age is denied registration and may render the parties liable to statutory penalties. As a result of the enactment of a statutory age for marriage, child marriage has been effectively abolished in most Muslim countries. Similarly, the powers that the marriage guardian enjoys under classical shari`ah law have, as a result of the age provisions, been either abolished or substantially restricted.” (Kamali 449)

*Divorce*

“Marriage under shari`ah law may be dissolved either by the husband at his will, by mutual agreement of the spouses, or by a judicial decree. All the shari`ah schools recognize the husband’s right of unilateral repudiation, known as *talaq*. Sunni law requires no formalities as to the manner in which a *talaq* may be pronounced. A husband of sound mind who has attained puberty may effect *talaq* orally or in writing without assigning any cause. Any words indicative of repudiation may be used, and no witnesses are necessary for the pronouncement. In Shi`i law, *talaq* must be pronounced in the presence of two witnesses, and the exact term *talaq* must be used. Whereas in Hanafi law *talaq* pronounced by way of jest or in a state of intoxication is nonetheless valid, in both Shafi`i and Shi`i law, *talaq* is valid only when accompanied by a definite intention.” (Kamali 449)

“The husband can delegate his power of *talaq* to his wife or to a third person who may then pronounce it according to the terms of the authorization (*tafwid*). Thus there can be a valid agreement between the spouses authorizing the wife to repudiate herself if the husband marries a second wife, and the wife can exercise the power when the occasion arises.” (Kamali 449)

“In Sunni law, *talaq* is classified as “approved” (*talaq al-sunnah*) or “disapproved” (*talaq al-bid`ah*), according to the circumstances in which it is pronounced. The former is generally revocable, whereas the latter is irrevocable and terminates the marriage tie immediately upon pronouncement. The “approved” *talaq* may consist of either a single repudiation pronounced during a clean period, that is, a period between menstruations, known as *tuhr*, followed by abstinence from sexual intercourse for the whole of the waiting period (*`iddah*), or it may consist of three repudiations pronounced during three successive *tuhrs*. In the former case, *talaq* becomes final after the expiration of the *`iddah*, whereas in the latter, it becomes final upon the third pronouncement. Until the *talaq* becomes final, the husband has the option to revoke it, and this may be done either expressly or by implication, through the resumption of normal marital relations. The “disapproved” *talaq* may consist of a single repudiation which is expressly declared to be final, or it may consist of three repudiations pronounced at once. Shi`i law does not recognize the “disapproved” form of *talaq*.” (Kamali 449)

“Divorce by mutual agreement may take one of two forms: *khul`*, in which the wife secures her release from the marital tie by offering the husband financial consideration, commonly the return of the dower, which is accepted by the husband; or *mubara’ah*, which is a dissolution of marriage on the basis of mutual release of the spouses from any outstanding financial commitments arising from the marriage. In both cases, the divorce is final and extrajudicial, effected simply by the mutual agreement of the parties.” (Kamali 449-450)

“With respect to judicial dissolution, Hanafi law is the most restrictive of all the shari`ah schools. This law allows a woman to seek a dissolution (*faskh*) of her marriage from a *qadi* (Islamic judge) under four specific conditions: if she was married at a young age by a guardian other than her father or grandfather, she can ask the *qadi* to dissolve the marriage upon attaining puberty; if insane, upon regaining her sanity; if the husband is sexually impotent; or if he is a missing person and ninety years have elapsed since the date of his birth. All the other schools, including the Shi`i, authorize the *qadi* to grant a judicial divorce in cases where the husband is suffering a physical or mental disease. Whenever it is proved that the disease is incurable, the court is to order dissolution immediately, but if it is a disease that requires time to cure, the court must order a stay of judgment for one year. The Shafi`i and Hanbali schools also consider a husband’s willful refusal to support his wife and a husband’s desertion as valid grounds for a judicial divorce. Even more liberal is the Maliki school, which recognizes the husband’s illness, his failure to maintain, desertion for more than one year for whatever reason, and injurious treatment (*darar*) as valid grounds for judicial divorce. According to the last ground, the wife can demand a judicial dissolution by claiming that cohabitation with her husband is injurious to her in a way that makes the continuation of marital life impossible for a person of her status. A decree of divorce granted on any of these grounds is final, except in the case of failure to maintain, where the court’s degree effects only a revocable divorce, and the husband can resume normal marital relations during the period of *`iddah* if he proves that he can support his wife.” (Kamali 450)

“And finally, apostasy from Islam by either of the spouses operates as an immediate and final dissolution of the marriage without any judicial intervention. If both spouses renounce Islam simultaneously, their marriage is permitted to endure. Conversion to Islam by the husband alone where both spouses were Jewish or Christian does not impair the marriage, and the wife may retain her religion. However, if a Christian or Jewish woman, married to a man of the same faith, becomes a Muslim, the marriage is dissolved unless the husband also adopts Islam.” (Kamali 450)

“A final divorce, whatever its mode may be, renders sexual intercourse unlawful and entitles the wife to remarry after completing the waiting period of *`iddah*. If the marriage is not consummated, she is free to marry immediately. A triple *talaq* renders remarriage between the divorced couple unlawful until the woman marries another person; only after the dissolution of this latter marriage may she remarry her former husband. Upon a final divorce, mutual rights of inheritance cease between the parties, and any outstanding dower becomes immediately payable to the wife. She is entitled to maintenance only during her *`iddah*.” (Kamali 450)

“Modern reforms of divorce law in Muslim countries have been primarily directed at restricting the husband’s power of unilateral divorce on the one hand, and at increasing the remedies available to the wife in cases of injurious circumstances on the other. The main restriction on the husband’s power of unilateral *talaq* comes from the abolition of the irrevocable forms of *talaq*. The husband is thus no longer able to terminate his marriage immediately by pronouncing a final and irrevocable *talaq*. Legislation in some Muslim countries also entitles the wife to financial compensation for any injury she may have sustained as a result of the husband’s abuse of his power. In the traditionally Hanafi countries, the wife’s position has been enhanced by legislative measures, which entitle her to a judicial divorce on grounds substantially the same as those recognized under Maliki law. Modern legislation has also departed from the Hanafi position that ignores intention in *talaq* by adopting provisions under which *talaq* is only valid if accompanied by a definite intention. The Tunisian law of 1957 is the most far-reaching of the modern reforms in that it abolishes all forms of extrajudicial divorce, whether by *talaq* or by mutual consent. By abolishing the husband’s power of unilateral *talaq*, the Tunisian law effects complete equality between the spouses in divorce.” (Kamali 450)

*Inheritance*

“In pre-Islamic Arabia, succession was purely tribal and agnatic, that is, the heirs were normally the closest male relatives, and women and minors were excluded. A fundamental reform that the Qur’an brought about was to assign definite shares to female relatives. According to the Islamic scheme of inheritance, a female generally receives half the share of a male.” (Kamali 450)

“The Qur’an allots shares to eight relatives, namely the daughter, mother, father, husband, wife, brothers, and sisters. But the rules regarding the daughter have been extended, by analogy, to the daughter of a son, and those regarding the parents, to the grandparents. In addition, a distinction has been made between a full sister, a half sister on the father’s side, and a half sister on the mother’s side. The total number of Qur’anic heirs has thus been raised to twelve.” (Kamali 451)

“A daughter who has no brothers is entitled to half the estate, and two or more daughters share equally in a portion of two-thirds. But if daughters inherit along with sons, they become `asabah and receive half the portion of the sons.” (Kamali 451)

islamic modernists on women

“. . . the Muslim modernists [were] Muslims who had been exposed to Western ideas and who, by integrating certain key ones among them with the teaching of the Qur’an, produced brilliant solutions to the crucial problems then faced by Islamic society. The influence of premodernist reformism upon the modernists is apparent from the fact that they keep the Qur’an and the tradition of the Prophet as ultimate referents for reform while criticizing or rejecting the medieval heritage. . . . In the political sphere, citing Qur’an 42:38, which says that Muslims should decide all their affairs through mutual consultation (*shura*, actually a pre-Islamic Arab institution confirmed by the Qur’an), the modernists contended that whereas the Qur’an teaches democracy, the Muslims had deviated from this norm and acquiesced to autocratic rule. Similarly, on the subject of women, the modernists argued that the Qur’an had granted equal rights to men and women (except in certain areas of economic life where the burden of earning and supporting the family is squarely laid on men), but the medieval practice of the Muslims had clearly departed from the Qur’an and ended by depriving women of their rights. Regarding polygamy, the modernists stated that permission for polygamy (up to four wives) had been given under special conditions, with the proviso that if the husband could not do justice among his co-wives then he must marry only one wife, and that finally the Qur’an itself had declared such justice to be impossible to attain (4:129).” (Rahman 319)

“Muhammad `Abduh (d. 1905) served as Grand Mufti of Egypt and in that capacity and in his writings on Islamic law proposed rationalist and liberal reformist interpretations of the shari`ah. . . . An example of `Abduh’s approach may be seen in his famous argument that the shari`ah prohibits polygamy. Dismissing traditional support for polygamy among the *fuqaha’*, `Abduh returned to the Qur’an and offered a novel reading of two critical verses, which he claimed were to be taken together, although they had previously been held to apply to different issues. Surah 4:3 of the Qur’an was traditionally interpreted to allow a man to wed up to four women at a time, with a moral injunction to marry only one if he could not treat additional wives justly. Surah 4:129, which says it is not possible for a man to deal equally with his wives, was traditionally interpreted as offering reassurance to the polygamous husband that he was not sinning if he felt stronger attraction to and affection for one of his wives. Treating the injunction to deal equally with wives in the earlier verse as a legally binding precondition for a valid marriage, `Abduh used the later verse as evidence that this precondition could not in practice be met, so that in the shari`ah, no polygamous marriage could be valid.” (Mayer 440)

“In contemporary Muslim countries the desire on the part of the governments for legal modernization combined with the need to show respect for the shari`ah has resulted in various compromises. In the area of personal status, a number of reforms, by and large modest ones, have been enacted in Muslim countries with a view to improving the status of women in matters of marriage, divorce, support, and child custody. The boldest reforms in this area were enacted in the Tunisian Code of Personal Status of 1956, the Iranian Family Protection Law of 1967 (since abrogated by the revolutionary government), and the South Yemen Family Law of 1974. Only a few very cautious reforms of aspects of the shari`ah law of intestate succession have been undertaken.” (Kamali 444)

modern fundamentalist islam and women

“. . . the most basic factor common to the neofundamentalist phenomena is a strong assertion of Islamic identity over and against the West, an assertion that hits equally strongly at most modernist reforms, particularly on the issue of the status and role of women in society. This powerful desire to repudiate the West, therefore, leads the neofundamentalist to emphasize certain points (as a riposte to the modernist, who is often seen as a pure and simple westernizer) that would most distinguish Islam from the West.” (Rahman 319-320)

“. . . in the Chinese Muslim, or Hui, areas as well, many party members were drawn from the Muslims; the native elites of the pre-1949 period were often granted important positions in local government; and the distinctive customs and practices of the Muslims, even if they occasionally impeded economic development or communization, were neither interfered with nor prohibited. The government, for example, often sidestepped the issue of equal rights for women in the Muslim areas, where Islamic practice accorded women a lesser role and lower status.” (Rossabi 388)

“. . . Islamic law imposes modest limits on the degrees of relationship within which marriages are forbidden, but it does not forbid the principle of endogamy; indeed, in that it requires Muslim women to marry only Muslim men, it enjoins that principle.” (Hardy 402)

In India, “Succession is the principal area in Muslim social life in South Asia where shari`ah requirements have often been ignored. Exclusion of women from inheritance of landed property is widespread.” (Hardy 402)

In Europe, “One of the serious social problems besetting the Muslim diaspora is that of sexual disequilibrium, which is not without religious ramifications. Islamic moral precepts prevent an equally heavy migration of women, since it appears difficult to guard their privacy in the uncertain living conditions of Europe. Girls are often sent back to the home country after attaining puberty so they will not “fall” into marriages with men from outside their community, particularly non-Muslims, or ruin their positions in their own community by adjusting too willingly to their liberal surroundings. Of the more than four hundred thousand Moroccans in France, for example, only about 25 percent are women. In West Germany the ratio is even smaller, and in Scandinavia it is as low as 16 percent. Among refugee groups such as the Afghans and Pakistanis (mainly in Germany), the ratio is likewise very low. It is larger among Turks in Germany but still far from equal. Increasing concern with identity in the wake of “re-islamization” has induced an increasing number of young men to “import” a bride from back home, a trend observable among students as well as workers. The upsurge in racism throughout western Europe has also had some effect in reducing the number of European women accessible to Muslims for marriage. Where mixed marriages do occur, however, the result usually adds to the ranks of the Muslim believers: the majority of non-Muslim female spouses tend to convert to Islam, at least nominally, and since Islamic law rules out marriage between a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man, European men marrying Muslim women almost invariably convert as well.” (Durán 423)

In Guyana (South America), “Conservative Muslims formed their own political party when Guyana achieved independence in 1964, keep women in *purdah*, and arrange the marriages of their children. Reformed Muslims, however, have relaxed the social segregation of the sexes; women are not veiled, and many young adults select their own spouses.” (Bilgé 427)

In the US, “Several hundred Hanafi Muslim Arabs from the Ottoman province of Syria appeared in North America between 1900 and 1914, with most arriving in 1908. A few Arabs from Morocco, the Sudan, and Yemen also came during these years. . . . The majority of the men never married, violating the ideals of Islam. They feared American Christian brides would not embrace Islam or adjust well to life in the old country when they returned. Men who had married before they emigrated often never saw their wives and children again, although they sent them money regularly. Of the handful who did marry, three-quarters either found Muslim brides in the United States or managed to import brides from abroad, and the rest wed North American Christian women. Many mixed and unmixed marriages were troubled, and some ended in divorce.” (Bilgé 427)

“Of the 5 percent of Detroit’s Sunni men who wed, three-quarters took American Christian or Jewish wives, while the rest found Sunni Turkish or Albanian brides. While most American wives did not work outside the home, many Turkish women worked in their husband’s store or found jobs elsewhere. American wives encouraged their husbands to become U. S. citizens but not to deny Islam . . .” (Bilgé 428)

In America, “Most recent Turkish immigrants, for instance, were born to families of government bureaucrats, high ranking military officers, and small town elites. Their North American communities are scattered in affluent suburbs and include women as well as men who are physicians, university professors, and engineers. . . . Among the professionals are many nominal Muslims who accept the unity of God and Muhammad as his prophet, but they rarely pray, fast inconsistently during Ramadan, drink moderately, and eat pork on occasion. Women dress like their wealthy suburban American counterparts, and families allow their daughters to date. They stress their Turkish rather than their Muslim identity.” (Bilgé 430)

“Turks in Windsor, Canada, emigrated from villages and towns of Asian Turkey, and they became skilled laborers in auto plants . . . All families forbid their teenage girls to date and arrange the marriages of sons and daughters.” (Bilgé 430)

“Islam has been practiced variably in the Americas at different times and in different places and is flexible enough to be adapted to local customs which do not violate its tenets. Contemporary Muslims in the Americas are developing appropriate standards of modesty for women in societies where female bodies are highly exposed, viable guidelines for interaction of men and women in a permissive cultural environment, new conjugal relationships when wives work outside the home, and ways to transmit Islamic values to the next generation.” (Bilgé 430)

## Some Crucial Dates for Christianity

51-125 New Testament

100-700 Church Fathers

313 Edict of Milan (Constantine makes Christianity legal)

325 Council of Nicea (first ecumenical council)

476 Roman Empire ends

800 pope crowns Charlemagne emperor: Holy Roman Empire begins

1054 Eastern Orthodoxy and Catholicism split

1077 king humbles himself to pope at Canossa castle

1215 most powerful pope ever (Innocent III)

1100s-1400s scholasticism

1517 Protestant Reformation begins

## Some Crucial Dates for Islam

570-632 Muhammad

610-632 Muhammad’s revelations

622 the *hijra* (migration from Mecca to Medina)

635-642 conquest of the Near East

680 Shi’ism begins (battle of Karbala)

1453 fall of Constantinople

## Some Major Islamic Empires

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *name* | *dates* | *location* | *capital* | *ethnicity* | *sect* |
| Umayyad Dynasty | 661-750 | N Africa, Near E, Persia | Damascus | Arabic | Sunni |
| Abbasid Dynasty | 750-1258 | N Africa, Near E, Persia | Baghdad | Arabic | Sunni |
| Ottoman Empire | 1300-1922 | Near East | Istanbul | Turk | Sunni |
| Safavid Empire | 1499-1736 | Persia | Isfahan | Persian | Shi’ite |
| Mughal Empire | 1526-1857 | N India | Delhi | Indian | Sunni |

## Islamic Teaching on Jihad

introduction

1. **definition**
   1. “. . . the doctrine of jihad is concerned with the relationship between Moslems and non-Moslems . . .” [2] “Its basic idea [is] the struggle of Moslems against unbelievers . . .” [6] (Peters 2, 6)
   2. Originally *jihad* meant “any effort towards a subjectively praiseworthy aim, which need not necessarily have anything to do with religion. Hence it has been used to mean class struggle, the struggle between the old and the new and even the efforts of Christian missionaries.” (Peters 3)
   3. “But even when it is used in an Islamic context, it does not always denote armed struggle. It may also mean a spiritual struggle for the good of Islamic society or an inner struggle against one’s evil inclinations. [3] . . . Some authors call jihad as defined in the *fiqh* [the *fiqh* is the tradition of legal interpretation in Islam, and it defines jihad as armed conflict] the ‘Smaller Jihad’, whereas the ‘Greater Jihad’ denotes a more spiritual activity like fighting one’s evil inclinations or studying the *fiqh*.” [Badjuri 2.268] [10] (Peters 3, 10)
   4. “In this study, however, I shall concentrate on the notion of jihad as armed struggle as it has been defined in the classical works in Islamic law (*fiqh*).” (Peters 3)
2. **development**
   1. “In Western languages the word *djihād* is often rendered by ‘holy war’. If we are to understand by ‘holy war’ a war fought exclusively for religious reasons, this translation seems *prima facie* appropriate, since the classical works on *fiqh* only mention religious aims for [3] waging jihad.” (Peters 3-4)
   2. “Historical research, however, has proved that the wars of the Islamic states were fought for perfectly secular reasons. In a society where politics are entirely dominated by religion, there is no articulate distinction between politics and religion and political aims will always be represented as religious aims.” (Peters 3-4)
   3. “. . . the course of history is in last instance determined by economic and social factors [and] ideology plays only a secondary role. . . . Armed conflicts between groups, be they wars or revolts, arise out of a clash of material interests. In order to secure maximal popular support, also among those who are not directly involved, the leaders will appeal to an ideology of group solidarity . . .” (Peters 5-6)
3. Jihad’s “basic idea, the struggle of Moslems against unbelievers, self-evidently developed when the nascent Islamic state was at constant war against the surrounding non-Moslem enemies, and was elaborated during the wars of conquest. Then it was codified as a doctrine in the works on *fiqh* and could be invoked whenever Moslems had to fight against unbelievers or heretics.” (Peters 6)

the classic doctrine of jihad in islamic law

1. **introduction**: “The classical doctrine of jihad was laid down in the works on Islamic law (*fiqh*).” (Peters 9)
2. **definition and purpose of jihad**
   1. “The classical books on *fiqh* do not contain much information on the definition and purpose of jihad. . . . They [modern works] give as the common meaning of the word *djihad* ‘exerting oneself as much as one can’, whereas they define it legally as ‘fighting the unbelievers by striking them, taking their property, demolishing their places of worship, smashing their idols and the like’.” [The following and similar references are to works on *fiqh* (Islamic law): al-Azharī (d. ?) 306; al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 1546) 3.347; Shaykhzādeh (d. 1667) 1.587; `Ābidīn (d. 1836) 3.301; al-Bādjūrī (d. 1860) 2.268; al-Tahanawi (1967) 1.197.] (Peters 10)
   2. “The direct purpose of jihad is the strengthening of Islam, the protection of believers and voiding the earth of unbelief. The ultimate aim is the complete supremacy of Islam . . .” [Sarakhsi 1.188; Marghinani 2.135; Shaykhzadeh 1.387; Ibn `Abidin 3.301; Azhari 306; Mawwaq 3.346; Hattab 3.347; Ibn Taymiyyah 144; Bilmen 3.356; Khadduri 55-57, 59-60.] (Peters 10)
      1. Q [= Qur’an] 2:193, 8:39, “Fight them until there is no dissension and the religion is entirely Allah’s . . .” (Peters 10)
      2. Q 9:33, “He is it who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, in order that he may set it above all [other] religion, though averse are the polytheists’.” (Peters 10)
   3. “The enemies that are to be attacked are all unbelievers, with the exception of those who are entitled to protection by virtue of a special agreement . . .” (Peters 10)
   4. “. . . those unbelievers must first be attacked that are near to the Moslems. There is also a rational argument for this prescription, because one can accomplish with the same strength more against a near than against a far enemy.” (Peters 10)
      1. Q 9:123, “O ye who have believed, fight the unbelievers who are near to you . . .” (Peters 10)
3. **territory of Islam and territory of war**
   1. “Closely connected with the concept of jihad is the division of the surface of the world into two parts: the Territory of Islam (*dār al-Islām*) and the Territory of War (*dār al-ḥārb*). . . . Territory of Islam is that part of the world where there is Moslem rule and the *sharī`ah* is applied; the rest of the world is called Territory of War.” (Peters 11)
   2. “. . . Territory of War becomes Territory of Islam when it comes under Moslem sovereignty and the rules of the *sharī-`ah* are applied.” (Peters 12)
4. **the jihad obligation**
   1. Qur’anic proofs for the jihad obligation
      1. In the centuries after Muhammad, “scholars were confronted with many conflicting Koranic verses regarding the Moslems’ attitude towards the unbelievers. They range from orders to approach them peacefully to unconditional commands to fight them. In order to explain these differences away scholars have had recourse to the theory of abrogation (*naskh*). They held that the various verses regulating the dealings with the unbelievers contained prescriptions that had relevance only for a certain period. When the situation had changed, other verses were revealed abrogating the previous ones. This culminated in the absolute and unconditional command to fight the unbelievers, which was revealed during the last years of Mohammed’s lifetime, when the Moslems had the upper hand.” (Peters 13)
      2. evolution, within the Qur’an, of the treatment of nonbelievers
         1. “The first period of Islam was one of preaching, whereby Mohammed was ordered to keep aloof from polytheists and to avoid a confrontation with them. In this period K 15:94 was sent down . . .” (Peters 13)
            1. Q 15:94, “Burst forth with what thou art commanded and turn from the polytheists.” (Peters 13)
         2. “Subsequently, Mohammed was ordered to engage himself in a discussion with the unbelievers . . .” (Peters 13)
            1. Q 16:125, “Summon to the way of thy Lord and goodly admonition, and argue against them with what is better.” (Peters 13)
         3. “When after the *Hidjrah* the Islamic community was continuously being harrassed by the Meccans and some Moslems became impatient with Mohammed’s passivity and wanted to strike back, the Moslems were given permission to fight . . .” (Peters 13)
            1. Fighting “was only allowed as a defence against attacks by the unbelievers . . .” (Peters 14)
            2. Q 2:190, “Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility. Verily Allah loveth not those who provoke hostility.” (Peters 14)
            3. Q 22:39, “Permission is granted to those who are fought against in that they have suffered [13] wrong, who have been expelled from their dwellings without justification except that they say: “Our Lord is Allah!”; verily to help them Allah is able.” (Peters 13-14)
         4. “Finally the unconditional command to fight all unbelievers was sent down, when the following verses were revealed, abrogating all earlier verses . . .” (Peters 14)
            1. Q 2:216, “Fighting is prescribed to you, though it is distasteful to you.” (Peters 14)
            2. Q 9:5, “slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they repent and establish the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, then set them free; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.” (Peters 14)
            3. Q 9:29, “Fight against those who do not believe in Allah nor in the Last Day and [against those who] do not make forbidden what Allah and His messenger have made forbidden, and [who] do not practise the religion of truth of those who have been given the Book, until they pay the *jizya* off hand, being subdued.” (Peters 14)
            4. “The last two verses are commonly called the Sword Verses (*āyāt al-sayf*).” (Peters 13-14)
      3. “. . . all authors agree upon the unconditioned command to fight the unbelievers . . .” (Peters 175 n. 13)
   2. proofs from the *hadith* for the jihad obligation
      1. “In addition to these Koranic verses several Traditions are quoted in support of the unconditional jihad-obligation.” (Peters 14)
      2. The most important is: “I have been ordered to fight the people until they profess that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah, perform the *ṣalāh* and pay the *zakāh*. If they do so, their life and property are inviolable for me, unless when the law of Islam permits it to be taken and they will be responsible towards Allah.” [Wensinck 1.99] (Peters 14)
   3. jihad as a collective duty
      1. “Jihad is a collective duty (*farḍ kifāyah*). This means that it is an obligation for the community as a whole and that this obligation is fulfilled when a sufficient number of persons perform it. If nobody [12] takes part in jihad, the whole community is guilty. At least once a year the *Imām* must raid enemy territory, preferably that part which is most dangerous to the Moslems. If there is some excuse, such as weakness of the Moslem army or the poor state of the roads leading to enemy territory, the *Imām* may delay this annual expedition.” (Peters 12-13)
      2. The collective character of this obligation is based on the following arguments.” (Peters 14)
         1. Q 4:95, “Those of the believers who sit still—other than those who have some injury—are not on a level with those who strive with goods and person in the way of Allah. Allah hath given preference in rank to those who strive with goods and person over those who sit still, though to all Allah hath promised the good.” (Peters 14)
         2. Q 9:122, “It is not for the believers to march out altogether; so why should not a party from each section of them march out . . .” (Peters 14)
         3. “. . . the Prophet often stayed behind in Medina when he sent out patrols and raiding parties . . .” (Peters 15)
         4. “Only in some special cases can jihad become an individual obligation. This occurs when the enemy attacks Moslem territory. The duty is then incumbent upon those who are being attacked, women and slaves included, and, if they have not sufficient force to repel the enemy, upon their neighbours.” (Peters 15)
5. **exemptions**: those exempt from the jihad-obligation are: minors, the insane, slaves, women, the ill and handicapped, debtors, those too poor to equip themselves for an expedition, and “the best lawyer of a town.” (Peters 17)
6. **the summons**
   1. “Before the Moslems attack their enemies, they must summon them to conversion to Islam or to submission and payment of poll-tax (*djizyah*) if they belong to those of whom this can be accepted [most legal schools hold that treaties can be concluded only with Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians] . . .” (Peters 18) See Q 17:15, Q 16:125, and the *hadith* at Wensinck 2.131. (Peters 18)
   2. “The function of the summons is to inform the enemy that the Moslems do not fight them for worldly reasons, like subjecting them and taking their property, but that their motive is a religious one, the strengthening of Islam.” (Peters 18)
   3. “All scholars agree that a summons is not required . . . when it is suspected that the enemy will take advantage of the delay by strengthening his forces, or when the Moslem force is so weak that it can only win by a surprise attack.” (Peters 19)
   4. If a summons is possible but Muslims attack without one, “most schools do not hold these Moslems responsible for manslaughter or murder. . . . scholars argue that the life of an unbeliever is not protected, except in special cases, none of which are applicable here.” (Peters 19)
7. **methods of warfare**
   1. “It is allowed to kill the enemy using all possible weapons, like arrows, lances, swords . . . (which nowadays have been replaced by guns and bombs as Ibn `Ābidīn remarks: III, 308), and means, like [19] drowning them by diverting the course of a river, starving them by cutting off the supply of food and water, by poisoning the water, by throwing boiling oil and by setting them on fire. With regard to some methods there are certain reservations. Drowning or burning the enemy is only allowed if the Moslems cannot obtain victory by any other method.” (Peters 19-20)
   2. enemy women and children
      1. A *hadith*: “Once the Prophet was asked about the children of the polytheists. Could they [the polytheists] be attacked at night with the possible result that they [the Moslems] would hit some of their women and children? He then answered: “They belong to them.”“ [Wensinck 2.175] (Peters 20)
      2. “Most scholars hold that Moslems may continue the struggle and shoot when the enemy shelters behind women and children, provided the Moslems do not aim at these women and children. The Malikites, the Shafi`ites and the Shi`ites show some hesitation in this case: they only allow it when there is no other way of conquering them. The reason for this hesitation is that killing these women and children infringes the rights of those who have a share in the booty.” (Peters 20)
      3. “All Schools agree that minors and women may not be killed, unless they actually fight against the Moslems. [In several] traditions the Prophet has forbidden this. An additional argument is that by killing them, the Moslems destroy their own property, since women and children become slaves merely by being captured.” (Peters 21)
   3. “There is no unanimity about the prohibition of killing other categories of persons, like the aged, the insane, monks, the chronically ill, the handicapped, the blind, farmers and serfs.” (Peters 21)
8. **enemy property**
   1. “By seizure and conquest all enemy property becomes Moslem property.” (Peters 23)
   2. “All scholars agree that movable property that cannot be taken to Moslem territory, must be burnt or destroyed so that the enemy cannot take advantage of it anymore.” (Peters 24)
9. **fleeing from the battlefield**
   1. “As a rule Moslems are not allowed to flee from the enemy . . .” (Peters 24)
   2. There are exceptions.
      1. “. . . if his [a Muslim’s] intention is to find a better tactical position or to lure the enemy into an ambush or if he wants to join another group of Moslems . . .” (Peters 24)
      2. “. . . if the number of the enemy force is more than twice that of the Moslems.” (Peters 24) See Q 8:66, “if there be a hundred of you who [24] endure, they will overcome two hundred, and if there be a thousand of you, they will overcome two thousand, by the permission of Allah . . .” (Peters 24-25)
10. **captives and prisoners of war**
    1. “Upon being captured, women and children of the enemy (*saby*) become property of the Moslems and are part of the booty. . . . Adult male enemies who have not been killed in fighting, must be taken to Moslem territory as prisoners of war (*asārā*).” (Peters 26-27)
    2. Concerning prisoners of war, “the *Imām* . . . may kill them, set them free in return for ransom or . . . enslave them.” (Peters 27)
    3. That the *Imām* has the right to kill prisoners is based on the sword verses (Q 9:5, 9:29). “Further evidence is to be found in the example of the Prophet, since he had some prisoners killed after the Battle of Badr and had the Banū Qurayẓah put to death after their defeat. . . . according to Islamic law, a non-Moslem can only obtain protection of life by conversion to Islam or by virtue of a special contract of protection (*dhimmah* or *amān*), not by mere captivity.” (Peters 28)
    4. “If the *Imām* decides that the prisoners be killed, this may not take place by torture, nor may the prisoners be mutilated.” (Peters 27)
       1. A *hadith*: “Whensoever the Prophet sent out a raiding party, he used to say: “Raid in the name of Allah and on the path of Allah. Fight those who do not believe in Allah. Raid, do not embezzle spoils, do not act treacherously, do not mutilate and do not kill children.”“ [Wensinck 4.488, 6.169] (Peters 27)
       2. “The Shafi`ites and the Hanbalites regard it as forbidden to burn prisoners of war, since the Prophet has said, referring to a certain enemy: ‘If you catch him, kill him, but do not burn him; for the only one to punish by the fire is the Lord of the Fire [Allah]’.’ [Wensinck 4.164] The other Schools hold that this Tradition has been abrogated by the unconditional command to fight the unbelievers as laid down in e.g. K 9:5.” [27] Q 9:5, “Then when the sacred months have slipped away, slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they repent and establish the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, then set them free; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.” [14] (Peters 14, 27)
    5. “Prisoners that are converted to Islam after being captured may not be killed.” (Peters 27)
11. **safe-conduct and quarter**
    1. “*Amān* is the temporary protection of a non-Moslem’s life, freedom and property, which is binding upon all Moslems.” (Peters 29)
    2. “Two different situations are envisaged in which *amān* can be granted.” (Peters 29)
       1. One form of *amān* “is safe-conduct, granted to individual non-Moslems of the borders of the Territory of Islam.” (Peters 29)
       2. The other form of *amān* “is quarter, granted during a period of actual warfare . . . [This] form of *amān* does not include protection of property and, if it is granted after their defeat . . ., despite the *amān*, they may be enslaved . . .” (Peters 29)
    3. “Individual *amān* accords protection of life, freedom and property. The *Imām* is bound to protect the [the non-Moslem granted *amān*] against all those who are under his authority . . .” (Peters 29)
    4. “If a Moslem grants a collective *amān* [to a fortress, army, town, or region], he only binds himself, not the other Moslems. Individual *amān*, on the other hand, may also be granted by any adult and sane Moslem man . . .” (Peters 29)
    5. “. . . according to most Schools, [individual *amān* can be granted] even by women, slaves and minors endowed with discernment.” (Peters 29)
    6. those automatically granted *amān*
       1. foreign envoys and messengers (a *hadith*: “Were it not that envoys are not to be killed, I would behead you”). [Wensinck 2.260] (Peters 30-31)
       2. merchants (Peters 31)
       3. “. . . those who come to the territory of Islam in order to instruct themselves about the Islamic religion . . .” Q 9:6, “If one of the polytheists asks thy protection, grant him protection until he hear the word of Allah, then see that he reaches a place of security . . .” (Peters 31)
    7. duration of *amān*
       1. “*Amān* is accorded for a certain period, not exceeding one year.” (Peters 31)
       2. “*Amān* ends by return to enemy territory, by expiration of the stipulated time or by revocation by the *Imām*.” (Peters 31)
       3. “*Amān* can be revoked by the *Imām* if the *amān* turns out to be against the interests [31] of the Moslems. The revocation must be formally conveyed to the [non-Muslim], who then has the right to be safely conducted to enemy territory.” (Peters 31-32)
12. **armistice**
    1. “Armistice . . . is a treaty of peaceful coexistence with the enemy, who remains independent and not subjected to Islamic rule.” (Peters 32)
    2. “For individual enemies it entails protection of life, freedom and property (*amān*). They may travel freely in Islamic territory, without, however, being allowed to settle there permanently. The *Imām* guarantees their safety against attacks from those who are under his authority . . .” (Peters 32)
    3. “Concluding an armistice, which may only be done by the [32] *Imām* or his representative, is allowed if it serves the interests of the Moslems, e.g. if the Islamic State suffers from internal strife (*fitnah*) or if the Moslem army is weak, or if it is to be expected that the enemy will be converted to Islam or offer to pay poll-tax (*djizyah*). The justification is Q 47:35, “do not grow faint and call for peace, seeing ye have the upper hand . . .” (Peters 32-33)
13. **termination of jihad**
    1. “The aim of jihad is the subjection of the unbelievers. This can be attained by two means.” (Peters 36)
       1. “In the first place, unbelievers can be converted to Islam. They then become subjects of the *Imām* of the Moslems and have the same rights and obligations as the other Moslems.” (Peters 36)
       2. “In the second place they can submit themselves to Islamic government, without, however, being converted. They then obtain a special status with a certain autonomy, are subjected to special discriminative measures and must pay poll-tax (*djizyah*). The treaty whereby they submit themselves to Islamic government in exchange for protection, is called *dhimmah* and these non-Moslem subjects of the Islamic state are named *dhimmīs*.” (Peters 36)
    2. “A *dhimmah*-treaty cannot be concluded with all unbelievers.” (Peters 36)
       1. “All Schools agree that apostates are to be excluded, as they should be killed.” (Peters 36)
       2. Most schools “hold that a *dhimmah* treaty can only be concluded with Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians . . .” [36] Justification is a *hadith* in which Muhammad says of the Zoroastrians: “Follow with regard to them the custom with regard to the People of the Book.” [Wensinck 2.552] (Peters 37)
    3. “Those who are excluded from the possibility of concluding a dhimmah-treaty, have the choice between Islam and the sword, i.e. between conversion or being slain.” (Peters 37)
14. **jihad and resistance to colonialism**
    1. colonialism
       1. Before 1800, “trade in luxury goods had been its [European expansion’s] major impetus. Control of the seas was more important than control of land, since the possession of small trading posts was sufficient to secure the commercial interests. However, as a result of the advent of industrial capitalism in Europe during the nineteenth century, Western nations began to expand their domination over land, . . . as a means of monopolizing export markets of raw material and agricultural produce and import markets for manufactured products . . .” (Peters 1)
       2. conquests

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *conqueror* | *countries conquered* |
| Great Britain | India (1803), Egypt (1882), Sudan (1899) |
| France | Algeria (1830), Tunisia (1881), Morocco (1912) |
| Russia | wars with Iran; Central Asia (c 1850-1900) |
| Holland | East Indian archipelago (late 1800s) |
| Italy | Libya (1912) |
| After WW I, Great Britain and France “got hold of the Arab provinces of the former Ottoman Empire.” (Peters 1-2) | |

* + 1. “In the resistance against Western colonialism, the doctrine of jihad was of paramount importance.” (Peters 41)
    2. maor jihad movements against colonialism, in chronological order
       1. Indian resistance to Britain
       2. Algerian resistance to France
       3. the Mahdist movement in Sudan
       4. Egyptian resistance to Britain
       5. Sanūsī resistance in Libya to Italy
       6. the Ottoman jihad-declaration of 1914, which “was part of war-propaganda addressing Moslem peoples outside the Ottoman [40] Empire and inciting them to rise against their colonial rulers . . .” (Peters 40-41)
       7. Palestinian resistance to Britain

1. **the doctrine of jihad in modern Islam**
   1. “We find treatises, published on the occasion of a war or revolt, extolling the virtues of jihad and the bliss of the martyrs in the Hereafter and quoting the relevant Koranic verses and Traditions. A typical example is a booklet, published by the Azhar University on the occasion of the June war of 1967 under the title ‘*Jihad in Islam*’ which consists of the following chapters: *Jihad in the Holy Koran*, an enumeration of Koranic verses with regard to jihad, to the reward of the martyrs and to the Jews, being ‘the worst enemies of humanity’, *Jihad in the texts of the Sunnah*, a collection of Traditions on about the same topics, and a last chapter with the title: *Marvellous Islamic images of sacrifice*, dealing with feats of Moslem heroism and contempt of death from Mohammed’s time up to the Palestine war of 1948.” (Peters 106)
   2. “*Fatwās* concerning jihad have been published in great numbers in recent times. Generally they were to the effect that jihad had become an individual obligation (*farḍ `ayn*), because the enemy had invaded Islamic territory.” (Peters 106)
   3. “The subjugation of the Islamic countries to colonial powers, the impotence of the Arab world *vis-à-vis* the establishment of the state of Israel and the economic backwardness, for all these phenomena, there is, in the view of their authors, one fundamental thing to blame: the fact that the Moslems have abandoned the prescriptions of Islam, and thus have cut off themselves from their principal source of strength. The remedy is self-evident . . .” (Peters 108)
      1. Abū l-A`lā l-Mawdūdi: “. . . Islam is not only a set of theological dogmata and a collection of ceremonies and rites, as nowadays the word religion seems to be understood. In fact, it is an all-embracing order that wants to eliminate and to eradicate the other orders which are false and unjust, so as to replace them by a good order and a moderate program that is considered to be better for humanity than the other orders and to contain rescue from the illnesses of evil and tyranny, happiness and prosperity for the human race, both in this world [109] and in the Hereafter. . . . Whosoever believes in this call and accepts it in a proper way, becomes a member of the ‘*Islamic party*’. . . . As soon as this party has been established, it starts with jihad . . . [For] it will spare no efforts to eliminate and eradicate the regimes that are not founded on the bases of Islam . . .” [Abū l-A`lā l-Mawdūdi, *Al-djihad fī sabīl Allāh*. Beyrut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.), pp. 27-29.] (Peters 109-110)
2. **conclusions**
   1. Muslim modernists and fundamentalists
      1. “By modernism I understand those Islamic currents of thought that attempt to adapt Islam to ‘modern life’, i.e., the values and practices of Western, capitalist society.” (Peters 171)
      2. “Fundamentalists are those that expressly reject Western influence and want to model society after the example of the early Islamic community.” (Peters 171)
      3. “The terminology is not entirely satisfactory, since the modernists have also recourse to early Islam in order to find support for their new interpretations.” (Peters 171)
   2. modernists
      1. “. . . the modernists reacted [to colonialism] by conforming to Western values and accepting Western political concepts, in order to show that Islam is a ‘respectable’ religion . . .” (Peters 164)
      2. “The Indian Moslems’ view in the latter half of the [164] nineteenth century that jihad is only to be waged in defence against religious oppression is clearly connected with the cooperative stand of the Indian middle and upper classes towards British colonial rule, which was dictated by their desire to secure their share in the administration and in the military professions, and with their conviction that the key to progress was to be found in Western culture. Their view on jihad . . . shows that they had implicitly adopted values like the desirability of peaceful coexistence and of a separation between politics and religion.” (Peters 164-165)
      3. “Later modernists—mainly concentrated in Egypt, but also to be found in other parts of the Islamic world—espoused the view that jihad is essentially a defensive struggle, regardless of whether this is against political or religious oppression. This view reflects the attitude of the Westernized elite that was critical of colonial domination and generally supported nationalist movements. At the same time, however, they appreciated Western culture and were convinced that Islamic society could benefit from it.” (Peters 165)
      4. “Indian and Egyptian modernism . . . agreed as far as the defensive character of jihad was concerned. The Indian notion of jihad, however, was more restrictive, as the Indian modernists confined it to wars of defence against religious oppression. The Egyptian modernists held that jihad was a struggle against all kinds of oppression, both religious and political.” (Peters 162)
      5. “. . . the modernist interpretation that underscores the defensive character of jihad is now widely accepted and is being taught in [163] schools as a generaly [*sic*] received theory . . .” (Peters 163-164)
   3. fundamentalists
      1. “The views on jihad being held by the fundamentalists . . . are in content identical to the classical doctrine and represent the attitude of the lower, mainly rural classes. They suffered most from the radical economic and social changes brought about by Western penetration. Having little direct contact with Western culture, they resorted to their own cultural tradition and especially Islam for the expression of their political feelings.” (Peters 165)
      2. Fundamentalism “has found its political expression in movements like the *Djama`at-i Islami* in Pakistan and the Society of Moslem Brethren in the Middle East. Their ideology is entirely dominated by religion and they do not recognize a separation between politics and religion. . . . their aim is to establish Islamic rule all over the earth. . . . They strongly condemn the existing governments in the Islamic world, since, in their view, these are not really Islamic, being based on the authority of man and not on the authority of Allah. Jihad is the means of achieving their aims and they consider it as a ‘permanent revolutionary struggle’ for the propagation of Islam. Thus they emphasize the expansionist character of jihad.” (Peters 164)
      3. Fundamentalists “seek their inspiration in Islam only, emphasizing the real Islamic values and opposing them to occidental culture. They vehemently denounce the modernists’ view of jihad which they regard as defeatism in the face of Western attacks, and hold that one cannot apply categories like ‘offensive’ and ‘defensive’ to the concept of jihad. Jihad as a struggle for the propagation of Islam is good in itself and need not be justified by moral values that are alien to Islam.” (Peters 164)

## European Colonialism in Near-Eastern

## and African Muslim Countries

years under

country capital colonialism

*former colonies of Britain*:

India New Delhi 1803-1947

Egypt Cairo 1883-1923

Iraq Baghdad 1920-1932,

1941-1948

Sudan Khartoum 1899-1956

Kuwait Kuwait 1897-1961

Oman Muscat late 1700s-1951

South Yemen Aden 1839-1967

Bahrain Manama 1861-1971[[6]](#footnote-6)

Qatar Doha 1913-1971

United Arab Emirates Abu Dhabi 1892-1971

*former colonies of France*:

Lebanon Beirut 1920-1944

Syria Damascus 1920-1944

Tunisia Tunis 1881-1956

Algeria Algiers 1840-1962

Morocco Rabat 1912-1956[[7]](#footnote-7)

*former colony of Italy*:

Libya Tripoli 1914-1951[[8]](#footnote-8)

*non-colonized Middle-Eastern countries*:

North Yemen San’a ———

Saudi Arabia Riyadh ———

Iran Tehran ———

Jordan Amman ———

## The *Satanic-Verses* Controversy

1. **the *Satanic Verses***
   1. Salman Rushdie was born a Muslim in 1947 in Bombay, India. He studied history and English literature at Cambridge University, then became a novelist. *Satanic Verses* was his fifth novel. [41] “Rushdie is a disaffected intellectual who criticizes or makes fun of nearly everything. [43] . . . an immature and spoiled intellectual.” (Pipes 41, 43, 49)
   2. *The Satanic Verses* was published in England in 1988 [19] and in America by Viking in 1989. (Pipes 19, 18)
   3. “*The Satanic Verses* is . . . 547 pages long, containing three stories . . .” (Pipes 54)
   4. “The first (in chapters 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9) concerns two Indians, Gibreel [Gabriel] Farishta and Saladin Chamcha, who fall out of a jumbo jet and miraculously survive. This tale . . . makes up the novel’s central plot.” (Pipes 54)
   5. “The second story (in chapters 2 and 6) recounts some aspects of the story of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam. It relies partly on historical fact, partly on the novelist’s imagination.” (Pipes 54)
   6. “The third story (in chapters 4 and 8) concerns a Muslim village in India whose whole population follows, lemming-like, a holy woman into the Arabian Sea . . . it is an allegory for Iran and the Islamic Revolution.” (Pipes 54)
   7. Rushdie tries to unite the three stories by presenting the second and third stories as dreams of Gibreel as he falls from the jet. (Pipes 55)
   8. “The dream about Muhammad is the source of all the controversy. It makes up two chap­ters in the book, “Mahound” and “Return to Jahilia,” each thirty-six pages long. (Mahound is an archaic European name for the Prophet Muhammad; Jahilia, Arabic for “ignorance,” is Rushdie’s name for Mecca.)” (Pipes 55)
   9. the Satanic-verses reference
      1. Mecca and especially Muhammad’s tribe, the Quraysh, depended upon pil­grim­ages to the Ka`aba for revenue. For this reason, Islam made little headway among the Meccans. “. . . how was he to convert them? It is in this context that the Satanic verses issue took place in about a. d. 614, or one year or so after Muhammad began his career of public preaching. At-Tabari (d. 923), a historian [of] early Islam, recounts that . . . Muhammad recited the following verse of the Qur’an, making reference to three of the most prominent Meccan goddesses: “Have you thought upon Lat and Uzza, / and Manat, the third, the other?” [Qur’an, surat an-Najm, verses 19-21]. [57] At this moment, according to the account in Tabari, “Satan threw on his tongue” . . . the next words out of Muhammad’s mouth. “These are the exalted birds, / And their intercession is desired indeed.”“ (Pipes 57-58) “These two lines . . . are found in . . . Tabari, the biographer Ibn Sa’d (d. 845), the collector of hadith al-Bukhari (d. 870), and the geographer Yaqut (d. 1229).” (Pipes 58 n.)
      2. “But then . . . Gabriel revealed that “Satan caused to come upon his tongue” the verse about the exalted birds. “Then God cancelled what Satan had thrown,” abrogating these lines and replaced them with verses denouncing the cult of the three goddesses. The complete Qur’anic text on this issue reads as follows [surat an-Najm, verses 19-23] “Have you thought upon Lat and Uzza, And Manat, the third, the other? Shall He have daughters and you sons? That would be a fine division! These are but [three] names you have dreamed of, you and your fathers. Allah vests no authority in them. They only follow conjecture and wish-fulfillment, Even though guidance had come to them already from their Lord.”” (Pipes 59)
      3. how Muslims have dealt with the Satanic verses
         1. “In recent times, Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905), the key modernizing thinker of Islam, laid down the main lines of an Islamic defense. Then, in a 1936 book entitled *The Life of Muhammad*, Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888-1956) . . . argued that the Satanic verses were “fabricated” . . .” He gave four reasons:
            1. “the medieval sources provide different wordings of the two lines . . .”
            2. “the lines betray internal contradictions . . .”
            3. “the word “birds” (*gharaniq*) has nothing to do with deities . . .”
            4. “the honesty of Muhammad’s whole career proves he could not have en­gaged in such dubious activities.” (Pipes 61)
         2. But most Muslims, before *The Satanic Verses*, had no knowledge of the Satanic verses. (Pipes 61-62)
      4. how Rushdie dealt with the Satanic verses
         1. “Rushdie is a skeptic. He treats the incident as one of deceit. The prophet spoke the false verses . . . because he saw an opportunity to advance his cause. [59] . . . [He] implies that the entire Qur’an derived not from God through Gabriel, but from Muhammad himself . . . the Qur’an is a human artifact and the Islamic faith is built on a deceit. There is nothing left.” (Pipes 59, 61)
         2. “But, of course, the sequence is all part of a dream. [61] . . . the offending passages are not only fictional but the deliria of a paranoid schizophrenic.” (Pipes 61, 107)
2. **fundamentalist reactions**
   1. “Fundamentalist Islam [is a] variant of Islam which demands application of the Islamic law in its every detail and holds that Islam contains all the answers to modern life.” [255] Muslim fundamentalists “base their view of history on a syllogism: Muslims were once strong, but are now weak; when Muslims were strong, they lived fully by the precepts of their faith; therefore, Muslims are weak because they do not live up to these precepts.” [123] (Pipes 123, 255)
   2. The Action Committee on Islamic Affairs, “an umbrella group representing Saudi-backed Muslim organizations in Britain . . . called for the retraction of all copies of the novel . . . [But] British laws of blasphemy, as Muslims soon discovered, apply only to Christianity, and even then are hardly ever applied.” (Pipes 21)
   3. On October 5, 1988 (the book was published September 26), *The Satanic Verses* was banned in India [19]; in subsequent rioting, 14 people died. Afterward, the book was banned in Pakistan, where rioting cost 7 people their lives. [209] Most countries with Mus­lim majorities or sizable minorities banned the book: South Africa (which has .5 million Muslims), Thailand, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Tanzania, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Malaysia (which imposed a three-year prison sentence for possession of the book), and even Venezuela (which imposed a 15-month prison sentence) and Japan. [143] “*The Satanic Verses* controversy caused great anguish in Turkey, where . . . authorities in Ankara continued to adhere to the secular principles laid down by Atatürk in the 1920s [145] . . . In the end, Turkey was the one country with an over­whelmingly Muslim population where the book remained legal . . .” (Pipes 19, 209, 143, 145-146)
   4. On February 12, 1989, in Islamabad, Pakistan, 10,000 persons “marched to the American Cultural Cen­ter. Shouting “American dogs” and “God is great,” the protesters set fires to the building. . . . five demonstrators died at the hands of the police . . . [24] . . . religious leaders smelled a “Zionist conspiracy” behind the troubles and rioters carried banners denouncing *The Satanic Verses* as “An American-Jewish Conspiracy.”“ (Pipes 24, 131)
   5. Khomeini’s declaration
      1. On February 14, 1989, while listening to the news on the radio, Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeini heard of *The Satanic Verses* for the first time. (Khomeini is called “ayatollah” because that is the “Highest level of religious official in Iran.” 255) (Pipes 27, 255)
      2. Khomeini immediately promulgated a *fatwa* (legal judgment): “I inform all zealous Mus­lims of the world that the author . . . and all those involved in its publication who were aware of its content, are sentenced to death. . . . God willing, whoever is killed on this path is a martyr. . . . May peace and the mercy of God and His blessings be with you.” (Pipes 27)
      3. In a later statement, Khomeini denies the possibility of forgiveness: “Even if Salman Rushdie repents and becomes the most pious man of [our] time, it is incumbent on every Muslim to employ everything he has, his life and his wealth, to send him to hell.”“ (Pipes 30)
      4. Inclusion of employees of the publishers “means that every copy editor and secretary who ever worked at Viking Penguin . . . is potentially under the fundamentalists’ gun.” (Pipes 205)
      5. legality of the *fatwa*
         1. “Conversion to another religion is an obvious sign of apostasy; but if this does not take place, apostasy is . . . manifested through “expressions of unbelief” . . . [These include] denying the existence of God, denying the Qur’an as the word of God, denying Muhammad as the last prophet, claiming Jesus to be the son of God, prostrating before an idol, [but also] translating the Qur’an, ridiculing the Muslim men of religion, [and] insulting the Prophet, his wives or his companions . . .” (Pipes 88)
         2. “. . . there is no doubt that he [Rushdie] is an apostate.” (Pipes 89)
         3. According to the four schools of Sunni law, “the apostate must be invited to repent and re­turn to Islam before capital punishment is applied . . . The Shi’i school of law to which Kho­meini belonged, however, does not nor­mally permit such repentance.” (Pipes 88)
         4. “Islamic tradition records at least three cases of poets who op­posed Muhammad having been assassinated under his orders . . .” (Pipes 94)
   6. An Iranian charity organization, the 15th Khorbad (5th of June) Relief Agency, offered $1 million to an assassin. (Pipes 28) “The Union of Islamic Students’ Associations in Europe issued a statement offering its services to Khomeini.” (Pipes 182) “Cat Stevens, the former rock singer who converted to Islam in 1977 and changed his name to Yusuf al-Islam, told Muslim students in Surrey, “He must be killed.”“ (Pipes 183)
   7. Groups sponsored by the Iranian government vowed to execute Rushdie, including Hizbullah (“the Party of God,” “the name of pro-Kho­meini groups in many countries, most notably Iran and Lebanon”). (Pipes 28, 255)
   8. “Waldenbooks alone received forty anonymous threats [169] . . . two stores in Berkeley, California, were firebombed . . .” (Pipes 169-170)
   9. February 24, 1989: “10,000 in New York City [protested] outside the closed offices of Viking . . .” (Pipes 181)
   10. March 13-16: the 44-state Organization of the Islamic Conference “adopted the Saudi position, not the Iranian one, on Rushdie: “The conference declared that blasphemy cannot be justified on the basis of freedom of expression and opinion. . . . It appeals to all members of society to impose a ban on the book . . .”“ (Pipes 34)
       1. Iran and Saudi Arabia are in competition “to represent Islam internationally. For a decade, Tehran and Riyadh had been struggling to make their very different interpretations of Islam prevail. Each had founded a host of interna­tional institutions toward this end [134] . . . Each of the two states had its press network ignore the other’s efforts. The Iranian media called only on Kho­meini partisans for comments and claimed that all Muslims support Khomeini . . . For its part, the Saudi-backed media made no mention of Ayatollah Kho­meini’s *fatwa*!” (Pipes 134-135) “The Saudi government . . . sees itself as the standard-bearer of orthodox Islam . . .” (Pipes 20)
   11. March 29: ‘Abdullah Muhammad al-Ahdal, Saudi imam of a Brussels mosque, was as­sas­sin­ated for having said on Belgian television, “Khomeini is responsi­ble for his own country, but we are in a democratic country where everybody has the right to express his own thoughts and express themselves as they want.”“ (Pipes 36)
   12. “Taboos pertaining to Islam are vibrantly alive in all countries with substan­tial Muslim populations (with the single exception of [106] Albania). Lapsed Muslims cannot express their views, much less are non-Muslims allowed to reveal antagonistic feelings about Islam. . . . it is almost impossible to convey the intensity of feeling to a Westerner. [107] . . . If any writing has shock value in the West, [it would be] suggesting that blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites or making fun of the Jewish holocaust.” (Pipes 106-7, 109)
   13. “. . . Muslims do not realize [that “satanic verses”] refers to the *gharaniq* (= “birds”) incident . . . they conclude that the phrase “Satanic verses” implies “that Muhammad received the whole of the Qur’an not from God [but] from the devil.” (Pipes 116)
   14. According to Rafsanjani (speak­er of the Iranian parliament), “this blasphemous book . . . is a plot [127] designed by Western imperialism to fight true Islam.”“ (Pipes 127-128)
   15. “. . . virtually all those who condemned the book . . . lacked first-hand familiarity with it . . . Benazir Bhutto explained, “Because I am a Muslim, I have not read it.”“ (Pipes 113)
3. **liberal Muslim responses**
   1. Many educated Muslims join Rushdie “in doubting the central verities of Islam. . . . the universities are full of Muslims who do not believe that Muham­mad received the Qur’an from God. But they dare not [150] express their thoughts. . . . In the poignant phrase of Amir Taheri, “All of us, Muslim writers and poets, have graveyards full of friends.”“ (Pipes 150-151)
   2. A letter from Karachi, Pakistan, was published in *The Observer*: “Salman Rushdie speaks for me in *The Satanic Verses* . . . Someone who does not live in an Islamic society cannot imagine the sanctions, both self-imposed and external, that militate against expressing religious disbelief. “I don’t believe in God” is an impossible public utterance even among family and friends. . . . So we hold our tongues, those of us who doubt.” (Pipes 151)
   3. According to the *New York Times* (February 27, 1989), “Ayatollah Kno­meini has probably succeeded in preventing publication in this country of books critical of Muslims and Islam.” (Pipes 195) “Susan Sontag [was] candid: “. . . people are scared. It’s as simple as that.” . . . Ralph Ellison best captured this theme with his oft-quoted aphorism, “A death sentence is a rather harse review.”“ (Pipes 160) “The British television interviewer Peter Sissons asked an Iranian diplomat, “Do you understand that we don’t regard it as civilized to kill people for their opinions?” Muslim zealots found this an “insulting” question and threatened Sissons’ life . . .” (Pipes 182)
   4. “Those favoring freedom of speech subscribed to the classic doctrines of democ­racy; educate and inform the masses and they will respond with responsibil­ity . . .” (Pipes 210)
4. **Rushdie after the *fatwa***
   1. “Censorship turned *The Satanic Verses* into a roaring success [200] . . . He earned about $2 million within the first year of the book’s publicaton. . . . [Consequently,] Rushdie’s chances of living out his natural term [are good:] he has the funds to protect himself . . .” (Pipes 205)
   2. Rushdie and his British wife “moved every three days during the six months after Khomeini’s decree. In late July “the couple finally separated . . . even she no longer [knows] her husband’s location.” (Pipes 202)
5. **Islamic societies and censorship**
   1. “‘Ali ‘Abd ar-Raziq, a shaykh at Al-Azhar University in Cairo, published a book in 1925, *Islam and the Principles of Government*, which argued that, properly under­stood, the Islamic religion calls for the separation of religion and politics. . . . the other sheikhs of Al-Azhar . . . found him guilty of impiety. He lost his diploma, was dismissed from the university, and was banned from holding religious office.” (Pipes 74)
   2. “In the Sudan, a theologian of distinction and originality, Mahmud Muham­mad Taha, differentiated between those passages in the Qur’an that Muham­mad received before his taking power (the Meccan verses) and those that followed his taking power (the Medinan verses). According to Taha, the former [75] defined eternally valid principles of Islam whereas the latter were intended only for Muhammad’s own instruction . . . nearly all the Qur’an’s many precepts are contained in the Medinan verses . . . the government collected and burned his writings. . . . this 76-year-old practicing Muslim was hanged in a public ceremony in Khartoum.” (Pipes 76)
   3. “. . . Westerners are too relutant to take religion—any religion—seriously.” (Pipes 101)
      1. “In part, this is due to secularization, the “process whereby religious thinking, practice, and institutions lose social significance.” [Quotation from Ernest Krausz, “Religion and Secularization: A Matter of Definitions,” *Social Compass* 18 (1971-1972): 212.] Secularization makes it hard to believe that anyone would allow religious considerations actually to determine his actions—there must be some other motive.” (Pipes 101)
      2. “In part, it is due to the legacy of modernization theory, which holds that the whole world is developing in the West’s shadow, and therefore must be secularizing.” (Pipes 101)
      3. “In part, it is due to the philosophical doctrine of materialism, which places great stress on material conditions, especially economic ones, while scorning the role of ideas, seeing these as mere cover for economic interests.” (Pipes 101)
      4. “Together, secularism, modernization theory, and materialism create a bias against taking any religion seriously, including Islam.” (Pipes 101)
6. **conclusion**
   1. “In brief, Western incomprehension of the power of religion was mirrored by Muslim incomprehension about the devotion to a principle so abstract as freedom of thought.” (Pipes 133)

## Islamist Terrorism in the US, 1993-2001

**by Paul Hahn**

**Cunningham, William J. “Summary and Review.” (Review of: Clarke, Richard A**. **Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror**. New York: **Free Press, 2004.) 7 Apr. 2004. 12 Apr. 2004. <http://www.stthom.edu/intl\_studies/clarke.­html>. (Cunningham, FSO Ret., is Associate Professor Emeritus in International Studies at the University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas**.)

**Cunningham, William J. E-mail to the author. 13 Apr. 2004. (Items from this source are italicized.)**

background

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1979 | A revolution in Iran topples the monarchist government of the Shah. The Ayatollah Khomeini returns from exile to head a new, fundamentalist Islamic state. |
| 1983 | “. . . with Lebanon torn by conflict among Palestinian militants and the Syrian and Israeli armies, and with Iraq and Iran at war, [Richard Clarke helped] set up a U.S. initiative to plan for the contingency of a Soviet thrust toward the Persian Gulf. Clarke’s work in this capacity resulted in agreements with several Gulf states for access by U.S. forces to ports and airfields in the event of hostilities in the region and to joint training exercises with Israeli forces in the Mediterranean . . .” |
|  | “The U.S. consistently throughout the Cold War sought to incite antagonism and antipathy (not to say fear) among conservative Muslims worldwide by emphasizing the atheistic nature of Communism. In the middle East this line was most consistently directed toward the “Southern,” or conservative, Islamist states, i.e. Saudia Arabia, the Gulf States and Yemen to some extent. The Northern tier (Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Iran) were either Socialist (i.e. Baathist) or Western secular.” |
| 1985-1986 | “ . . . Clarke secured the release of Stinger shoulder-fired ground to air missiles to the Afghan resistance. These proved deadly to Soviet Hind D helicopters and reversed the course of the Afghan war, greatly increasing the cost of the war to Moscow in the process.” |
| 1989 | “Clarke conjectures that, in the wake of Moscow’s defeat, victorious Afghan tribal leaders, Pakistani military intelligence officers, and Arab and Saudi volunteers and their leaders—particularly Usama bin Laden—believe they have learned how a religiously motivated force, financed and armed, can defeat a superpower.” |
| 1990 | Iraq invades Kuwait, and the U.S. organizes a coalition to send troops to Saudi Arabia. |
| Jan.  1991 | “Desert Storm”: Iraq is ejected from Kuwait. U.S. troops remain in Saudi Arabia. |
| 1992 | “The collapse of the Soviet Union removed the target toward which unifying fundamentalist Islamist antipathy had been directed for two generations. Am­erica became its substitute lightning rod.” |

terrorist activities, *c*. early 1990s

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *al-Queda activities* | |
| 1988 | the downing of Pan Am 103. “Libya acknowledged responsibility in 2003 and rendered compensation. (Libya also accepted responsibility for bombing a French-owned airliner over Niger on September 19, 1989. There is no known or suspected connection in either case to al Queda.)” |
| 1993 | “. . . the attempted assassination of President George H. W. Bush” in Kuwait by agents of Saddam Hussein |
| 1993 | “attacks upon U.S. forces in Somalia” |
| 1993 | “bombing of the World Trade Center” (“Clarke says it was not until 1994 that a body of evidence substantial enough to link [this event] to some unknown organization emerged. Beginning about then CIA field reports more frequently referred to ‘the terrorist financier Usama bin Laden.’”) |
| January  1995 | “. . . a report of a plot to bomb eleven American wide-body jets over the mid-Pacific . . .” |
| *non-al-Queda terrorist activities* | |
| 1992-  1995 | “. . . threats traced both to Teheran-backed Hezbollah and to Iran’s intelligence services . . .” |
| 1995 | “. . . destruction of the Alfred Murrah Federal Office Building in Oklahoma City . . .” |
| 1995 | “Aum Shin Rikkyo’s release of Sarin gas in Tokyo’s subway system . . .” |
| 1995 | “Iranian-backed bombings of U.S. military facilities in Riyadh in Saudi Arabia . . .” |
| 1996 | a bomb explosion in Olympic Plaza in Atlanta during the Olympic games |
| June  1996 | the bombing of the Khobar Towers (“Iran was linked to the Khobar Towers bombing”) |
| July  1996 | “. . . the explosion and crash of TWA 800 . . .” |
| 1995-  1996 | (*These non-al-Queda terrorist activities* “*detracted from* . . . *detection of al Queda*’*s growing network of finances*, *agents*, *and recruits*.”) |
| *al-Queda terrorist activities* | |
| 1996 | “The defection in 1996 of one of Usama bin Laden’s close aides for the first time revealed to the CIA that bin Laden had developed a network of cells in fifty countries.” |
| Feb.  1998 | Osama bin Laden issues a *fatwa* (legal directive) stating that the killing of American civilians is justified in Islam. |
| Aug. 7,  1998 | the destruction of American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. 220 killed (16 Americans), 5000 wounded. |
| Aug.20,  1998 | The U.S. “in retaliation . . . bombed al Queda camps in Afghanistan . . . bin Laden was to meet with top staff to assess the results of al Queda’s August 7 bombing of those embassies. Bin Laden survived, but several Pakistani military intelligence officers perished; domestic U.S. reaction to the retaliatory strikes was strongly negative.” |
| Dec.  1999 | In Washington State, thanks to “the suspicions of a Customs officer,” there was “detention of an Algerian with a car loaded with explosives and a map of Los Angeles International Airport.” |
| *c*. Dec.  1999 | “ . . . Jordanian security authorities detained the head of an al Queda cell in Amman, until recently a taxicab driver in Boston, with explosives intended to blow up the Radisson Hotel and arms for attacks on tourists visiting Christian religious sites.” |
| Dec. 1999 | “. . . in Yemen another group launched a boat loaded with high explosives to ram the arriving U.S. Navy destroyer Sullivan. The boat was overloaded and sank as it moved from shore.” |
| Oct.  2000 | “. . . the U.S.S. Cole was attacked in Aden by the same means intended for the Sullivan ten months earlier. This attack seriously damaged the ship and killed seventeen sailors.” |

american preparations

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 2000 | “By 2000 Clarke was supervising combined anti-terrorism budgets, allocated among several agencies, totaling $11.1 billion.” |
| Jan.  2001 | “In January 2001 Clarke briefed Vice President Cheney, Secretary of State Colin Powell, National Security Advisor Condolezza Rice, and her deputy Steve Hadley on the terrorist threat and the organizational and operational measures that were in place to address it . . . To have an operating, or executive, unit such as Clarke had instituted was at variance with NSC tradition . . . Clarke’s group would have domestic responsibilities under the aegis of an agency whose charter was supposed to be exclusively international. The size of Clarke’s staff—twelve persons—apparently concerned Rice also.” |
| Feb.-  Mar.  2001 | “Within a short time Rice decided that [Clarke’s] support staff would be reduced, and that his authority over counterterrorism budgets would be rescinded.” |
| summer 2001 | FBI reports about “unusual aircraft training activities of foreign nationals in Arizona, Florida, and Minnesota” |
| Sept. 4,  2001 | “ . . . Clarke was granted the meeting he had requested in January to brief the Principals Committee [“i.e. the members of the National Security Council”] on the al Queda threat. The meeting was inconclusive, and as it ended Rice directed Clarke to draft a National Security Presidential Directive on al Queda for her review and transmittal to the President for signature.” |

september 11

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Sept.11  2001 | “. . . four wide-body passenger aircraft hijacked by al-Queda terrorists . . . crash into the World Trade Center towers, the Pentagon, and a Pennsylvania field . . .” |

american responses

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Sept.12  2001 | Bush orders Clarke “to conduct an exhaustive inter-departmental search for evidence of links between bin Laden and Saddam Hussein.” |
| (within  two  weeks) | “A memorandum to the President reported that this review had produced no evidence of such a relationship. Clarke does not know whether it ever reached the President.” |
| Oct.  2001 | “ . . . Clarke entered upon his new duties as Director of the White House Office of Critical Infrastructure Protection and Cyber Security.” |
| early  2003 | Clarke resigned. |
| end of  2003 | Clarke, “in compliance with applicable regulations, submitted his book to the National Security Council staff for required pre-publication review.” |
| March  23, 2003 | “It was scheduled for release in late March, but the publisher advanced the date to coincide with Clarke’s . . . March 23 appearance before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States.” |
| ch. 11: “Right War— Wrong War” | Clarke “disapproves of the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. He instead recommends organization of specialized groups within most of the agencies responsible for domestic and overseas intelligence, security, and law enforcement with human, material, and fiscal assets required to discover, track, and destroy al Queda. Either the National Security Council or a companion White House coordinating unit would direct and deploy this new network of task forces. His plan for combating al Queda would not, one deduces, entail the military operation currently underway in Iraq, an operation Clarke believes has reduced America’s security from terrorist attack.” |
| ch. 11:  pp. 247,  262-  264 | After Sept. 11, 2001, “Clarke believes the Administration should have adopted [a policy that] would have included “. . . creation of a counterweight ideology to . . . the fundamentalist, radical version of Islam.”” |

## Women Suicide Bombers

“Georgia Tech Student Wanted to Die a Martyr—Pakistani Born US Citizen “Coveted Jihad Life.”” *MilitantIslamMonitor*.*org*. 22 Jan. 2008. 10 Jan. 2018. <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/3327>.

*Islam Online*. 14 April 2002. <http://www.islam-online.net/fatwaapplication/english/display.asp?­hFatwaID=68511>.

*Fatwa Question Details*

Name: Aya

Title: Palestinian Women Carrying Out Martyr Operations

Question: As-Salamu Alaykum. Dear brothers in Islam, may Allah accept all what you do for His Sake in aiding and supporting your fellow Muslims all over the world. Also, I would like to ask about the ruling of Palestinian women carrying out martyr operations. Fulfilling this mission may demand that they travel alone, without a Mahram, and they may need to take off their Hijab, the matter which may expose part of their `Awrah. Would you please comment on this? I’d prefer Dr. Qaradawi to answer this urgent question, if you please. Jazakum Allah Kul Khair.

Date: 10/Apr/2002

Mufti: Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi

*Answer*

Wa `Alaykum As-Salam Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.

In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

All thanks and praise are due to Allah and peace and blessings be upon His Messenger.

Dear questioner, we would like to express our deep thanks and overwhelming sense of gratitude to you for this great confidence you place in us and implore Almighty Allah to make our humble efforts come up to your expectation and fulfill our task towards the whole Muslim *Ummah*.

Dear questioner, Muslim jurists unanimously agreed that, when the enemy attacks part of the Muslim territories Jihad become an Individual Duty on every one. This obligation reaches a certain extent that a woman should go out for Jihad even without the permission of her husband, and the son without the consent of his parents. Thus, women’s participation in the martyr operations carried out in Palestine – given the status of the land as an occupied territory, in addition to a lot of sacrilegious acts perpetrated by the Jews against the sanctuaries – is one of the most praised acts of worship. Also, the act is a form of martyrdom in the Cause of Allah, and it entitles them, Insha’ Allah, to the same reward earned by their male counterparts who also die in the Cause of Allah.

This is what is clarified by the following fatwa, issued by Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, the prominent Muslim scholar:

“The martyr operations is the greatest of all sorts of Jihad in the Cause of Allah. A martyr operation is carried out by a person who sacrifices himself, deeming his life less value than striving in the Cause of Allah, in the cause of restoring the land and preserving the dignity. To such a valorous attitude applies the following Qur’anic verse: “And of mankind is he who would sell himself, seeking the pleasure of Allah; and Allah hath compassion on (His) bondmen.” (Al-Baqarah: 207)

But a clear distinction has to be made here between martyrdom and suicide. Suicide is an act or instance of killing oneself intentionally out of despair, and finding no outlet except putting an end to one’s life. On the other hand, martyrdom is a heroic act of choosing to suffer death in the Cause of Allah, and that’s why it’s considered by most Muslim scholars as one of the greatest forms of Jihad.

When Jihad becomes an Individual Duty, as when the enemy seizes the Muslim territory, a woman becomes entitled to take part in it alongside men. Jurists maintained that: When the enemy assaults a given Muslim territory, it becomes incumbent upon all its residents to fight against them to the extent that a woman should go out even without the consent of her husband, a son can go too without the permission of his parent, a slave without the approval of his master, and the employee without the leave of his employer. This is a case where obedience should not be given to anyone in something that involves disobedience to Allah, according to a famous juristic rule.

In the same vein, the public welfare should be given priority to the personal one, in the sense that if there is a contradiction between the private right and the public one, the latter must be given first priority for it concerns the interest of the whole *Ummah*. Given all this, I believe a woman can participate in this form of Jihad according to her own means and condition. Also, the organizers of these martyr operations can benefit from some believing women as they may do, in some cases, what is impossible for men to do.

As for the point that carrying out this operation may involve woman’s travel from place to another without a *Mahram*, we say that a woman can travel to perform Hajj in the company of other trustworthy women and without the presence of any *Mahram* as long as the road is safe and secured. Travel, nowadays, is no longer done through deserts or wilderness, instead, women can travel safely in trains or by air.

Concerning the point on Hijab, a woman can put on a hat or anything else to cover her hair. Even when necessary, she may take off her Hijab in order to carry out the operation, for she is going to die in the Cause of Allah and not to show off her beauty or uncover her hair. I don’t see any problem in her taking off Hijab in this case.

To conclude, I think the committed Muslim women in Palestine have the right to participate and have their own role in Jihad and to attain martyrdom.”

Allah Almighty knows best.

## Intolerance in Christianity and Islam

Lewis, Bernard. “I’m Right, You’re Wrong, Go To Hell: Religions and the Meeting of Civilization.” *The Atlantic Monthly*. May 2003. 5 May 2003. Web.

For a long time now it has been our practice in the modern Western world to define ourselves primarily by nationality, and to see other identities and allegiances—religious, political, and the like—as subdivisions of the larger and more important whole. The events of September 11 and after have made us aware of another perception—of a religion subdivided into nations rather than a nation subdivided into religions—and this has induced some of us to think of ourselves and of our relations with others in ways that had become unfamiliar. The confrontation with a force that defines itself as Islam has given a new relevance—indeed, urgency—to the theme of the “clash of civilizations.”

At one time the general assumption of mankind was that “civilization” meant us, and the rest were uncivilized. This, as far as we know, was the view of the great civilizations of the past—in China, India, Greece, Rome, Persia, and the ancient Middle East. Not until a comparatively late stage did the idea emerge that there are different civilizations, that these civilizations meet and interact, and—even more interesting—that a civilization has a life-span: it is born, grows, matures, declines, and dies. One can perhaps trace that latter idea to the medieval Arab historian-philosopher Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), who spoke in precisely those terms, though what he discussed was not civilizations but states—or, rather, regimes. The concept wasn’t really adapted to civilizations until the twentieth century.

The first writer to make the connection was the German historian Oswald Spengler. Perhaps influenced by the horrors of World War I and the defeat of imperial Germany, he looked around him and saw civilization in decline. He built a philosophy on this perception, captured in the phrase “the decline of the West”—*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*. His two volumes under this title were published in 1918 and 1922. In these he discussed how different civilizations meet, interact, rise and decline, and fall. His approach was elaborated by Arnold Toynbee, who proceeded with a sort of wish list of civilizations—and, of course, also a hit list. Most recently Samuel Huntington, of Harvard University, has argued that the clash of civilizations, more than of countries or governments, is now the basic force of international relations. I think most of us would agree, and some of us have indeed said, that the clash of civilizations is an important aspect of modern international relations, though probably not many of us would go so far as to imply, as some have done, that civilizations have foreign policies and form alliances.

There have been a number of different civilizations in human history, and several are extant, though not all in the same condition. Mustafa Kemal, later known as Atatürk, dealt with the relative condition of civilizations in some of the speeches in which he urged the people of the newly established Turkish Republic to modernize. He put the issue with military directness and simplicity. People, he said, talked of this civilization and that civilization, and of interaction and influence between civilizations; but only one civilization was alive and well and advancing, and that was what he called modernity, the civilization “of our time.” All the others were dying or dead, he said, and Turkey’s choice was to join this civilization or be part of a dying world. The one civilization was, of course, the West.

Only two civilizations have been defined by religion. Others have had religions but are identified primarily by region and ethnicity. Buddhism has been a major religious force, and was the first to try to bring a universal message to all mankind. There is some evidence of Buddhist activities in the ancient Middle East, and the possibility has been suggested of Buddhist influence on Judaism and, therefore, on the rise of Christianity. But Buddhism has not expanded significantly for many centuries, and the countries where it flourishes—in South, Southeast, and East Asia—are defined, like their neighbors, by culture more than by creed. These other civilizations, with the brief and problematic exception of communism, have lacked the ideological capacity—and for the most part even the desire—for indefinite expansion.

Christianity and Islam are the two religions that define civilizations, and they have much in common, along with some differences. In English and in most of the other languages of the Christian world we have two words, “Christianity” and “Christendom.” Christianity is a religion, a system of belief and worship with certain ecclesiastical institutions. Christendom is a civilization that incorporates elements that are non-Christian or even anti-Christian. Hitler and the Nazis, it may be recalled, are products of Christendom, but hardly of Christianity. When we talk of Islam, we use the same word for both the religion and the civilization, which can lead to misunderstanding. The late Marshall Hodgson, a distinguished historian of Islam at the University of Chicago, was, I think, the first to draw attention to this problem, and he invented the word “Islamdom.” Unfortunately, “Islamdom” is awkward to pronounce and just didn’t catch on, so the confusion remains. (In Turkish there is no confusion, because “Islam” means the civilization, and “Islamiyet” refers specifically to the religion.)

In looking at the history of civilization we talk, for example, of “Islamic art,” meaning art produced in Muslim countries, not just religious art, whereas the term “Christian art” refers to religious or votive art, churches and pious sculpture and painting. We talk about “Islamic science,” by which we mean physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, and the rest under the aegis of Muslim civilization. If we say “Christian science,” we mean something totally different and unrelated.

Does one talk about “Jewish science”? I don’t think so. One may talk about Jewish scientists, but that’s not the same thing. But then, of course, Judaism is not a civilization—it’s a religion and a culture. Most of Jewish history since the Diaspora has taken place within either Christendom or Islam. There were Jews in India, there were Jews in China, but those communities didn’t flourish. Their role was minimal, both in the history of the Jews and in the history of India and China. The term “Judeo-Christian” is a new name for an old reality, though in earlier times it would have been equally resented on both sides of the hyphen. One could use an equivalent term, “Judeo-Islamic,” to designate another cultural symbiosis that flourished in the more recent past and ended with the dawn of modernity.

To what extent is a religiously defined civilization compatible with pluralism—tolerance of others within the same civilization but of different religions? This crucial question points to a major distinction between two types of religion. For some religions, just as “civilization” means us, and the rest are barbarians, so “religion” means ours, and the rest are infidels. Other religions, such as Judaism and most of the religions of Asia, concede that human beings may use different religions to speak to God, as they use different languages to speak to one another. God understands them all. I know in my heart that the English language is the finest instrument the human race has ever devised to express its thoughts and feelings, but I recognize in my mind that others may feel exactly the same way about their languages, and I have no problem with that. These two approaches to religion may conveniently be denoted by the terms their critics use to condemn them—“triumphalism” and “relativism.” In one of his sermons the fifteenth-century Franciscan Saint John of Capistrano, immortalized on the map of California, denounced the Jews for trying to spread a “deceitful” notion among Christians: “The Jews say that everyone can be saved in his own faith, which is impossible.” For once a charge of his against the Jews was justified. The Talmud does indeed say that the righteous of all faiths have a place in paradise. Polytheists and atheists are excluded, but monotheists of any persuasion who observe the basic moral laws are eligible. The relativist view was condemned and rejected by both Christians and Muslims, who shared the conviction that there was only one true faith, theirs, which it was their duty to bring to all humankind. The triumphalist view is increasingly under attack in Christendom, and is disavowed by significant numbers of Christian clerics. There is little sign as yet of a parallel development in Islam.

Tolerance is, of course, an extremely intolerant idea, because it means “I am the boss: I will allow you some, though not all, of the rights I enjoy as long as you behave yourself according to standards that I shall determine.” That, I think, is a fair definition of religious tolerance as it is normally understood and applied. In a letter to the Jewish community of Newport, Rhode Island, that George Washington wrote in 1790, he remarked, perhaps in an allusion to the famous “Patent of Tolerance” promulgated by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II a few years previously, “It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights.” At a meeting of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Vienna some years ago the Cardinal Archbishop Franz Koenig spoke of tolerance, and I couldn’t resist quoting Washington to him. He replied, “You are right. I shall no more speak of tolerance; I shall speak of mutual respect.” There are still too few who share the attitude expressed in this truly magnificent response.

For those taking the relativist approach to religion (in effect, “I have my god, you have your god, and others have theirs”), there may be specific political or economic reasons for objecting to someone else’s beliefs, but in principle there is no theological problem. For those taking the triumphalist approach (classically summed up in the formula “I’m right, you’re wrong, go to hell”), tolerance is a problem. Because the triumphalist’s is the only true and complete religion, all other religions are at best incomplete and more probably false and evil; and since he is the privileged recipient of God’s final message to humankind, it is surely his duty to bring it to others rather than keep it selfishly for himself.

Now, if one believes that, what does one do about it? And how does one relate to people of another religion? If we look at this question historically, one thing emerges very clearly: whether the other religion is previous or subsequent to one’s own is extremely important. From a Christian point of view, for example, Judaism is previous and Islam is subsequent. From a Muslim point of view, both Judaism and Christianity are previous. From a Jewish point of view, both Christianity and Islam are subsequent—but since Judaism is not triumphalist, this is not a problem.

But it is a problem for Christians and Muslims—or perhaps I should say for traditional Christians and Muslims. From their perspective, a previous religion may be regarded as incomplete, as superseded, but it is not necessarily false if it comes in the proper sequence of revelation. So from a Muslim point of view, Judaism and Christianity were both true religions at the time of their revelation, but they were superseded by the final and complete revelation of Islam; although they are out-of-date—last year’s model, so to speak—they are not inherently false. Therefore Muslim law, *sharia*, not only permits but requires that a certain degree of tolerance be accorded them.

It is, of course, a little more complicated: Jews and Christians are accused of falsifying their originally authentic scriptures and religions. Thus, from a Muslim point of view, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and of the divinity of Jesus Christ are distortions. The point is made in several Koranic verses: “There is no God but God alone, He has no companion,” and “He is God, one, eternal. He does not beget, He is not begotten, and He has no peer.” These and similar verses appear frequently on early Islamic coins and in inscriptions, and are clearly polemical in intent. They are inscribed, notably, in the Dome of the Rock, in Jerusalem—a challenge to Christianity in its birthplace. Jews are accused of eliminating scriptural passages foretelling the advent of Muhammad. Anything subsequent to Muhammad, “the Seal of the Prophets,” is, from the Muslim perspective, necessarily false. This explains the harsh treatment of post-Islamic religions, such as the Bahai faith and the Ahmadiya movement, in Islamic lands.

Muslims did not claim a special relationship to either of the predecessor religions, and if Jews and Christians chose not to accept Muhammad, that was their loss. Muslims were prepared to tolerate them in accordance with *sharia*, which lays down both the extent and the limits of the latitude to be granted those who follow a recognized religion: they must be monotheists and they must have a revealed scripture, which in practice often limited tolerance to Jews and Christians. The Koran names a third qualified group, the Sabians; there is some uncertainty as to who they were, and at times this uncertainty provided a convenient way of extending the tolerance of the Muslim state to Zoroastrians or other groups when it was thought expedient. On principle, no tolerance was extended to polytheists or idolaters, and this sometimes raised acute problems in Asian and African lands conquered by the Muslims.

Tolerance was a much more difficult question for Christians. For them, Judaism is a precursor of their religion, and Christianity is the fulfillment of the divine promises made to the Jews. The Jewish rejection of that fulfillment is therefore seen as impugning some of the central tenets of the Christian faith. Tolerance between different branches of Christianity would eventually become an even bigger problem. Of course, the outsider is more easily tolerated than the dissident insider. Heretics are a much greater danger than unbelievers. The English philosopher John Locke’s famous *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, written toward the end of the seventeenth century, is a plea for religious tolerance, still a fairly new idea at that time. Locke wrote, “Neither pagan, nor Mahometan, nor Jew, ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth, because of his religion.” Someone is of course missing from that list: the Catholic. The difference is clear. For Locke and his contemporaries, the pagan, the Muslim, the Jew, were no threat to the Church of England; the Catholic was. The Catholic was trying to subvert Protestantism, to make England Catholic, and, as Protestant polemicists at the time put it, to make England subject to a foreign potentate—namely, the Pope in Rome.

Muslims were in general more tolerant of diversity within their own community, and even cited an early tradition to the effect that such diversity is a divine blessing. The concept of heresy—in the Christian sense of incorrect belief recognized and condemned as such by properly constituted religious authority—was unknown to classical Islam. Deviation and diversity, with rare exceptions, were persecuted only when they offered a serious threat to the existing order. The very notion of an authority empowered to rule on questions of belief was alien to traditional Islamic thought and practice. It has become less alien.

A consequence of the similarity between Christianity and Islam in background and approach is the long conflict between the two civilizations they defined. When two religions met in the Mediterranean area, each claiming to be the recipient of God’s final revelation, conflict was inevitable. The conflict, in fact, was almost continuous: the first Arab-Islamic invasions took Islam by conquest to the then Christian lands of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, and, for a while, to Southern Europe; the Tatars took it into Russia and Eastern Europe; and the Turks took it into the Balkans. To each advance came a Christian rejoinder: the Reconquista in Spain, the Crusades in the Levant, the throwing off of what the Russians call the Tatar yoke in the history of their country, and, finally, the great European counterattack into the lands of Islam, which is usually called imperialism.

During this long period of conflict, of *jihad* and crusade, of conquest and reconquest, Christianity and Islam nevertheless maintained a level of communication, because the two are basically the same kind of religion. They could argue. They could hold disputations and debates. Even their screams of rage were mutually intelligible. When Christians and Muslims said to each other, “You are an infidel and you will burn in hell,” each understood exactly what the other meant, because they both meant the same thing. (Their heavens are differently appointed, but their hells are much the same.) Such assertions and accusations would have conveyed little or no meaning to a Hindu, a Buddhist, or a Confucian.

Christians and Muslims looked at each other and studied each other in strikingly different ways. This is owing in part, at least, to their different circumstances. Christian Europeans from the start had to learn foreign languages in order to read their scriptures and their classics and to communicate with one another. From the seventh century onward they had a further motive to look outward—their holy places, in the land where their faith was born, were under Muslim rule, and could be visited only with Muslim permission. Muslims had no comparable problems. Their holy places were in Arabia, under Arab rule; their scriptures were in Arabic, which across their civilization was the language also of literature, of science and scholarship, of government and commerce, and, increasingly, of everyday communication, as the conquered countries in Southwest Asia and North Africa were Arabized and forgot their ancient languages and scripts. In later times other Islamic languages emerged, notably Persian and Turkish; but in the early, formative centuries Arabic reigned alone.

This difference in the experiences and the needs of the two civilizations is reflected in their attitudes toward each other. From the earliest recorded times people in Europe tried to learn the languages of the Islamic world, starting with Arabic, the language of the most advanced civilization of the day. Later some, mostly for practical reasons, learned Persian and more especially Turkish, which in Ottoman times supplanted Arabic as the language of government and diplomacy. From the sixteenth century on there were chairs of Arabic at French and Dutch universities. Cambridge University had its first chair of Arabic in 1632, Oxford in 1636. Europeans no longer needed Arabic to gain access to the higher sciences. Now they learned it out of intellectual curiosity—the desire to know something about another civilization and its ways. By the eighteenth century Europe boasted a considerable body of scholarly literature regarding the Islamic world—editions of texts and translations of historical and literary and theological works, as well as histories of literature and religion and even general histories of Islamic countries, with descriptions of their people and their ways. Grammars and dictionaries of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were available to European scholars from the sixteenth century onward. It is surely significant that far more attention was given to Arabic, the classical and scriptural language of Islam, than to Persian and Turkish, the languages of the current rulers of the world. In the course of the nineteenth century European and later also American scholars set to work to disinter, decipher, and interpret the buried and forgotten languages and writings of antiquity, and thus to recover an ancient and glorious chapter in history. These activities were greeted with incomprehension and then with suspicion by those who did not share and therefore could not understand this kind of curiosity.

The Islamic world, with no comparable incentives, displayed a total lack of interest in Christian civilization. An initially understandable, even justifiable, contempt for the barbarians beyond the frontier continued long after that characterization ceased to be accurate, and even into a time when it became preposterously inaccurate.

It has sometimes been argued that the European interest in Arabic and other Eastern languages was an adjunct—or, given the time lag, a precursor—of imperialism. If that is so, we must acquit the Arabs and the Turks of any such predatory intent. The Arabs spent 800 years in Spain without showing much interest in Spanish or Latin. The Ottomans ruled much of southeastern Europe for half a millennium, but for most of that time they never bothered to learn Greek or any Balkan or European language—which might have been useful. When they needed interpreters, they used converts and others from these various countries. There was no Occidentalism until the expanding West forced itself on the attention of the rest of the world. We may find similar attitudes in present-day America.

Today we in the West are engaged in what we see as a war against terrorism, and what the terrorists present as a war against unbelief. Some on both sides see this struggle as one between civilizations or, as others would put it, between religions. If they are right, and there is much to support their view, then the clash between these two religiously defined civilizations results not only from their differences but also from their resemblances—and in these there may even be some hope for better future understanding.

# 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. 500 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*: truth is a relation between an assertion and the reality it refers to.
   2. *pragmatic theory*: the usefulness of a conclusion is evidence of its truth. (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*: beliefs that cohere with a system of propositions known to be true may be accepted as true. (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. In other words, if A and B refer to the same thing, then 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): “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 198-199)
   2. **Jainism**: “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**: 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)

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”)

## 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’;[[9]](#footnote-9) as even some of your own po­ets have said, ‘For we too are his offspring.’[[10]](#footnote-10)”

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; 21for 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.”

## An Outline of Vatican II’s

## *Declaration on the Relationship of the*

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

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
      1. Religions propose “answers to those profound myster­ies of the human condition which, today even as in olden times, deeply stir the human heart:
      2. What is a man?
      3. What is the meaning and the purpose of our life?
      4. What is good­ness and what is sin?
      5. What gives rise to our sorrows and to what intent?
      6. Where lies the path to true happi­ness?
      7. What is the truth about death, judgment, and retribution beyond the grave?
      8. 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. Primitive 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
   2. through an unspent fruitfulness of myths
   3. and through searching philosophical inquiry.”
   4. “They seek release from the anguish of our condition through
   5. as­ceti­cal practices
   6. or deep medita­tion
   7. or a loving, trusting flight toward God.”
   8. [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
   3. either reach a state of absolute freedom
   4. or attain supreme enlighten­ment
   5. by their own efforts or
   6. by higher assistance.”
5. **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.”

## Vatican II, *Declaration on Religious Freedom*

## (*Dignitatis Humanae*)

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.

## Table of Contents

Background

Introduction 2

Eras of Cross-Cultural Encounter in Pre-Modern Times 6

Eastern Religions

Hinduism in Southeast Asia 12

Buddhism in India 13

Buddhism in Central Asia 16

Confucians and the Xiongnu 19

Buddhism in China 21

Buddhism in Southeast Asia 26

Decline of Buddhism, c ad 1000-1350 28

Nomads in China 31

Western Religions

Missionary Religions in the Middle East and Mediterranean 37

Christianity 41

Christian Missions to East and West 43

Nestorianism 45

Manichaeism 48

Zoroastrianism 51

Mithraism 52

Islamic Expansion, ad 632-1000 53

Conversion to Islam, ad 632-1000 55

Islamic Expansion, ad 1000-1350 58

Bibliography 64

## 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.”
      1. “political, social, or economic” (Bentley 7)
      2. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 8)
      3. “poli­tical, military, and economic” (Bentley 10)
      4. “political, social, or economic” (Bentley 13)
      5. “politically and economically, later culturally and socially” (Bentley 22)
      6. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 19, twice)
      7. “political, social, and economic” (Bentley 25)
      8. *et passim*
2. **pre-modern social conversions**
   1. “social conversion”
      1. “. . . Solomon allowed his wives and concubines to observe their native cults . . .” (Bentley 4)
      2. “This book [5] . . . concentrates attention on the establishment and penetration of cultural boundaries . . .” (Bentley 5-6)
      3. “. . . 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)
      4. “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)
      5. 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)
   2. three patterns of social conversion
      1. “. . . 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)
      2. “conversion through voluntary association” (Bentley 9, 13)
         1. Here “individuals abandon a religion or cultural tradition . . . and embrace another . . .” (Bentley 9)
         2. “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)
         3. “But why did their hosts voluntarily associate themselves with the traditions of the foreign merchants?” (Bentley 9)
            1. “. . . 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)
            2. “. . . voluntary association offered benefits especially to ruling elites [viz.] poli­tical, military, and economic alliances with foreign powers.” (Bentley 10)
            3. “. . . recognition from afar often carried great prestige and authority . . .” (Bentley 10)
         4. 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)
         5. “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)
      3. “conversion induced by pressure” (Bentley 13)
         1. “. . . conquerors had ways to encourage large-scale social conversion”:
            1. “differential taxation,
            2. “diversion of financial resources from established institutions to those associ­ated with a new cultural alternative,
            3. “preference of adherents to a particular tradition when recruiting military and political officials,
            4. “limitation of access to religious services or rituals, . . .
            5. “the closure or destruction of temples . . .
            6. “[and] the direct coercion of individuals.” (Bentley 12)
         2. “. . . 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)
         3. “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)
      4. “conversion by assimilation” (Bentley 13)
         1. Here “a minority group adapted to the cultural standards of the majority . . .” (Bentley 13)
         2. “In some cases, minority peoples actively and enthusiastically sought assimilation [e.g., when] Germanic peoples entered the Roman empire . . .” (Bentley 13)
         3. “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)
         4. “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)
   3. syncretism
      1. “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)
      2. “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)
      3. “. . . the three modes of cross-cultural conversion and syncretism rarely worked their effects in isolation . . .” (Bentley 17)
   4. resistance
      1. “Alongside conversion and syncretism, resistance stood among the most prominent responses . . .” (Bentley 18)
      2. “. . . resistance took several forms . . .” (Bentley 18)
         1. “Sometimes, peoples resisted rather passively by simply . . . ignoring foreign cul­tural alternatives . . .” (Bentley 18)
         2. “Other times, they aggressively attacked representatives of an alternate cul­tural tradition.” (Bentley 18)
         3. “But cultural resistance could also inspire flight . . .” (Bentley 18)
         4. “The ultimate form of resistance, however, was suicide or self-martyrdom.” (Bentley 18)
      3. “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] (Jaspers, Karl. *The Origin and Goal of History*. Trans. M. Bullock. New Haven: Yale UP, 1953. Esp. 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)
      1. 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)
      2. “Long-distance trade probably did not disappear completely, but it . . . declined precipi­tously during the late fourteenth century.” (Bentley 163)
   2. “. . . 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)
   3. 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.” (Bentley 52)
   2. “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)
   3. “. . . 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**
5. 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)
6. 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)
7. **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)
8. **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 . . .” (Bentley 35)
   2. “Like most codes of political and social ethics, the Confucian tradition places high value on order, stability, and regularity.” (Bentley 35)
   3. “It deeply honors literature and formal education . . .” (Bentley 35)
   4. “. . . it emphasizes especially strongly the point that a conscientious, highly educated class of men ought to play the principal role in government.” (Bentley 35)
   5. “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 . . .”“ [Quo­ta­tion from Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 6 vols. to date (Cam­bridge: Cam­bridge University, 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)
   2. 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)
   3. 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)
   4. 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)
3. **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)
   2. 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)
4. **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)
5. **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)
6. 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)
7. **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)[[11]](#footnote-11)
      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)
   4. 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] (MacMullen, Ramsay. *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (*a*.*d*. *100-400*). New Haven: Yale UP, 1984. Esp. 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] . . . 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: “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.”” (Bentley 120)
            2. “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)
   8. 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 possible religions (or their 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

castration

cats

cattle

caves

celibacy

ceremony

chance

chanting

chaos

charisma

charity

cinema and religion

circumcision

cities

classification of religions

clitoridectomy

clothing

clothing

clowns

colors

colors

comparative mythology

confession of sins

conscience

consciousness, states of

consecration

conversion

cosmic law

covenant

creeds

cross

crossroads

crown

cursing

dance

death

demons

descent into the underworld

deserts

devils

devotion

diseases and cures

divination

dogs

doubleness

dragons

drama

dreams

drums

ecstasy

election

elixir

enlightenment

epics

eremitism

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

masks

masks

medicine

meditation

memorization

mendicancy

merit

metals and metallurgy

miracles

missionary activity

modern art

monastery

monasticism

monkeys

monsters

moon

morality and religion

mortification

mosque

mountains

music

mystical union

names and naming

necromancy

new year festivals

nimbus

nonviolence

nudity

numbers

numbers

oracles

ordeal

ordination

otherworld

paradise

pearl

phallus

phenomenology of religion

philosophy of religion

physics and religion

pigs

pilgrimage

play

politics and religion

popular religion

portals

portents and prodigies

postures and gestures

poverty

prayer

preaching

priesthood

procession

prophecy

psychedelic drugs

psychology of religion

psychology of religion

purification

pyramids

quests

redemption

reincarnation

rejuvenation

relics

religious communities

religious pluralism (diversity)

repentance

resurrection

retreat

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

silence

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

trees

triads

truth

turtles and tortoises

twins

underworld

utopia

virginity

visions

vocation

vows and oaths

war and warriors

water

webs and nets

wisdom

wolves

work

yoni

terms used in philosophy, theology, and comparative religion

atheism, deity, doubt and belief, dualism, empiricism, esotericism, free will and determinism, free will and predestination, God, henotheism, humanism, immortality, intuition, knowledge and ignorance, logic, logical positivism, materialism, metaphysics, monism, monotheism, morality and religion, mysticism, natural law, naturalism, nature, nominalism, occultism, ontology, panentheism, pantheism, phenomenology of religion, philosophy of religion, Platonism, positivism, proofs for the existence of God, reason, relativism, religion, religious experience, scholasticism, semantics, skeptics and skepticism, soul, sublime, supernatural, theism, theodicy, theosophy, theurgy, transcendence and immanence, truth, *via negativa*, wisdom

# Bibliographies

## Bibliography

Scripture quotations, except quotations from others, are from

the New Revised Standard Version, unless indicated otherwise.

Ad­ler, Mortimer. *Truth in Rel­i­gion*: *The Plurality of Religions and the Unity of Truth*; *An Essay on the Philosophy of Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1990.

Ahmed, Akbar S. *Discovering Islam*: *Making Sense of Muslim History and Soci­ety*. Lon­don: Rout­ledge and Kegan Paul, 1988.

*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 3rd ed. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.

Arberry, Arthur J. *The Koran Interpreted*. 2 vols. in 1. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955; rpt. New York: Macmillan, 1976.

Awolalu, J.O. *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. London: Longman, 1979.

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia*: *A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2001. 772.

Barrett, David B., George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson. *World Christian Encyclopedia*: *A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. OUP, 2001.

Benoit, Pierre. “Eucharist.” *Dictionary of Biblical Theology*. Ed. Xavier Léon-Dufour. Trans. Joseph Cahill et al. New York: Desclée, 1967. 122-126.

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

Berlin, Adele, and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds. *The Jewish Study Bible*. Oxford: OUP, 2004. (The Jewish Publication Society’s tanakh translation.)

Bilgé, Barbara J. “Islam in the Americas.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.425-30.

Bokenkotter, Thomas. *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*. 1966. Rev. and exp. ed. New York: Doubleday, 1990.

Bonnefoy, Yves. *Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago P, 1991.

Browman, David L, and Ronald A. Schwarz. *Spirits*, *Shamans*, *and Stars*: *Perspectives from South America*. New York: Mouton, 1979.

Brown, Michael Forbes. “Dark Side of the Shaman.” *Natural History* (November 1989) 8-10.

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

“Byzantine Empire.” *Encarta 98 Desk Encyclopedia*. Redmond: Microsoft, 1997.

Caesar, Julius. *The Conquest of Gaul*. Trans. S.A. Handford. New York: Penguin, 1982.

“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>.

*Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*., *The*. 6th ed. New York: Columbia UP, 2003. 29 Apr. 2004. <http://www.infoplease.com/encyclopedia.html>.

Cosby, Michael R. *Sex in the Bible*: *An Introduction to What the Scriptures Teach Us about Sexuality*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1984.

“Crusades.” *Random House Encyclopedia*. New York: Random House, 1990. (All quotations are from this source unless otherwise noted.)

**Cunningham, William J. “Summary and Review.” (Review of: Clarke, Richard A**. **Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror**. New York: **Free Press, 2004.) 7 Apr. 2004. 12 Apr. 2004. <http://www.stthom.edu/intl\_studies/clarke.­html>. (Cunningham, FSO Ret., is Associate Professor Emeritus in International Studies at the University of St. Thomas, Houston, Texas**.)

**Cunningham, William J. E-mail to the author. 13 Apr. 2004. (Items from this source are italicized.)**

de Vaux, Roland. *The History of Early Israel*. Trans. David Smith. London: Darton, Longman & Todd; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978. 267-87. (French: vol. 1, *Histoire ancienne d*’*Israël*: *Des Origines à l*’*Installation en Canaan*, 1971; vol. 2, *Histoire ancienne d*’*Israël*: *La Période des Juges*, 1973.)

Dillenberger, John, and Claude Welch. *Protestant Christianity Interpreted through Its Development*. 2nd ed. London: Collier Macmil­lan; New York: Mac­millan, 1988.

“Doctors of the Church.” *Wikipedia*. 29 Dec. 2017. 11 Jan. 2018. Web.

Durán, Calid. “Islam in Modern Europe.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.422-25.

Eades, J.S. *The Yoruba Today*. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.

“Eastern Rite Church.” *Encyclopædia Britannica 2002 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2002.

Eberhardt, Newman C. *A Summary of Church History*. 2 vols. St Louis: Herder, 1961.

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

Eliade, Mircea. *From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Chicago: U of Chi­ca­go P, 1978. 114-18. Vol. 1 of *A History of Religious Ideas*. 3 vols.

Eliade, Mircea. *Shamanism*: *Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Paris: Princeton UP, 1964.

*Encyclopædia Britannica 2002 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM*.

Ernst, Carl W. “Spiritual Life and Institutions in Muslim Society.” In *The Muslim Almanac*: *A Reference Work on the Peoples*, *Cultures and History of Islam*. Ed. Azim A. Nanji. New York: Gale Research, 1996, 253-59. 14 Apr. 2002. <http://www.unc.edu/courses/­reli006i/ Sufism.htm>.

“Georgia Tech Student Wanted to Die a Martyr—Pakistani Born US Citizen “Coveted Jihad Life.”“ *MilitantIslamMonitor*.*org*. 22 Jan. 2008. 10 Jan. 2018. <http://www.militantislam monitor.org/article/id/3327>.

Green, Miranda. *The Gods of the Celts*. Totowa NJ: Barnes and Noble, 1986.

Hardon, John, SJ. “The Principle of Contradiction.” *The Catholic Faith* (March/­Ap­ril 1996). 20 Oct. 1999. <http://www.catholic.net/RCC/Periodicals/Faith/­MarApr­96/­index.­ht­ml>.

Hardy, Peter. “Islam in South Asia.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.390-404.

Harner, Michael J. *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*. Oxford: OUP, 1973.

Henig, Martin. *Religion in Roman Britain*. New York: St. Martin’s, 1984.

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

Hudson, Winthrop S. *American Protestantism*. Chicago History of American Civilization. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1961.

Idowu, E. Bolaji. *Olodumare*: *God in Yoruba Belief*. New York: Praeger, 1963.

*Information Please Almanac*. 14 Apr. 2002. <http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/society/A0847120. ­html>.

*Islam Online*. 14 April 2002. <http://www.islam-online.net/fatwaapplication/english/display.asp? hFatwaID=68511>.

Johns, A. H. “Islam in Southeast Asia.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.404-22.

Johnson, Sherman Elbridge. *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St*. *Mark*. London: Black, 1960.

Johnstone, Ronald L. *Religion and Society in Interaction*: *The Sociology of Religion*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice‑Hall, 1975.

Jones, W. T. *Hobbes to Hume*. A History of Western Philosophy. 1952. 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969.

Kamali, M. Hashim. “Islamic Law: Personal Law.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.446-54.

Kendrick, Thomas Downing. *The Druids*. 1927. 2nd ed. London: Kegan Paul, 2004.

King, N.Q. *Religions of Africa*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984.

Kittelson, James M. *Luther the Reformer*: *The Story of the Man and His Career*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986.

Kneale, William, and Martha Kneale. *The Development of Logic*. London: OUP, 1962.

Lamb, Daivd. *The Arabs*: *Journeys beyond the Mirage*. New York: Random House, 1987. 322.

Lapple, Alfred. *The Catholic Church*: *A Brief History*. Trans. Peter Heinegg. New York: Paulist, 1982. (German: *Kirchengeschichte Impulse zur Zurskorrektur*. München: Don Bosco, 1982.)

Lapple, Alfred. *The Catholic Church*: *A Brief History*. Trans. Peter Hein­egg. New York: Paulist, 1982.

Lawson, E. Thomas. *Religions of Africa*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1984.

Legg, Stuart. *The Barbarians of Asia*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970 (as *The Heartland*). Rpt. New York: Dorset, 1990.

Leslie, Gerald R., and Sheila K. Korman. *The Family in Social Context*. 7th ed. New York: OUP, 1989.

Lewis, Bernard. “I’m Right, You’re Wrong, Go To Hell: Religions and the Meeting of Civilization.” *The Atlantic Monthly*. May 2003. 5 May 2003. Web.

Livingston, James C. *Anatomy of the Sacred*: *An Introduction to Re­li­gion*. New York: Macmillan, 1989.

“Lubavitch Movement, The.” *Nightline*. ABC News. 10 May 1994.

Mac Cana, Proinsias. “Celtic Religion.” In *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. Mircea Eliade. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 3.148-165.

Majd, Vahid J., and Ali Abbas. “Islamic Sects and Followings: Shi’ite Beliefs and Practices.” *A Shi*’*ite Encylcopedia*. *Islamic Paths*. Vers. 2.0. Oct. 1995. 28 Apr. 2004. Web.

Mayer, Ann Elizabeth. “Islamic Law: Shari`ah.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.431-46.

Mbiti, John S. *Introduction to African Religion*. 2nd ed. London: Clay, 1975.

Metzger, Bruce M., and Roland E. Murphy, eds. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal*/*Deuterocanonical Books*. New York: OUP, 1991.

Montgomery, John Warwick. “How Muslims Do Apologetics: The Apologetic Approach of Mu­hammad Ali and Its Implications for Christian Apologetics.” *Faith Founded on Fact*. Nashville: Nelson, 1978. 9 Nov. 2003. Web. <http://www.mtio.com/articles/bissar59.­htm>.

Moscati, Sabatino, et al. *The Celts*. New York: Rizzoli, 1991.

Murphy, Joseph M. *Santeria*: *An African Religion in America*. Boston: Beacon, 1988.

Naipaul, V.S. *Among the Believers*: *An Islamic Journey*. New York: Random House, 1981.

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

National Public Radio. “The Mideast: A Century of Conflict.” *Morning Edition* 30 Sept.-8 Oct. 2002. 30 Oct. 2002. <http://www.npr.org/news/specials/mideast/history/transcripts/ index.­html>.

Newton, Roger G. *What Makes Nature Tick*? Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993.

Parrinder, Geoffrey. *African Traditional Religion*. Westport: Greenwood, 1976.

Partin, Harry B. “Ka`bah.” *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 8.225-26.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Reformation of Church and Dogma* (*1300-1700*). Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1984. Vol. 4 of *The Christian Tradition*: *A History of the Development of Doctrine*. 5 vols. 1971-89.

Perkins, Pheme. *Reading the New Testament*: *An Introduction*. New York: Paulist, 1978.

Peters, F.E. *Children of Abraham*: *Judaism*, *Christianity*, *Islam*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982.

Peters, Rudolph. *Islam and Colonialism*: *The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*. Religion and Society, gen. eds. Leo Laeyendecker and Jacques Waardenburg, vol. 20. The Hague: Mouton, 1979. (Qur’ān quotations are from: Bell, Richard. *The Qur*’*an*: *Translated*, *with a Critical Rearrangement of the Surahs*. Edinburgh: Clark, 1939.)

Peters, Rudolph. *Islam and Colonialism*: *The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*. Religion and Society 20. The Hague: Mouton, 1979. 1-2.

Piggott, Stuart. *The Druids*. Ancient Peoples and Places 63. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.

Pipes, Daniel. *The Rushdie Affair*: *The Novel*, *the Ayatollah*, *and the West*. New York: Carol, 1990.

Rahman, Fazlur. “Islam: An Overview.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.303-22.

Ratchnevsky, Paul. *Ghenghis Khan*: *His Life and Legacy*. Trans. and ed. Thomas Nivison Haining. Oxford; Malden MA: Blackwell, 1991.

Roberts, J.J.M. *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*: *A Study of the Semitic Deities At­­tested in Mesopotamia before Uruk*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U, 1972.

Rolleston, Thomas William. *Celtic Myths and Legends*. 1900. 2nd and rev. ed. (1917). New York: Dover, 1990.

Rossabi, Morris. “Islam: Islam in China.” In Eliade, Mircea, ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 16 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1987. 7.377-90.

Salisbury, Joyce E. *Iberian Popular Religion*, *600 B*.*C*. *to 700 A*.*D*.: *Celts*, *Romans and Visigoths*. Texts and Studies in Religion 20. Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen, 1985.

Saunders, J.J. *The History of the Mongol Conquests*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971.

“Sect.” *Wikipedia*. 9 Jan. 2018. 11 Jan. 2018. Web.

Sigal, Phillip. *Judaism*: *The Evolution of a Faith*. Rev. and ed. by Lillian Sigal. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1988.

Smart, Ninian. *Doctrine and Argument in Indian Philosophy*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1964.

Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*. Trans. Horace Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960.

*The Mishnah*: *A New Translation*. Trans. Jacob Neusner. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988.

Vatican II. “Declaration on *Religious Freedom* (*Dignitatis Humanae*). *Vatican*.*va*. 7 Dec. 1965. 10 Jan. 2018. Web.

Vatican II. “*Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions* (*Nostra Aetate*).” *Vatican*.*va*. 28 Oct. 1965. 10 Jan. 2018. Web.

Walker, C.B.F. *Cuneiform*. Reading the Past 3. Berkeley: U of Cali­fornia; London: British Mus­eum, 1987.

Walker, Williston, et al. *A History of the Christian Church*. 4th ed. New York: Scrib­ner’s, 1985.

Wensinck, A.J. *The Muslim Creed*: *Its Genesis and Historical Development*. Cam­bridge: CUP, 1932; rpt. London: Frank Cass, 1965.

Wensinck, A.J., et al., eds. *Concordance et indices de la tradition Musulmane*. 7 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1936-69.

Wernick, Robert. “What Were Druids Like, and Was Lindow Man One?” *Smithsonian* 18.12 (1988) 160.

Willis, Clifford L. “Disciples of Christ.” *Encyclopædia Britannica 2002 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2002.

Wright, Robin M. “Guardians of the Cosmos: Baniwa Shamans and Prophets, Part I.” *History of Religions* (August 1992) 32-58.

## A Bibliography for Women in Islam

Abadan-Unat, Nermin. “Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudoemancipation of Turkish Women.” *International Migration Review* 11 (1977): 31-57.

Ahmed, Akbar S. *Islam Today*: *A Short Introduction to the Muslim World*. New York: Tauris, 1999.

Beck, Lois, and Nikki R. Keddie. *Women in the Muslim World*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1978.

Esposito, John L. *Islam*: *The Straight Path*. 3rd ed. New York: OUP, 1998.

Esposito, John L., ed. “Women and Islam.” *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. 4 vols. New York: OUP, 1995.

Esposito, John L. *Women in Muslim Family Law*. Syracuse, NY: 1982.

Geertz, Clifford. *Islam Observed*: *Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago: U of Chicago P; New Haven: Yale UP, 1968. (Compares Moroccan and Javanese Islamic structures.)

Gilsenan, Michael. *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt*: *An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973. (On Sufi social structures.)

Glasse, Cyril. “Women.” *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. London: Stacey International & Cyril Glasse, 1989.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck et al. *The Contemporary Islamic Revival*: *A Critical Survey and Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood, 1991.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and John L. Esposito. *Islam*, *Gender*, *and Social Change*. New York: OUP, 1998.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck and John L. Esposito, eds. *Muslims on the Americanization Path*? Atlanta: Scholars, 1998. [A collection of essays on the preservation of cultural identity.]

Hoffman-Ladd, Valerie J. “Polemics on the Modesty and Segregation of Women in Contemporary Egypt.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987): 23-50.

“In the Name of Eve: What Islam Has to Do for Its Other Half.” *Economist* 332 (August 1994): 10-12.

Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. *Islam and Gender*: *The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999.

Nanji, Azim A., ed. “Women, Men, and Gender in Islam.” *The Muslim Almanac*: *A Reference Work on the History*, *Faith*, *Culture and Peoples of Islam*. New York: Gale Research, 1996.

Smith, Jane I. “Women in Islam.” *Christian Century* 119 (January 2002): 26-29.

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 42) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. 1 This is *not* the Asherah of the Bible: “The Asherah of Rās Shamrah had no more in common with the Asherah of the Old Testament, the goddess of vegetation and the partner of Baal, than the same name.” (de Vaux 147) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. “Christianity” here means groups that affirm the traditional doctrine of the Trinity. Groups not listed include Quakers (1648), Unitarian-Universalists (1796, 1778, respectively; merger, 1961), Mormons (1830), Spiritualists (1848), Jehovah’s Witnesses (1872), Christian Science (1879), Unity (1889), Church of Scientology (1953), Unification Church (1954), etc. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. A.J. Arberry (*Koran Interpreted* 2:10-11) said: “Disciples of Higher Criticism . . . threw themselves [into] demolishing the Koran. . . . The most extreme representative . . . was no doubt the late Dr. Richard Bell.” [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Dhikr*: special formulation of the names of God for meditative repetition. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Bahrain was ruled in the 1500s by Portugal. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Nine-tenths of Morocco was under a French protectorate and one-tenth under a Spanish protectorate. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Libya was under Italy from 1914-1943, under a British-French military government from 1943-1949, and under the United Nations from 1949-1951. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. A quotation from the Greek poet Epimenides. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. A quotation from the opening lines of *Phaenomena,* by the Stoic poet Aratus. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. 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*. New York: Random House, 1983, 1990. [Software.]) [↑](#footnote-ref-11)