

Trustworthy Revelations: History by the Road

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[Christianity in the Twentieth Century: A World History](#) by Brian Stanley [The Princeton History of Christianity, Princeton University Press, 9780691157108]

A history of unparalleled scope that charts the global transformation of Christianity during an age of profound political and cultural change

[Christianity in the Twentieth Century](#) charts the transformation of one of the world's great religions during an age marked by world wars, genocide, nationalism, decolonization, and powerful ideological currents, many of them hostile to Christianity. Written by a leading scholar of world Christianity, the book traces how Christianity evolved from a religion defined by the culture and politics of Europe to the expanding polycentric and multicultural faith it is today--one whose growing popular support is strongest in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, China, and other parts of Asia.

Brian Stanley sheds critical light on themes of central importance for understanding the global contours of modern Christianity, illustrating each one with contrasting case studies, usually taken from different parts of the world. Unlike other books on world Christianity, this one is not a regional survey or chronological narrative, nor does it focus on theology or ecclesiastical institutions. Rather, Stanley provides a history of Christianity as a popular faith experienced and lived by its adherents, telling a compelling and multifaceted story of Christendom's fortunes in Europe, North America, and across the rest of the globe.

Transnational in scope and drawing on the latest scholarship, [Christianity in the Twentieth Century](#) demonstrates how Christianity has had less to fear from the onslaughts of secularism than from the readiness of Christians themselves to accommodate their faith to ideologies that privilege racial identity or radical individualism.

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Excerpt: As the twentieth century dawned, many Christians anticipated that the coming decades would witness the birth of a new era. Their expectation was that the accelerating global diffusion of Christianity from its Western heartlands to the rest of the globe would usher in the final phase of human history—the climactic millennial age of international peace and harmony. Protestants in Europe and North America confidently predicted the universal triumph of the Western civilizing creed of technological and scientific progress, democratic and liberal political values, and broadly evangelical versions of the Christian religion. In the United States, this optimistic mood was symbolized by the revival in 1900 of The Christian Oracle, originally a house magazine of the Disciples of Christ, with the new and

extravagantly aspirational title *The Christian Century*. From its new base in Chicago and under new ownership from 1908, the reconstituted magazine rapidly established itself as the principal interdenominational organ of mainline American Protestantism. The magazine retains that status, and its hubristic title, to this day, long after the "mainline" has lost its preeminent status in American religion.

Protestants were not alone in anticipating that the new century held out bright hopes for the triumph of Christian faith and values. Roman Catholics disseminated their own distinctive vision of a coming global transformation based on the spread of Christian revelation. "The civilization of the world is Christian," confidently pronounced Pope Pius X in his encyclical *Il Fermo Proposito* in June 1905: "The more completely Christian it is, the more true, more lasting and more productive of genuine fruit it is." Pius was asserting, not that the task of civilizing the world had been completed, but that only in dutiful submission to the authority of the Catholic Church and to the Holy See could any efforts at civilization achieve permanence. In particular, he was referring to a movement of Italian lay Catholics known as Catholic Action that sought to irradiate secular society through the agency of distinctively Catholic confraternities and youth organizations. While Pius commended such aspirations, he was concerned to make it abundantly clear that no lay association could be allowed to usurp priestly authority. The Catholic hierarchy, in contrast to Protestant organs of opinion, saw no prospect for global transformation through a host of voluntary Christian mission and reform organizations. Only the formation of exclusive partnerships between the Roman Catholic Church and the State could ensure what *Il Fermo Proposito* termed "the subordination of all the laws of the State to the Divine laws of the Gospel." Nevertheless, Pius's encyclical exuded its own more qualified brand of Christian optimism. It anticipated that, if only such happy marriages between Church and State could be concluded, "what prosperity and well-being, what peace and harmony, what respectful subjection to authority and what excellent government would be obtained and maintained in the world if one could see in practice the perfect ideal of Christian civilization."

With the cheap benefit of hindsight, these contrasting strands of Christian expectation that under the leadership of either the Western Protestant nations or the Holy See the globe was about to enter a golden age of universal Christian charity and international harmony display a pitiable cultural hubris. Even at the time, there were aggressively secular voices in Europe, the United States, and China who with equal confidence of faith predicted precisely the opposite—namely, that the coming century would be one in which scientific rationalism and modernization would finally dispatch the superstition of religious belief to the garbage heap of history. Observers from the twenty-first century are better able to see the fragility of both sets of confident predictions. They are also only too aware that the twentieth century turned out to be, not simply one marked by the two world wars, but also a period in which the perennial narrative of human beings' apparently ineradicable propensity for inhumanity entered a new and peculiarly ugly phase. From a Christian theological perspective, such renewed evidence of human perversity is neither surprising nor problematic. As the neo-orthodox and realist theologians of the middle decades of the century correctly discerned, the fond hopes of human improvement espoused by liberal Protestants in the early years of the century represented a gross distortion of Christian eschatology, whose central narrative is not in fact the steady upward progress of human civilization but the intervention of divine grace as the only solution to human sin. The problem that the twentieth century poses to the Christian mind is not the apparent resurgence of human propensity for atrocity but rather the seeming theological inadequacy of much of the Christian response.

In April-May 1939, as the world lurched for a second time in three decades toward the precipice of global conflict, the American realist theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971) delivered the Gifford lectures in the University of Edinburgh on the theme of "The Nature and Destiny of Man." The first volume of the lectures, published by Scribner's in March 1941, appropriately expounded the somber theme of "human nature" in all its fallen state. However, Niebuhr struggled to complete the second volume with its more optimistic subject matter of "human destiny" in Christ, and it did not

appear until January 1943. Niebuhr's difficulty in wartime conditions in making the paradoxical case that human history both "fulfils and negates the Kingdom of God" symbolizes the challenge that the century poses to much Christian theology. Whereas evidence of the negation has been plentiful, convincing evidence of the tangible fulfillment of the values of the Kingdom of God in actual human societies characterized by a majority Christian presence has been decidedly patchy. When subjected to intense pressure from rampant nationalism and ethnic hostility, the European varieties of Christendom that supplied the foundations for the hopes of world transformation expressed at the opening of the century frequently turned out to be less authentically Christian than their advocates had supposed. Furthermore, while the century did indeed witness the unprecedented and extensive global diffusion of the Christian faith that they had anticipated, the theological and cultural contours that world Christianity had thereby assumed by the close of the century were very different in character from what they had imagined.

While taking due note of the relevant perceptions of outstanding thinkers such as Reinhold Niebuhr, this one-volume world history of Christianity in the twentieth century makes no claim to be an intellectual history of either theology or biblical scholarship. Theology and biblical interpretation of an applied kind will properly be the object of attention in those chapters where the focus is on the ways in which Christian thinkers have reflected on how the churches should frame their missionary strategies in response to the challenges posed by the modern world, including that of systemic economic or racial injustice. Theologies of mission, liberation, and Christian engagement with human rights ideologies will thus occupy a prominent place (chapters 9, 10, 11, and 12). But a comprehensive history of Christian doctrine in the twentieth century is a wholly different enterprise that must await the attention of a theologian with historical interests. Rather, this book provides a historian's perspective on the multiple and complex ways in which the Christian religion and its institutional embodiment in the Christian churches have interacted with the changing social, political, and cultural environment of the twentieth century. For Christian readers the approach taken may at times be disturbing in its

insistence on the disconcerting extent to which Christians have allowed their theology and even their ethics to be fashioned by the prevalent ideologies of the day. For readers who are not Christians, the challenge may rather be to take more seriously than they previously have the continuing force of the impact of Christian belief and communal practice on culture, society, and politics in the modern world. My primary concern as author is simply stated. In 1990 the Canadian church historian Gavin White (1927-2016) published a short introductory book with the engaging title *How the Churches Got to Be the Way They Are*. The primary focus of White's book was on the churches in Britain, though he made brief forays into the ecclesiastical history of North America, Australasia, and the Soviet Union. In contrast, this current volume aims in principle to cover the globe, with particular attention given to the transformative growth of Christianity beyond Europe and North America. Its central question, however, is much the same as the one White posed in 1990. This book is an attempt to enable serious readers—whether or not they consider themselves to be Christians—to understand how the churches of the world got to be the way they were in specific geographical locations at crucial turning points in the course of the century.

The twentieth century has suffered comparative neglect at the hands of modern Western historians of Christianity, who have, on the whole, remained more interested in the intellectual and social challenges posed to the European churches in the nineteenth century. Yet it was the twentieth century that shaped the contours of the Christian faith as it is now, a culturally plural and geographically polycentric religion clustered around a number of new metropolitan loci in the non-European world, from Seoul to São Paulo. The majority of its rapidly growing number of adherents found the post-Enlightenment questions that preoccupied the churches of the North and West to be remote from their pressing everyday concerns of life and death, sickness and healing, justice and poverty. In Islamic regions of Africa and in almost all of Asia they were also intimately concerned with the implications of living as religious minorities in a context dominated by the majority religious tradition, as chapter 8 expounds with reference to Egypt and Indonesia. Their theological priorities and ethical

perspectives differed accordingly from those of Christians in the North. The twentieth century thus set the agenda for the theological and ethical issues that now constitute the fault lines dividing Christians and churches from each other—fault lines that are significantly different from those inherited from the European religious past and that still determined the denominational geography of Christianity in 1900. The twentieth century has thus made it necessary for students of ecumenism to redraw the map of Christian unity and disunity, as chapter 6 explains. This history therefore has a contemporary purpose as well as a more strictly historical one. It is concerned with enabling us to understand how the churches got to be the way they are now. For that reason, while its formal chronological endpoint is the close of the twentieth century rather than the present day, it will from time to time take brief note of events and developments that have occurred since the turn of the twenty-first century.

The central concerns of this book have dictated its shape. It is neither a comprehensive region-by-region survey nor a straightforward chronological narrative. Rather it selects fifteen themes that are of preeminent importance for understanding the global dimensions of contemporary Christianity and analyzing the various ways in which Christians have responded to some of the most important social, cultural, and political trends of the twentieth century. Each theme is introduced and then illustrated by two geographical case studies, mostly taken from different continents. The comparatively unusual juxtaposition of some of these case studies may raise the eyebrows of regional or subject specialists. Scholars of Catholic nationalism in Poland, for example, will not be accustomed to viewing their subject alongside the phenomenon of Protestant nationalism in Korea, as chapter 2 does, and the converse will be true of scholars of Korean nationalism. Such unconventional juxtapositions are designed to illuminate by comparison and contrast, as well as to identify transnational connections that have often been overlooked. The case studies have also been selected with an eye to ensuring a reasonable measure of geographical comprehensiveness across the volume as a whole: they are intended to broaden horizons and to rescue from implied marginality some regions, such as Melanesia (chapter 3), Scandinavia (chapter 5),

or the Caribbean (which receives some, albeit inadequate, attention in chapter 15), that are too often neglected by broad-brush treatments. Academic history tends to be populated by regional or national specialists, and the history of Christianity perhaps more so than some other fields of study. Although the recent growth of transnational history has stimulated a welcome broadening of scholarly horizons, and has begun to shape approaches to the modern history of popular religious movements, its impact on the writing of ecclesiastical history of a more conventional kind has so far been quite limited. Nevertheless, historians working in the still emerging interdisciplinary field of "world Christianity" have begun to point the way by uncovering the transnational linkages between regional Christian movements and the polycentric nature of the structures created or facilitated by Catholic and Protestant missions from the sixteenth century onwards. If this book succeeds in placing key episodes and narratives of national Christian history in the twentieth century in an illuminating transnational perspective, it will have achieved one of its goals.

The thematic approach adopted by the book may prove challenging to those readers who prefer to follow a single story from beginning to end, and it is hoped that such readers will be patient with the amount of chronological switching that this approach inevitably involves. It has also necessitated some hard choices of inclusion and correspondingly of omission. The case studies drill quite deeply into the hidden strata of the Christian movements that have been selected, and of necessity leave others that are of undoubted importance relatively untouched. In the same way, the case study approach gives prominence to some individual Christian men and women who might not find their way into a more conventionally structured world history. For example, Amir Sjarifoeddin, the Indonesian Lutheran layman and nationalist politician who appears in chapter 8, or Patricia Brennan, the Sydney evangelical Anglican who features in chapter 12 as the unlikely architect of the Australian branch of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, are unlikely to gain a mention in any other published survey of modern Christian history. Conversely, some high-profile ecclesiastical statesmen who might normally be

expected to occupy center stage have only bit parts in the narrative or may not even feature at all. If popes and archbishops find themselves playing second fiddle to comparatively unknown laywomen and laymen, that is no bad thing, for this is a history of Christianity in its myriad popular embodiments, not a narrow institutional history of denominations and their higher echelons of leadership. Named Christian women feature less often in the text than they should in view of the consistent predominance of women in the membership of almost all churches in the twentieth century. Those who write global histories can do a certain amount to redress the balance of a century during most of which women were seen but not allowed to be heard in the churches of almost all Christian traditions. Thus chapter 1 highlights the somewhat surprising role of the suffragette Christabel Pankhurst in promoting Adventist teaching in Britain between 1918 and 1958, while chapter 9 singles out Pilar Bellosillo, Spanish president of the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations, who almost—but not quite—succeeded in addressing the Second Vatican Council. Chapter 13 records the leadership exercised in the early Pentecostal movement by such remarkable women as "Pandits" Ramabai Dongre, Minnie Abrams, and Aimee Semple McPherson, while chapter 15 directs attention to the extraordinary Chicago pastorate of the African American Pentecostal Elder Lucy Smith. Noteworthy though such individual examples undoubtedly are, what may be even more significant in the long term is the distinctive appeal exercised by Pentecostal forms of Christianity to millions of women whose names are not generally preserved in the historical records but who found Pentecostal teaching and practice to be a source of personal fulfillment and emancipation. More often than not the role of female Christians in the narrative remains inescapably veiled in such historical anonymity, but it must be stressed that anonymity need not imply marginality.

Historians strive to deal with the available written or oral evidence with rigor and fairness, but that does not mean that neutrality on their part is possible or even desirable. Chapter 7 devotes the most attention to historiography. It shows how historians have struggled to interpret and explain the apparent widespread failure of the Church to

act Christianly in two of the greatest moral crises of the century. The chapter examines the part the churches may have played, whether wittingly or unwittingly, in supplying a sinister ideological apparatus for the implementation of genocide in Nazi Germany and Rwanda in 1994. No historian can or should write about such grave matters from a position of "neutrality?" Historians of religion write about questions of ultimate concern, and their own religious commitment or lack of it will inevitably affect what they choose to write about, and the way in which they do it. This history of world Christianity is written by a British evangelical Protestant. A history of the same subject written by a Brazilian Pentecostal or one by a Lebanese Maronite Catholic would be strikingly different in both content and perspective. Good history writing should nevertheless seek to transcend the limitations of the historian's own background and ideological inclinations, even though the historian will never be wholly successful in achieving such transcendence. If this book is judged by its reviewers to be weaker in its treatment of Catholicism than of Protestantism, and weaker still in its coverage of the Orthodox churches (confined to chapters 8 and 14) and its substantial neglect of the Oriental Orthodox churches, that is precisely what one would expect, and indeed is what the author himself feels. Books of this wide range stretch authors well beyond their specialist expertise, and the stretch marks are sometimes disconcertingly obvious. The author's primary expertise lies in the modern history of Protestant missions and their varying reception by indigenous peoples, resulting in the growth of what has become known as "world Christianity?" That academic background has nevertheless supplied a very useful foundation for understanding a century in which Christianity took root in the indigenous cultures of Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia to a greater extent than in any other century.

Scholars of world Christianity, in their commendable enthusiasm to redress the Eurocentric bias of so much historical and theological writing, sometimes give the impression that the declining Christianity of Europe and North America is no longer worthy of attention, for that represents the past, whereas the booming Christianity of the Global South represents the future. That is both an overreaction to previous scholarly imbalance and a potential fallacy of overconfident prediction.

World Christianity means world Christianity, and not simply the Christianity of the southern hemisphere. For that reason, this book pays more attention to the churches in Europe and North America than some colleagues who work on southern Christianity may deem to be either necessary or appropriate.

The churches of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and Latin America continue to be deeply impacted by Christian teaching that originated in the North and West—above all, but not wholly, in the United States—and the nature of that impact can be traced in some of the chapters that follow, notably in chapter 13 on Pentecostal Christianities. Furthermore, the North also has its indigenous peoples who have had their own encounters, for good or ill, with mission Christianity: chapter n accordingly includes a case study of the often problematic experience by the First Nations peoples of Canada of white "civilizing" Christianity communicated through the medium of Catholic and Protestant residential schools. Two chapters—4 and 5—are devoted to surveys of the classically "European" theme of secularization. Chapter 4 considers the aggressively secular anticlerical campaign conducted by the State in France and the still more explicit attack on religion itself by the Soviet State in Russia and the Ukraine. Chapter 5 engages more directly with sociological debates over secularization, specifically by examining the markedly contrasting patterns of believing and belonging exhibited in the twentieth century by the Scandinavian countries (especially Sweden) on the one hand and by the United States on the other. These two chapters do not accept the supposed inevitability of secularization as the metanarrative that integrates the entire sweep of modern global history, yet neither do they accept the converse implication beloved of some students of world Christianity that the southern hemisphere is somehow immune to the supposedly northern disease of secularization and destined for unending church growth until the eschaton. Any idea of a simple polarity between the diametrically opposite religious trajectories of North and South is becoming less and less tenable, not least because of the extent of southern and East Asian migration to Europe and North America, a theme discussed in chapter 15.

The Bible is the fountainhead of all Christian traditions, and a colorful array of characters and images drawn from both the Old and the New Testaments adorn the walls of the long corridors of Christian history, providing inspiration and models for Christian living. Yet the twentieth century may have a better claim than any other to be labeled as the century of the Bible. In the course of the century more peoples received the Scriptures in their own language than in any preceding century. As they did so, biblical narratives and the stories of their own history—in the case of African peoples, frequently painful ones of enslavement and colonization—began to interact with one another in ways that had profound implications both for their understanding of the Christian faith and for their own developing sense of nationhood. As chapter 3 notes, the acceleration of conversion to Christianity in tropical Africa in the years after the First World War is often explained by reference to the full impact of the colonial state and the opportunities for self-advancement that mission education offered in that context. Such explanations are not without their merit, although they struggle to account for the further acceleration of church growth that took place after the end of European colonial rule. In addition, they too easily miss the fact that the same period was the one in which for the first time most peoples in sub-Saharan Africa received either large portions or the whole of Christian Scripture in their own language, and consequently began to frame their own responses to the Christian message in ways that often circumvented or even contradicted missionary interpretation.

Unmediated popular engagement with the biblical message may appear to be a distinctively Protestant theme, but it is worth remembering that the British and Foreign Bible Society was happy to cooperate with Orthodox and Catholic as well as Protestant churches, and that even some Catholic bishops supported modern Bible translations. Modern vernacular translations of the Bible contributed to the formation of ethnolinguistic identity and hence national consciousness, not simply in areas of Protestant predominance such as Korea or parts of tropical Africa, but also in Orthodox Serbia or Catholic Croatia, where the first vernacular bibles had been published in 1868 and 1895 respectively. Furthermore, the Second

Vatican Council lifted many of the traditional restraints on lay Catholic engagement with the biblical text, opening the door to new styles of popular Catholicism such as those fashioned by the Base Ecclesial Communities in Latin America. To a greater extent than any other single ecclesiastical event in the course of the century, the Council provoked an upheaval in the tectonics of Christian confessionalism that had remained more or less stable since the sixteenth century, narrowing the old fault lines between Catholic and Protestant, while pushing up new ones between contrasting styles of Roman Catholic. In so doing, the Council, for all of its hesitations and deep fissures of internal division, began to reconfigure the global topography of the Christian religion. As chapter 9 will show, it began the transformation of the Catholic Church from its inherited role as the theological cement binding together the established political order in Europe to a genuinely missionary force, rivaling evangelical Protestantism in its subversive potential to make the Christian gospel a source of liberation for the poor and marginalized in the non-European world.

The twentieth century did not quite turn out to be the century of Christian missionary triumph that the founders of the Christian Century fondly imagined. Statistical estimates suggest that in percentage terms Christians accounted for a slightly lower percentage of the world population in 2000 than they had at the beginning of the century: the World Christian Database compiled by the Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Seminary computes that the percentage of the world population that was Christian fell from 34.46 percent in 1900 to 32.65 percent in 2005. There was, of course, an unprecedented and sustained growth of conversion to Christianity in Africa and other parts of the non-Western world, as chapter 3 in particular narrates, but over the course of the century it failed to keep pace with the explosion of the world population. But neither did the twentieth century prove to be one in which the clinically rational armies of science and the secular state decisively routed the forces of supposedly obsolete religious "superstition," as was so confidently anticipated by progressive modernizers in Europe, the United States, and China during the first three decades of the century. On the contrary, the hundred years that followed the First World War have been marked by the

obstinate survival, and indeed widespread resurgence, of religion as a resource motivating obdurate human resistance to absolute state power and action in pursuit of a range of visions of social transformation. The central role of Christianity in issuing a bold challenge to the serene faith of secular self-belief is perhaps the most important integrating narrative of this book. Where new nation-states came into being—as in sub-Saharan Africa—their geographical contours may have been the frequently illogical outcome of colonial politics, but their emerging sense of collective identity more often than not owed a great deal to the narratives and motifs of Christian Scripture. Where other states of anti-Christian inclination huffed and puffed in their frantic determination to blow the Christian house down, they ultimately failed, even in cases such as China between 1949 and 1976, where in the short term a repressive state apparatus proved able to drive the institutional Church out of sight.

The inception of the modern Protestant missionary movement in the eighteenth century and its rapid expansion during the nineteenth century, at a time when Catholic expansion was stymied by the prolonged institutional paralysis induced by the traumas of the Napoleonic era, roughly coincided with the emergence of a new and more aggressive phase of Western colonialism. Much historiography takes it for granted that the relationship between the two was more than coincidental and was a relatively simple one of cause and effect. More recent work on the nineteenth century suggests that in fact the relationship between the missionary movement and European colonialism was considerably more complex and indeed often conflicted in nature. What the twentieth-century history of Christianity indicates is a growing independence of the churches in the non-Western world from their European or North American missionary origins and hence a progressive distancing of Christianity from its apparent original status as the religion of the white colonizers. By the close of the century Europe had reverted to what it had been in the first century of the Christian era—a continent that sat uneasily at the margins of Christian demography and identity, even though Europeans or those of European ancestry still retained their centuries-old hold on the production of the majority of written Christian theology. The

twentieth century may not have been the Christian century that missionary strategists hoped for in 1900, but it was indeed the century in which Christianity became more truly a world religion than ever before.

Were the hopes of those who in 1900 confidently retitled *The Christian Oracle* as *The Christian Century* realized over the next hundred years? This book has suggested that the answer to that question is not a straightforward one. The twentieth century was indeed a period of extraordinary and sustained Christian growth in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia. Yet it also witnessed a serious recession from Christian faith in most of Europe, Australasia, and parts of North America, the continuance and even intensification of serious obstacles to the progress of Christianity in the Islamic world and in most of India, and an accelerating and tragic exodus of Christians from those parts of West Asia and the Middle East that had once constituted the heartlands of Christianity. In Latin America and, to a lesser extent in Oceania, the story was different again: a story of the transformation of territories that were already formally Christian as monopolies of particular churches into areas of contestation between older and newer (specifically Pentecostal) strands of Christian expression.

Most recent accounts describe the century as one in which the locus of Christianity shifted decisively southward and eastward, a judgment that rests mainly—though by no means entirely—on the remarkable Christian success story of Africa and the no less spectacular progress of Christianity in China since the Cultural Revolution. As chapter 15 has emphasized, that valid characterization needs to be qualified by the recognition that the century also witnessed both voluntary and enforced flows of Christians northwards and westwards, infusing European and North American church life with elements drawn both from the ancient Orthodox churches of the Middle East and from the new churches—many but by no means all of them Pentecostal—of Latin America and the Caribbean, East Asia, and Africa.

As a century that was grotesquely scarred by two catastrophic global wars involving conflict between

nations, most of which were professedly Christian, the twentieth century failed to live up to its billing as a century in which Christian ethics were supposed to triumph. In religious history, as in other areas of twentieth-century history, it is tempting to treat the First World War as the cataclysm that uprooted everything and deposited new strata of religious unbelief or belief that would shape the contours of the decades that followed. Chapter I has suggested that such an interpretation would be a distortion. The war did not create a wholly new religious landscape. Rather it accentuated existing embryonic trends and widened emerging divisions. In the Church of England it amplified the voice of those women who were no longer prepared to accept exclusion from church leadership and government. It turned some erstwhile enthusiasts for collaborative social Christianity—such as Karl Barth—into uncompromising advocates of the uniqueness of the Christian revelation; yet numerous other liberals and modernists simply became more convinced than ever of the need for Christianity to become a creed of social reform and international cooperation. In contrast to their redoubled enthusiasm for a modernized Christianity, the war heightened the diverse forms of an already resurgent supernaturalism, whether Anglo-Catholic, evangelical, Pentecostal, or spiritualist. The supposed identification of the military aggressor with the nation that had given birth to higher biblical criticism supplied a fillip to the more strident forms of American conservative religion that would become known as fundamentalism. The war thus widened the incipient parting of the ways between conservative and liberal forms of Protestantism with consequences for the global architecture of Protestantism that have lasted to the present day.

In the wake of the First World War, the churches and key leaders of the emerging ecumenical movement lent their support to Woodrow Wilson's idea of a covenanted league of self-governing nation-states as the basis of a postwar and postimperial world order. They expected that under missionary tutelage the burgeoning force of nationalism in Asia and the Middle East could be harnessed for the benefit of the so-called "younger" churches, bringing forward the prospect of a Christian Asia. However, the rapid disillusionment with the failure of Wilson's idea to

deliver what it appeared to promise set the nationalist movements in Asia and Egypt on a collision course with Western mission agencies and the emerging national churches. Christianity could still draw tangible advantage from nationalism in those rare instances where it was able to present itself as an anticolonial force, as in Korea, or, in Europe, as a means of focusing ancient loyalties and sacralizing mythical identities, as in Poland. Nationalism usually requires a mythological narrative of ethnic history to support its political aspirations. In the Polish case, Mariology fulfilled that function: Mary became the supernatural protector and almost the female embodiment of a constructed Polish national identity. Korean nationalism depended not on Catholic traditions but Protestant ones, which are instinctively antimythological, but even in this case some Korean theologians made use of the ancient national myth of Tan'gun to buttress their opposition to Japanese colonial rule.

Whether or not it can be accurately deemed to be "the Christian century," the twentieth century can properly be denominated as the great century of conversion to Christianity. It was necessarily, therefore, a period that also witnessed a radical pluralization of popular understandings of Christianity as the word of the gospel took flesh in innumerable cultural forms in non-Western societies. The resulting multiple incarnations of the faith rarely conformed to the post-Enlightenment framework of modern Western Christianity. This pluralization was perhaps most evident among Protestants; for them, it was most obviously theologically problematic in view of their historic confidence in the perspicacity of the scriptures. The nature of the problem first became apparent in movements such as Simon Kimbangu's prophet movement in the Lower Congo, which took the biblicism of an evangelical Baptist missionary tradition and put it to uses that seemed distinctly unorthodox to the British Baptist missionaries. The Bible, newly available in vernacular translation to a host of non-European peoples, was the most powerful agent in the conversion process, but the rediscovery of the biblical figure of the prophet was an outcome that the Bible and missionary societies had not anticipated. Prophet figures arose to lead indigenous revival and renewal movements, sometimes within only a few decades of the arrival

of missionary Christianity. Outbreaks of "revival" such as the Balokole movement in East Africa challenged existing churchgoers with the question of whether they were truly "saved," and in so doing disrupted existing ecclesial categories of belonging and leadership as well as accepted norms of social order and decency. As Joel Robbins has argued, what missionaries termed "revivals" can be understood as indigenous missionary movements, agents of a deeper and more culturally authentic conversion, but they could equally lead to theological destinations that placed the unity of the faith under increasing strain.

The indispensable but ambiguous process of the vernacularization of Christianity was most obviously apparent in Protestant circles, but it also profoundly affected Catholic and even Orthodox traditions. Although much slower than the Protestant churches to lend its full weight to the campaign for Bible translation, the Roman Catholic Church nevertheless reaped the harvest of the nineteenth-century revival of Marian spirituality and overseas missionary organization. The twentieth century thus became the second golden age of Catholic missionary expansion, rivaling the sixteenth in its significance for the global and cultural reach of Catholicism. The cultural and theological implications of that expansion first began to become apparent at the Second Vatican Council. *Gaudium et Spes* revealed how the papacy, despite the instinctive conservatism of the Vatican as an institution, was beginning to respond to Catholic voices from the Global South by reversing its traditional opposition to human rights ideology. Chapter 14 has shown how even the Orthodox Church experienced intensified pressures toward cultural diversification as a result of its missionary expansion and the adhesion of new African communities of faith, some of which were of very mixed ecclesiastical ancestry.

The twentieth century has also supplied revealing laboratory case studies of how the churches as institutions and popular Christian belief may fare in the face of sustained campaigns by hostile states to reduce the social significance and power either of Christianity itself (the Soviet case) or of the clergy (the French case). The history of the Soviet Union suggests that even modern totalitarian governments are far more limited in their capacity to eliminate

or reshape popular belief than they imagine. The communist state mounted a sustained attempt to subvert and infiltrate the leadership of both the Orthodox Church and Protestant Dissent; while formally successful in recruiting religious leaders from both constituencies to serve its purposes, ultimately such endeavors ended in signal failure to weaken the ecclesiastical institutions themselves. This book adds to the evidence that popular indifference is a more potent enemy of faith than state-sponsored militant atheism.

An older generation of social science was inclined to label the twentieth century as "the secular century," yet, even in the northern hemisphere, no single global narrative of secularization is evident across the century as a whole. Radically divergent patterns of believing and belonging were discernible, even within Europe itself. Differentials in religiosity between the genders were almost universal. Distinct and long-established regional religious cultures within nation-states continued to produce divergent regional patterns of both Christian practice and religious indifference. The spectrum from a residual or virtual monopolistic Christendom on the one extreme to a wholly free religious market on the other can be observed not simply by contrasting Scandinavia with the United States, but also beyond the West: the northeast Indian states or the Polynesian islands present examples of young but already eroding monopolistic Christendoms, while most of sub-Saharan Africa conforms more closely to a free-market model of religious competition. However, globalization, modern media, and modern ideologies of religious toleration have tended increasingly to shift all regions toward the free market model. Evangelical forms of Christianity—already shown by North American experience to be peculiarly well adapted to free market conditions—have accordingly proliferated.

In many parts of Western Christendom the "decade of the secular"—the 1960s—proved to be the great watershed between the age of faith and the age of religious indifference, but it was not universally so. In Scandinavia, the patterns of religion and irreligion are much older. In the United States, the depressive impact of the 1960s on levels of mainline church attendance was more than offset by the growth of evangelicalism among

whites outside of the eastern seaboard, and by the continued vibrancy of African American churches. The growth of conservative evangelicalism in the postwar United States can be understood as a form of religious pillarization, with the result that American society by the end of the century could paradoxically appear to be at one and the same time visibly religious and highly secular.

The twentieth century was indeed the "ecumenical century" at the level of formal institutions. It witnessed not only the formation of the World Council of Churches and its associated bodies, and the creation of some major church unions outside Europe, but also within Europe and North America a general and apparently irreversible decline in Christians' traditional loyalty to their various denominations. But it was also the century of bewildering ecclesiastical diversification and fragmentation, both within northern Christendom and beyond it. Again, the general trend toward the erosion of religious monopolies is noted. China is the most telling example of how traditional Western denominational identities, with the important exception of the Protestant-Catholic divide, have been successfully expunged, thus realizing an aspiration powerfully expressed by Cheng Jingyi in his famous address to the World Missionary Conference in 1910. Yet new lines of division have taken their place, determined partly by political judgments and partly by the legacy of the fundamentalist-modernist debates of the interwar period.

Ecumenism sought to bring Christians together, but it was often played out against the backcloth of a world in which ethnic and racial divisions between different sections of humanity were becoming sharper and more absolute. Chapter 7 has explored how the churches responded (or failed to respond) to the challenge posed to Christian ethics by the ascendancy for much of the century of the spurious concept of race, which was often allied with nationalism. Much Christian theology and biblical scholarship in the earlier part of the century reconceived Jesus in an Aryanized and Hellenized image, while some strands of German missiology cloaked what was little more than sanctified racism under the guise of authentic inculturation. Hostility to both communism and individualism led the Catholic Church to form accommodations with

fascist regimes and induced moral paralysis in the Vatican in response to the Holocaust; much of the Evangelical Church in Germany displayed a parallel failure of theological integrity. Later, similar sentiments aligned much of the Catholic hierarchy in Rwanda with forms of ethnic politics that absolutized and racialized what was essentially a difference of class or status rather than ethnicity. Compromise in varying measure with genocide was again the eventual outcome. In both cases Christian thinkers had failed to provide robust opposition to fundamentally anti-Christian ideologies, and had reaped the harvest of their timidity.

By the close of the twentieth century, perhaps the most pressing issue on the agenda of Christian theology was how to encourage Christians to pursue and develop a more irenic approach toward those of other faiths—and Islam above all—in the interests of intercommunal harmony and world peace. But the overriding moral imperative of this didactic purpose has tended to obscure the uncomfortable fact that the general trend of Christian-Muslim relations over the course of the century has been in the other direction. Christians and Muslims who collaborated quite widely in the cause of anticolonial nationalism during the first half of the century found themselves from the 1960s onwards engaged in intensifying competition for control of independent nation-states, as Christian advocacy of the idea of a secular and religiously plural state came into conflict with the absolutist demands of shar'ia law. In contexts such as Egypt or Indonesia the idealistic prescriptions of liberal-minded Western theologians could thus appear at odds with the increasingly problematic lived experience of Christian communities.

Perhaps the most far-reaching theological reorientation evident in the course of the century has been in the realm of Christian mission. At the start of the century both Catholic and Protestant missionary thought was almost unanimous in identifying the pursuit of conversion to Christianity as the central missionary goal of the church, though ironically both Catholics and Protestants had left the actual discharge of missionary responsibility largely to ancillary non-ecclesial agencies—to Catholic missionary orders or Protestant voluntary

missionary societies. By the end of the century, both Catholics and Protestants were no longer so united in their conviction that seeking the conversion of adherents of other religions to Christ constituted the essence of the missionary task. At the same time, both now placed greater theological emphasis on the essentially missional nature of the church itself than they had done previously. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, this redefinition initiated at Vatican II signaled a fundamental though still incomplete shift in the understanding of the church, from a conception of the church as a hierarchical institution toward a more dynamic view of the church as a community of disciples called to corporate engagement in the missionary task. Such rethinking of the meaning of mission immersed both Catholics and Protestants in lively argument between conservatives and progressives or radicals about the relative priority of seeking conversion and seeking justice in Christian mission. Both Christian traditions experienced contentious polarization over this issue from the 1960s to the 1980s, but an observable degree of rapprochement thereafter.

The later decades of the century thus witnessed impassioned contestation over the Christian understanding of salvation itself. In part this was because of the prominence that the idea of human rights assumed in the postwar world, and the increasing success of theorists on the political left in wresting ideological control of the notion of human rights from the grip of the conservative opponents of communist totalitarianism. The global reach of modern media also made the widespread infringement by modern nation-states of human rights more highly visible than ever before. Decolonization imparted a sense of shared identity and purpose to the nations of the "Third World" and focused the attention of their most creative thinkers on the structural economic issues of dependency and liberation. As a result, the restoration of fundamental human freedoms and dignities to politically oppressed indigenous peoples or impoverished populations attained a more prominent position within the Christian *ordo salutis* than in any previous century. Theologies of liberation assembled their intellectual armory from various sources, Protestant as well as Catholic, Marxist as well as Christian. 'Where they addressed issues of racial injustice, as in South

Africa, or national subjugation, as in Palestine, the civil rights and Black Theology movements in the United States seemed more relevant sources of inspiration than the Latin American fathers of the theology of liberation, whose horizons were set by the primarily economic agendas of dependency theorists. But theologies of liberation, notwithstanding their diversity of source and agenda, all redrew the contours of Christian doctrine to a greater or lesser extent. Salvation became more about the restoration of a lost humanity in this life and less about receiving the divine gift of the life that is to come. Latin American liberation theology in particular invested the poor with the sacred calling of being the primary architects of theological construction. In theory theologians were left with a secondary role as those who took the blueprints of basic theological reflection on praxis and suffering drawn by the communities of the poor and used them to erect new edifices of practical Christian doctrine. In practice, academic theologians retained a more determinative role in shaping the architecture of the new political theologies than they were prepared to admit.

All theologies of liberation called into question the optimistic remedies of Christian civilization and humanitarian improvement that had impelled much of previous Christian missionary engagement with indigenous peoples from the nineteenth century onwards. In South Africa the moral enormity of the apartheid system eventually convinced even the evangelical sectors of black Christian leadership from the mid-1970s that reform and reconciliation were not enough. Their conclusion that a more radical form of prophetic engagement with the oppressive power of the state was imperative proved a turning point in the campaign against apartheid. In Canada in much the same period, both the Catholic and the Protestant churches found themselves rewriting the narrative of their own educational missions among First Nations peoples. The demands of justice to indigenous peoples now appeared so preeminent that previous generations of Christian altruistic effort among First Nations children were now regarded, not simply as misguided acts of charity, but even as acts of intrinsic exploitation that required nothing less than a public apology.

Human rights ideology proved its emancipatory value not simply to Christian defense of the oppressed in colonial or postcolonial situations, but perhaps even more to the women who in virtually every Christian denomination formed the majority of worshippers while being almost entirely excluded from the leadership of congregational worship and church life. The campaign for the ordination of women, which first appeared on the agenda of the churches in Britain and some other Western countries during the First World War, received its second and decisive fillip as a consequence of the growing impact of the feminist movement on the European and American churches from the 1960s onwards. Not all Christians, however, welcomed the extension of rights language to questions of ministerial order, for in their minds such questions were of the immutable essence of the faith. The Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Anglo-Catholics, and some evangelicals of various denominations denied that women had a right to exercise priestly or ministerial roles. Such functions, they firmly believed, were prohibited to them by the divine order of creation, as mediated either through apostolic tradition or through biblical teaching, or both. For the majority of Anglican evangelicals in Sydney diocese—and for significant numbers in many other dioceses throughout the Anglican communion—the issue became a symbolic one. Opposing the campaign for the ordination of women became a marker of fidelity to scriptural authority and of willingness to resist the insidious march of secularization.

In the course of the last four decades of the century it became steadily more apparent that the clash between invocation of human rights and the appeal to unchanging Christian conceptions of divinely revealed truth touched not simply on the ecclesiological issues of church leadership, but, still more fundamentally, on theological anthropology—the Christian understanding of the identity of human beings. At first the question of how the churches should respond to the gathering campaign for the rights of gay and lesbian people was overshadowed in Christian circles by the various denominational debates over the ordination of women. From the 1980s onwards, the issue of whether practicing gay and lesbian people should be ordained to the Christian ministry came increasingly to the fore, sharply dividing a growing

number of Protestant denominations and global communions. The Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches remained virtually solid in their official opposition to any change in the traditional Christian moral position, though dissenters could be found, especially among Roman Catholics. While "liberal" stances on the issue were more common in the North than in the South, and "conservative" stances commanded a more decisive majority in the South than in the North, the argument did not fall neatly along geographical lines. By the end of the century, the stage was set for a series of ecclesiastical conflicts to be waged across the Protestant world that would prove to be even more extensive than—and just as vituperative as—the fundamentalist-modernist battles of the interwar years. As the supposed "Christian century" drew to a close, the Protestant global community looked even less of a united family than it had done in 1900.

Undoubtedly the most striking single contrast between the face of the world church in 1900 and that of the world church in 2000 is the salience and near ubiquity of Pentecostal styles of Christianity by the end of the century—forms of Christian expression that in 1900 were still uncommon and deemed to be at best eccentric and at worst heretical. The explosion during the twentieth century of what has come to be known as Pentecostalism presents those who seek a balanced appraisal of contemporary world Christianity with a dilemma. Should the widespread recovery of the pneumatological dimensions of Christian faith and experience after so many centuries of neglect be warmly welcomed? The majority of Christians would agree that undoubtedly it should. Should it be recognized that Pentecostal Christianity has proved eminently capable of reaching the parts of humanity that Christianity in its highly conceptual Western post-Enlightenment form has struggled to reach? Again, the consensus is that undoubtedly it should. Yet what is termed "Pentecostalism" embraces such a broad spectrum of particular embodiments of Spirit-focused Christianity that a single verdict seems impossible. In some of its manifestations that have become increasingly prominent since the 1980s, the fabric of Christian doctrine and spirituality has been so fundamentally redesigned in the interests of the pursuit of individual material prosperity that the question

becomes whether Christianity has converted indigenous religionists or whether indigenous religious and cultural perspectives—whether these be African, Asian, Latin American, or even white North American—have succeeded in converting Christianity. The Christian history of the twenty-first century may provide us with the answer. If the gravest challenge faced by Christianity in the twentieth century was the repeated subversion of Christian ethics by a series of tragic compromises between Christianity and ideologies of racial supremacy, the most serious challenge confronting the religion in the twenty-first century looks likely to be the preparedness of some sections of the church in both northern and southern hemispheres to accommodate the faith to ideologies of individual enrichment. <>

[History of Global Christianity, Volumes 1-3 Set](#)

edited by Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm, translations by David Orton [Brill, 9789004303072]

[History of Global Christianity in a Set of Three Volumes](#)

deals with the history of Christianity and its global development over the past five centuries. Going above and beyond the subject of church history, it deals with the cultural role of Christianity in its widest sense: from the many interactions of Christianity within society, politics, economics, philosophy and the arts, to the myriad of ventures that form civilizations, nations, and communities. How did Christianity involve itself in these overarching structures of human life?

This project consists of three volumes. The first volume deals with the European state of affairs from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. The second volume focuses on the nineteenth century, and the third volume discusses the history and role of Christianity in the twentieth century.

These three volumes are designed to deal with the history of Christianity in a comprehensive way and thus the enterprise is not to be seen in terms of traditional "church history." Churches, obviously, are integral to any such history but the impingement of Christianity upon human life is not to be limited institutionally or dogmatically. Culture in its widest meaning is involved. What is at stake are the many interactions of Christianity with society, politics,

philosophy, art and the myriad ventures that form civilizations, nations, and human communities. How has Christianity been involved in the overarching structures of human life? This concern for "culture" in its many varied aspects quite obviously requires that an interdisciplinary working method be adopted for these volumes.

Additionally, these three works are concerned about the global development of Christianity over, roughly, the past four or five centuries. From being located primarily in Europe and Russia with small outposts in other centers of the world, Christianity — largely through missionary efforts but also alongside economic forces and movements of conquest and migration — has been moving toward the stage where its demographic centers are no longer, in the early years of the 21st Century, in the Northern Hemisphere but, most assuredly, in the South. It is within the past five hundred years, the time span of these volumes, that Christianity, as it has accompanied new discoveries uncovered in both geographical exploration and scientific and economic development, has self-consciously become global. For about four hundred years the dynamic was largely from Europe toward the Southern Hemisphere — the Americas, Asia, Africa. Since roughly the time of World War I, however, the center of gravity has been shifting from the North and West to the South and East. Clear signs of stagnation or decline can be discerned among those churches, primarily in Europe, that started the movement of the expansion of Christianity. Churches in the Global South are now experiencing impressive growth and vitality.

This fact of globalization is naturally accompanied by an essentially ecumenical outlook. That much used word at root signifies "the whole inhabited earth." Christianity since its inception has claimed to be "ecumenical" not simply in respect to geography but, more compellingly, as a faith that finds expression in all human contexts. The authors of these three volumes represent a variety of Christian commitments and confessions. Moreover, the scholarship revealed in a variety of ways in these books attests to the presence of a variegated Christianity in all climes and circumstances of humankind. Thus it is that such scholarship is marked by interactions in respect to time and historical development, particular issues within particular

contexts, and the uniqueness of specific places and regions.

In this present project, certain historic turning points have been identified in relation to the charting of Christianity over these past five hundred years. In the first volume, events centering around the Reformation were many: Protestantism and its growth in Europe and beyond, Counter-Reformation, movements of renewal in Roman Catholic Spain and Portugal, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the subsequent claim of the Patriarch in Moscow to represent "the third Byzantium" — all were epochal turning points.

The second of these three volumes marked 1789 and the French Revolution as the ruin of the ruling system, the *ancien régime*. Russia did not adopt the ideals of the Western Enlightenment and the non-Western hemispheres were scarcely influenced by the goals of the French revolution. Churches in the East and South, largely the products of the 19th Century "missionary movement," began to chart their own path away from dependency.

As documented in this, the third volume of the project, World War I came to mark a total breakdown of European civilization, compromising the Christian movement along with other public institutions in the warring countries. European civilization — the "old world" — lost credibility and authority, a process exacerbated by the horrors of World War II. That same process was made even more intense during the epochal 1960s when much of the world was engaged in "Cold War" and when new orientations were being found in the nations of the South and, indeed, in the churches themselves. Even as much of the world was marked by power struggles, upheavals, and other conflicts leading to new political landscapes — for example, in China, South Africa, and Ethiopia — Christianity was coming to terms with the changes typified by the Second Vatican Council and by the new political, racial, and economic realities.

The German edition of the work is available at [Kohlhammer Verlag](http://KohlhammerVerlag.de).

[History of Global Christianity, Volume I: European and Global Christianity, ca. 1500-1789](#) edited by Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm, translations by David Orton [Brill, 9789004341920]

Christianity was a global religion prior to the history recounted in [European and Global Christianity, ca. 1500 - 1789](#). There were Christians in Asia and Africa before Europeans arrived in those places as well as in Latin America and North America, by movements of economic and political conquest and migration, and also Christian mission. This volume attests to the intensification of this globalization - in these 'new' continents as well as in Russia and the Ottoman territories. Simultaneously, in Europe Christianity was marked by Reformations, by confessional divisions, and by the Enlightenment. This global religion affected all structures of human life - society, politics, economics, philosophy, art, and the myriad ventures that form civilizations.

Contributors are: Carsten Bach-Nielsen, Alfons Brüning, Mariano Delgado, Andreas Holzem, Thomas Kaufman, Hartmut Lehmann, Bruce Masters, Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Jan Stievermann and Kevin Ward.

[History of Global Christianity, Volume II: History of Christianity in the 19th Century](#) edited by Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm, translations by David Orton [Brill, 9789004352803]

At the beginning of the 19th century, "Christendom" was still largely restricted to Europe and the Americas. But by the end of the century this picture had been radically transformed. Spreading the Christian message through mission and colonialism had changed the map of global Christianity. Moreover, challenged by new political ideologies such as Liberalism and Socialism, as well as encounters with other religions, the face of Christianity had changed towards the beginning of the 20th century.

This volume relates the dynamics of Christianity during the 19th century in ten chapters, addressing parts of the world where Christianity played a role of significance, such as Russia, Africa and the Middle East, as well as the confrontations with different ideologies.

Contributors are: Margaret Bendroth, Martin Dreher, Christian Gottlieb, Andreas Holzem, Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, Hugh McLeod, Mitri Raheb, Ulrike Schröder, Kevin Ward.

[History of Global Christianity, Volume III: History of Christianity in the 20th Century](#) edited by Jens Holger Schjørring and Norman A. Hjelm, translations by David Orton [Brill, 9789004352810]

The third volume of [History of Global Christianity](#) addresses the 20th century. An international cast of (Church) historians and Religious Studies scholars relate the developments in this century, from the World Wars into postmodern times.

The reference work aims to trace the history of the global shift experienced by Christianity between the sixteenth century and the present day. Starting as a localized religion in Europe and Russia with small outposts in other parts of the world, that shift proceeded via missionary efforts that were accompanied by economic forces, movements of conquest, and trends of migration in its evolution toward the current stage: its demographic centers no longer only in the Northern Hemisphere, but most assuredly in the South as well.

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Excerpt: The origin of these three volumes on the global history of Christianity since the Reformations of the 16th Century was the necessity of augmenting the highly regarded series published by the Kohlhammer Verlag in Stuttgart, Germany, "Religionen der Menschheit," the Religions of Humankind.

Jens Holger Schjørring of the University of Aarhus in Denmark, was asked by [Kohlhammer](#) to assume leadership of the project. He, in turn, approached the American theological editor Norman Hjelm to work with him. These two scholars have had a long

and fruitful relationship and that relationship has persisted. From the outset it was seen that these three volumes would be global in content and international and inter-confessional in authorship. More than thirty scholars of African, American, Asian, European, Latin American, Middle Eastern, and New Zealand backgrounds were enlisted for the project. These authors have worked closely together in order to integrate the substance of their contributions, each preparing an initial prospectus which was then reviewed and revised in discussion and interactive consultation. The authors have themselves determined final content and style and are, of course, responsible for their own work. One of these authors, Professor Hartmut Lehmann of the University of Göttingen and former Director of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D. C., has provided invaluable editorial assistance to this project since its conception in addition to his contributions to the present volume.

Two large-scale meetings of the authors were held: at the conference center of the University of Aarhus in Sandbjerg, Denmark in September 2011 and at the University of Göttingen in Germany in May 2015. Smaller consultations of groups of authors were held in Göttingen in the University of Aarhus, the Kohlhammer Verlag, the University of Göttingen, and the George Bell Foundation, Chichester. Host for the final and largest of these meetings, in 2015, was the University of Göttingen under the leadership of Professor Thomas Kaufmann; funding for that event was provided by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Faculty of Theology of the University of Göttingen.

These three volumes are designed to deal with the global history of Christianity in a comprehensive way, thus the enterprise is not to be seen in terms of traditional "church history." Churches, obviously, are integral to any such history but the impingement of Christianity upon human life is not to be limited institutionally or dogmatically. Culture in its widest meaning is involved. What is at stake are the many interactions of Christianity with society, politics, economics, philosophy, art and the myriad ventures that form civilizations, nations, and human communities. How has Christianity been involved in the overarching structures of human life?

Moreover, the present volumes are concerned with the global development of Christianity over,

roughly, the past four or five centuries. From being limited primarily to Europe and Russia with small outposts in other centers of the world, Christianity—largely through missionary efforts alongside economic forces and movements of conquest and migration — has moved toward the stage where its demographic centers are no longer, early in the 21st Century, in the Northern Hemisphere but most assuredly in the South. To trace the history of this global shift is a central aim of this project. In point of fact, as the chapters in this volume show, this movement — through the Spanish and Portuguese empires in Latin America and Asia, the Ottoman empire, Russia, Africa — began even before 1500. The first volume of the three starts with this early expansion of Christianity outside Europe.

Volume One: European and Global Christianity, ca. 1500-1789

As has been mentioned, it is clear that Christianity was a global religion prior to the history covered in this volume. In some continents there were indigenous Christian communities: Thomas Christians in South Asia, ancient Coptic communities in Egypt and Ethiopia. The Iberian empires — Spain and Portugal — supported the earliest missionary endeavors in Central and South America and also in Asia beginning in the latter part of the 15th Century. In Africa the Congo and Mozambique were locations for 16th Century Portuguese missions. The roles both of Jesuit and Dutch Protestant missions largely in China and Southeast Asia were also key elements in the early spread of Christianity beyond Europe. In India the Danish mission, supported by Halle Pietists, began its work in Tranquebar in 1706.

Simultaneous to these early stages of Christian missions, Christianity was also a living presence in Russia, having been founded from Constantinople in the 8th and 9th Centuries when Russian Orthodoxy was born. And similarly, Orthodox Christianity was already present within what became the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. At a somewhat later point in time, the colonies of North America were established by various ethnic groups, the vast majority of whom planted Christian ideas and practices.

These stories testifying to an early identification of Christianity as a global religion are the subjects of six of the following ten chapters: "Roman

Catholicism in Spain and Portugal and their Global Empires," "Russian Orthodoxy from 1453 to Peter the Great," "Christianity under Ottoman Rule," "Christianity in Africa until ca. 1800," "Christianity in Asia until ca. 1800," and "Christian Churches and Communities in North America through the 18th Century."

In Europe itself during the period dealt with in this volume — the two-and-a-half centuries between the early beginnings of the Reformations and the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789) — a variety of events, personalities, and other factors had serious implications for Christianity. The division of the Western Church into two predominant groupings was of fundamental importance: the camp of the "old, Roman church," and the camp of the various movements and groupings of what might be called the "new faith," largely adherents of the Continental Reformations.

"Confessionalization" became an important dimension of the encounter between these two strands of Christianity. The main focus for Roman Catholics was to put the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563, three sessions) into practice and also to ward off affirmative reactions among Catholics to Reformation teachings. The Protestants, in turn, emphasized the education of clergy in order to create a self-conscious identity and, by implication, also to keep the teachings of both Roman Catholics and the "Radical Reformation," chiefly the Anabaptists, from being received sympathetically.

Around the middle of the 17th Century confessionalization largely came to an end. The two groups — "old" and "new" — settled into two separate and competing communities. In the Roman Catholic camp both the French and Spanish crowns adopted specific confessional and church political strategies. The Roman Curia was especially concerned with those who advanced different theological priorities — for example, Jansenists and the Gallicans — for the creation of the religious and spiritual identity of the "old church." In the Protestant camp there were sharp differences between Orthodox and Pietist believers, each group claiming to possess the way of salvation.

In the midst of this religious situation in Europe, the Enlightenment arose in the early decades of the

18th Century. From that time on, Protestantism was divided in three ways: the Orthodox who built on the classical teachings of the Reformation; those who — especially Pietists in Germany and the Nordic countries and Methodists in England — supported a kind of revivalistic piety; and the adherents of the Enlightenment who were convinced of the power of God-given reason for both personal and social betterment. The French Revolution further divided the forces of religion.

In the present volume these European developments are explored in four chapters: European Christianity in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries, three chapters, and an additional treatment of the impact on religion, primarily European Pietism, of global climate deterioration, called by some scholars "the little ice age" as it developed from the 1570s to the early 18th Century.

It is the intent of this volume and the two subsequent books dealing with the 19th and 20th Centuries to chart out the impact — for good and for ill — of the Christian movement on the demographic, cultural, social, and political course of world history. Each author in these volumes has prepared her or his text with academic integrity, faithfulness to personal convictions regarding substance, and with a collegial desire to help shape global and comprehensive understanding.

Volume Two: Global Christianity During the Nineteenth Century

The French Revolution of 1789 stands as a turning point in modern European history, a fact which has led to the common description of the 19th century as "the long century," extending from that Revolution to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. It is evident that the central ideas of the Enlightenment made concrete in the French Revolution were distinctively European ideas, although it is also indisputable that ideals of liberation from the various "yokes" of previous centuries were shared throughout the globe. This transcontinental reality implies that periodizations of the era must be approached with reservation.

In his Introduction to the present volume Hugh McLeod emphasizes that around 1800 "Christendom" was still largely restricted to Europe and the North America in addition to a few other countries such as Ethiopia and other countries that

had been subjected, after about 1500, to European conquest, most notably Latin America and the Philippines. European Christianity was itself marked by deep division — between East and West as well as between the Catholic churches of the "Old Faith" and the Reformation churches, the "New Faith."

By the end of the 19th century this picture had been radically transformed. Intense propagation of the Christian message had reshaped and enlarged the map of global Christianity. Simultaneously, Christian identity had become a matter of dramatic controversy both in relation to the question for emancipation promoted by new political ideologies, most notably liberalism and socialism, and in relation to the advance of modern science which seemed to many to render "Christendom" obsolete. No less dramatic, in many cases, was the encounter of Christianity with other world religions, an encounter which in many cases was attendant to Protestant missions.

If the "long century" was accompanied by novelty and modernity it would seem appropriate to view it primarily in terms of the revolutions which aimed to abolish all vestiges of ancien régime. Following this argument, modernity would be seen as synonymous with secularization. In his closely reasoned account, however, Hugh McLeod has demonstrated that such a one-sided emphasis necessarily runs counter to other tendencies that point in opposite directions. The century also saw a variety of revival movements with dynamics that justify the word "rechristianization." The resultant oscillation between outside political and scientific criticisms, on the one hand, and revivalist endeavors on the other, must be interpreted in interaction with the social, economic, and demographic transformations resulting from the lengthy process of industrialization. Moreover, an important adjacent development was the struggle for empowerment and political democracy undertaken by Europe's underprivileged classes. The resulting displacements and reforms had far-reaching ramifications for Europe's identity and role among the continents of the world as can be seen from other contributions to the present volume.

This encounter between the dynamics of modernity and Christianity took different forms in 19th century Europe. Patterns of reaction differed not only

between European countries but within the confessional families of churches. The Roman Catholic Church was the preeminent opponent to the radical ideas of the French Revolution. Initial instances of life-and-death conflict were soon changed into complex patchworks of positions on either side. There were various types of conflict as demonstrated by Andreas Holzem in his account of 19th century Roman Catholicism. New dynamics were generated by revival movements centered about forms of Marian piety, and new strategies were developed to strengthen the church in its battle with new nation states, most notably ultramontanism in respect to the papacy. This rejoinder from the Catholic Church to the nation states was given powerful expression at the First Vatican Council (1869-70). Nevertheless, there was no uniformity among theologians and church leaders. Germany saw a *Kulturkampf* between the Catholic Church and the newly formulated idea of a German Reich. In France the conflict grew intensely, reaching a climax with the laws of separation between church and state (1905/06).

The global dimension of Christianity was considerably enlarged during the course of the 19th century. It is true that there have been indigenous churches outside Europe since the time of the early church, and it is equally true that the globalization of Christianity reached new heights during the era of Spanish and Portuguese colonization as described in the first volume of this trilogy. Moreover, the 18th century witnessed a number of missionary efforts carried out by European Protestant churches, largely those with a Pietist background. The 19th century, however, saw a wide range of missionary expeditions that resulted in a changed map of global Christianity. Many challenges came to the fore as a result of these expeditions, not least those challenges that emerged in relations between "sending" churches and the cultural identity of the people on the "receiving" mission fields. Further, the much debated issues concerning the connection of mission to colonialism came to prominence, as Kevin Ward emphasizes in his overview of the missionary movement.

Russia, as Christian Gottlieb points out, presents a completely different picture from that of Western and Central Europe. The dimension of time is

different, a periodization in respect to Russian Christianity spanning from Peter the Great in the early 18th century to the revolution of 1917 being appropriate. Further, the reforms of Peter the Great were vigorously challenged by those who regarded the basic identity of Orthodox Christianity as irreconcilable with all forms of western Christendom. The issues at stake touched upon fundamental questions about the relation between church and state as well as those concerning liturgy and piety.

Christianity as it took shape in North America provided yet another set of variants as described by Margaret Bendroth. Serious issues were raised by matters such as massive immigration, the ideals of religious freedom as enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence (1776), and the characteristic American phenomenon of voluntarism which accompanied the churches' important revival movements. Another central event which had deep repercussions for the churches was the American Civil War (1861-65) which with both its prehistory and its aftermath presented challenges beyond the primary question of slavery and its abolition.

Latin America, Martin Dreher points out, differed fundamentally from the other continents partly because it was predominantly a Roman Catholic continent and partly because the majority of its countries had gained independence at least a century before those on other continents of the Global South. The ideals of liberty, autonomy, and national independence were watchwords for the entire continent, albeit with variations in dynamic and at different points of time. A specific type of emancipation was developed in Latin America which combined a basic consent to the ideas of the Enlightenment with a prolongation of the conservative elements in the traditions of the patronage system. The chief characteristics of Roman Catholic domination in Latin America led to long-term conflicts between the local and national church authorities and the Vatican.

Generally speaking, Christianity occupied a weak position in Africa at the beginning of the 19th century. To be sure, there were ancient churches in Egypt and Ethiopia and Catholic missionary efforts had led to positive results especially in the French colonies. Nonetheless, as Kevin Ward shows in his chapter on Christianity in 19th century Africa, when

seen from the perspective of the entire continent, Islam seemed to have conducted a more successful mission. In the course of the century, however, a comprehensive Christian missionary effort was conducted, initially by British and Scottish churches and subsequently by the mission societies of many European church bodies. Inevitably the interaction between missionary efforts and colonial interests gave rise to extreme sensitivities. This was perhaps most spectacularly clear in connection with the 1884-85 Berlin Conference on Africa at which the colonial powers reached basic agreement concerning "the scramble for Africa." The subsequent allocation of territories had a great impact on missionary work. Notwithstanding the importance of these dynamics of colonial interests, it was also a fact that the church often adopted independent strategies, at times even in opposition to the dictates of European states and governments. Not least, the anti-slavery movement became key to the work of many missionaries. It would be misleading, however, to assert that there was a one-way movement from the European mission agencies to the mission fields themselves. At many mission fields there was a clear growth in African responses to colonialism which were accompanied by new signs of distinctively African forms of spirituality.

The term "Middle East" or "Near East" in itself reveals a Eurocentric perspective. In fact, as demonstrated by Mitri Raheb in his analysis of the 19th century history of Christianity in the Middle East, the role of Christian churches underwent considerable transformation during the course of the century. Osmanic rule dominated, to be sure, yet the efforts of European, Russian, and American missionary agencies were intensified. Their work turned out to be of special importance within the various educational systems. The original pattern of a multi-religious society within the framework of the Ottoman Empire gradually changed as Ottoman rule showed signs of increasing fragmentation. At the same time, new strategies of European colonialism were created, often by the British who combined their colonial interests with support of Zionist claims to possess the birthright to the "Holy Land."

The Roman Catholic mission on the Asian continent was largely stagnant at the beginning of the 19th

century. In contrast, the Protestant mission took on new dynamism in the course of that century. The impact of the Christian mission was, however, diverse in different parts of Asia, as Klaus Koschorke describes. For the subcontinent of India and Sri Lanka, mission was a factor — in several ways — leading to modernization. Northeast Asia, particularly China and Japan, was mostly closed to missionary activity from the outside. Endeavors toward indigenous modes of expression and early attempts toward the creation of national churches were thus important developments along with attempts at the creation of trans-national networks among the elites in specific countries.

Ulrike Schröder and Frieder Ludwig provide an overview and analysis of trans-continental dynamics involved in the encounter between Christianity and other world religions throughout the Global South, including the impact of that encounter with churches in the North. It is evident that specific attitudes and practices vary from one country to another, as detailed case studies of the controversies surrounding the caste system in India and the relations between Christians and Muslims in West Africa show. Moreover, this contribution to the present volume describes the broad spectrum of positions taken at both the meeting of the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 and the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910.

It is the intent of this volume — together with the volume that preceded it on global Christianity from approximately 1500 through the 18th century and the one that will follow it regarding global Christianity in the 20th century — to chart out the impact, for good and for ill, of the Christian movement on the demographic, cultural, social, and political course of world history. Each author in these volumes has prepared her or his text with academic integrity, faithfulness to personal convictions regarding matters of substance, and with a collegial desire to help shape global and comprehensive understanding.

Volume Three: The History of Global Christianity in the 20th Century

The First Part of the present volume deals with the major turning points of the century as they have

impinged on Christianity: World War I and its inter-war aftermath, World War II, the Cold War, the reshaped globe — East and West, North and South. The Second Part of the volume treats major themes and issues affecting Christianity and the churches: struggles for human rights and new forms of social justice; ecumenism after the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference and the epochal course of the Second Vatican Council; the disaster of the Holocaust, the recognition of anti-Semitism within churches, new understandings of Jewish — Christian relations; changing patterns in relationships between Christianity and other world religions. The Third Part of the volume is a regional survey of the course taken by Christianity in the 20th Century: North America (US and Canada); Latin America including Central America and the Caribbean; Africa; the Near East; Asia; the Pacific region; Russia / Soviet Union; Europe.

It will be noted that in one area especially, authors have taken divergent views. Not unexpectedly, this is in respect to the political and religious conflicts that have marked the Near East during the 20th Century. Clearly, the story of those conflicts has been long and disputed and at the present time its outcome is far from certain. Christianity has played what seems enduringly to be an uncertain although essential role in the region of its founding. Essays in this volume demonstrate both the serious nature of the conflict and the as yet unanswered quest for solutions.

Each author in the three volumes of this enterprise has prepared his or her text with academic integrity, faithfulness to personal convictions regarding matters of substance, and with a collegial desire to help shape global and comprehensive understanding.

Introduction, 20th Century, Volume III by Jens Holger Schjørring

The 20th Century has been described as "the short century" which takes the outbreak of the First World War, an epochal turning point, as its start and the worldwide breaking down of walls in 1989/90 as its terminus. But even though this short century spans only seventy-five years it has been marked by a multitude of dramatic turning points in political history as well as shifts in the landscape of

global Christianity. The ramifications have been far-reaching, leading to a thorough revision of the global map of a Christianity that is now dominated by increasing diversity as well as polycentric structures which means that it is no longer characterized by one single cultural foundation. However, in spite of the period's many transitions and its growing polycentrism, one single dynamic stands out dramatically and conspicuously through all seventy-five years: a constant movement away from the so-called "first world" towards the Global South. This long-term development has been a significant factor in the political, military, economic, and cultural history of the century, and it has been equally prominent in the global history of Christianity.

From a global perspective, no single historical event can be said to mark the transition into the 20th Century. A number of movements and events need to be analyzed in their interaction in order to provide an appropriate picture of the early signs of the new century.

In the first place, the First World War was obviously an epochal turning point in Europe, but it turned out also to have deep ramifications for relationships between states and the community of churches across all national and continental boundaries.

Secondly, the 20th Century was marked by a fluctuation between two significantly opposed types of relation between church and nation. On the one hand, there were instances of an alliance between nationalistic narrowness and Christian servility even at points leading to active support of militant chauvinism. In Indian and Chinese cities Christianity has been equated with European imperialism. On the other hand, there was an increasing amount of politically dictated oppression of Christians, persecution that at points even led to genocide and martyrdom. In India and China, and other countries as well, Christian churches have argued that Christianity can be indigenous.

In the third place, there were increasing movements in the colonies of the Global South towards emancipation from their masters and rulers. This was obviously true in political terms, but also more or less true within Christian Churches.

In the fourth place, a new phase of ecumenical fellowship and cooperation began with the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

Finally, the turn of the century was marked in the churches by the emergence and rapid growth of new types of revival movements.

The First World War and Preceding Regional Conflicts Around the Globe

The First World War, which involved unprecedented military power, began as European fratricide, a continental war between the most powerful nation-states in Europe. Before long, however, it became an intercontinental power struggle, resulting at the end of the war in a changed order in international politics and a loss of credibility for European civilization and its Christian churches.

"We stand in the midst of Europe's defeat," declared the Danish church historian Valdemar Ammundsen on September 10th 1914 in an address given a month after the outbreak of the First World War. "Not only will it end with a crushingly severe defeat for one or the other power group," he continued, "the situation in itself is a defeat, a crashing fall. Europe has erected a building of culture and humanity. However, it turned out that this building was a toy tower of building blocks; as one of the lower ones was loosened, the whole tower fell apart with a roar. Fallen is the cheap cultural delight of our generation and the optimism which considered the possibility of war a stupidity." Over Europe as a whole Ammundsen pronounced this merciless sentence, even though he himself lived in a nation which remained neutral throughout the War.

Similar expressions could be heard all over Europe accompanying the tidal wave of hatred and self-righteousness that was dominant during the first weeks and months of the War. Voices of shock, consternation, remorse, and, less stridently, perplexity were heard in the belligerent countries from those not entirely carried away by the fever of war.

There had been, to be sure, a conviction that European civilization was superior to that of other continents and that war was improbable. This easy optimism encountered with shock the sudden eruption of unprecedented violence in August

1914. Yet that experience, even though widespread, represented only one side of the coin. The other side, as has been amply documented in recent historical research, pointed in many ways to the fact that military commanders and political leaders in the warring countries had for a long period of time been purposefully moving toward war, sometimes in subtle even unnoticed ways, other times in loud voices. In retrospect, it is striking how rapidly public opinion in all the warring countries was mobilized to a glorification of one's own country and a demonization of the enemy.

For a balanced analysis it is appropriate to pay attention to a number of preceding regional conflicts between nations in Europe and those in the Global South that took place in the initial decade of the 20th Century.

The Boer War (1899-1902) in the southern region of South Africa was a fateful prelude to the ensuing history of racial and international relationships on the African continent in the 20th Century. The epochal character of the war, seen in a long-term, international perspective, had to do with the fact that two European colonial powers, the Netherlands and Britain, fought a war on African soil, leaving the black majority population as voiceless and powerless victims. The humiliation took an aggravated form, because the military combatants deployed their prisoners in forced labour camps which to some extent anticipated the concentration camps of later times and contexts. The long-term political result of the Boer war was the establishment in 1910 of the Union of South Africa, a state which from its origin was based upon a system of racial separation, apartheid, that resulted in a thoroughly unjust treatment of the indigenous majority.

The Herero uprising and genocide in South West Africa. In a huge area, later the nation of Namibia, on the west coast of Africa and north of South Africa, white settlers from the south and later colonialists from Germany had established a ruling system in which they asserted their superiority by suppressing the indigenous groups. At the start of the 20th Century two of these groups, the Herero and the Nama, rose, independently of each other, in rebellion. Under the command of General Lothar von Trotha, who had earlier earned military honors for his defeat of the Boxers in China, the colonialist

army defeated the insurgent Africans. The victory of von Trotha's troops was won only after inflicting the cruellest of defeats upon the Hereros and Namas: tens of thousands were driven into the desert where they died of starvation and thirst, while others were forced into concentration camps to struggle for survival under wretched conditions. Posterity has seen this suppression as the first evident example of genocide on African soil.

The Boxer Rebellion in China (1899-1901). During the last decades of the 19th Century nationalist groups in China formed militias in order effectively to resist the increasing dominance in their country of Western nations and business interests. The traditional imperial dynasties had proven impotent and everything seemed to be leading to the inescapable decline of the Empire. As a heroic counter-measure to this prospect, the nationalists trained combat units that were willing to pay the ultimate price. In light of their rigorously tough training the soldiers were called "boxers" by international observers. These boxers protested against the "alien devils and their pernicious influence," targeting among others Christian missionaries and laity and those Chinese citizens who willingly accepted the so-called international colonialists. In 1900 some of the units attacked foreign embassies, resulting in widespread violence and killing. Among others the German ambassador was murdered. In order to stop the uprising a number of the most powerful European states — including Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and also Japan and the United States — sent military contingents. The rebellion was contained and China was forced into a peace treaty which involved the payment of considerable reparations, mandatory dissolution of the rebel groups, and acceptance of a continuous international presence in China. Anti-Western feeling, however, persisted within China feeding a growing commitment to preservation of the Chinese cultural heritage as a bulwark against Western infiltration.

The Russo-Japanese War. A few years after the Boxer Rebellion, in 1904, another war broke out in the Far East. The belligerents, Japan and Russia, went to war over their conflicting interests in the control of the important territories of Manchuria and Korea. From the perspective of "the clash of

civilizations" it was significant that the Japanese triumph sharpened the growing pan-Asian development of a common cause against European civilization, thereby also bringing Russia with its national and Christian identity into the greater pool of Western Christian civilization. The British missionary C. F. Andrews, a friend of Mahatma Gandhi, described the significance of the Japanese victory and its direct effect on the nations of Asia as follows: "The effect of the Japanese successes upon the educated people of North India has been startling and immediate. A wave of enthusiasm has passed through our cities, which has given rise to new hopes and new ideals. It is the awakening of a new national spirit and the turning of all eyes in India to Japan as the true model for the East. After a passive, fatalistic acquiescence in the advance of the West as inevitable, there has now arisen an active hope that the East may work out her own salvation in her own Eastern way, and that India may one day take her place side by side with Japan as an independent nation".

Latin America. Here developments were different from those on other continents in the southern hemisphere. The majority of Latin American countries had gained independence during the 19th century, although at the beginning of the 20th Century several colonies remained. Around 1900 the United States began to expand its sphere of interest, steadily asserting its growing ambition to assume political and economic leadership throughout the Americas. As a result of the Spanish-Portuguese colonization Latin America was largely Christian and predominantly Roman Catholic. However, many attempts were made to reflect indigenous cultural characteristics in church life, in rejection of the hierarchical and monolithic leadership of Rome. In part, this tendency found expression in a high degree of distinctive religiosity which was specific to the continent and which could not be accommodated within the universal framework by which the Vatican actively sought to achieve centralized conformity. In paradoxical contrast to the usual pattern of Protestant churches achieving their formation mainly from localized national resources, Latin America witnessed a number of missionary initiatives from Protestant organizations, not least via schools and educational programs that were distinctly characterized by an affiliation to "Western" modernity and Anglo-

Saxon culture. As a result, around 1900 Latin America began to be marked by a growing religious diversity, though without the specific clashes between divergent civilizations that were found on other continents.

The common global issue for Christians in these several conflicts was the problem of resolving an alliance between, on the one hand, ethnic and national interests and, on the other, confessional identities and affiliations. In some cases there was a clash between national and world religious identities. Instances of such confrontations involving religious identities and practices were multiplied during the First World War. Sometimes, indeed, they were pushed to unprecedented extremes. Furthermore, they can also be discerned in many contexts found in the subsequent decades of the 20th Century, telling the history of churches with a public voice, at times both readable and audible, but always playing a decisive role for cultural and national cohesion.

Indisputably, the First World War became a global war. Yet, taking into account the greatest battlefields and the military power of the belligerent countries, it was largely a European conflict, though the decisive participation of the United States from 1917 onwards must be acknowledged. The novelty of the War cannot be ascribed solely to its geographic dispersion, nor to the fact that it lasted more than four years. The War was distinctive in respect to the incomprehensible number of lost human lives, a total of almost seven million in the belligerent countries with close to twenty million wounded. Further, it was the employment of new methods and tools of warfare that led to those enormous fatalities: submarines, poison gas, hunger blockade, trench warfare, to mention only a few.

Christian Churches in Modern Society

The 20th Century has been marked by immense diversity regarding the self-understanding and role of Christian churches in society. Accordingly there is to be found a broad spectrum of concepts and patterns of reaction in rubrics such as: churches and national identity; national churches and international conflicts (e.g., World Wars and the Middle East conflicts); churches and political ideologies; churches in countries under totalitarian rule; churches facing racism and anti-Semitism;

churches and secular society; public theology and individualistic piety.

None of these rubrics can be said to refer solely to one single continent or to exclude challenges connected with other issues. In other words, each continent reflects a variety of patterns of thinking and acting, and relationships between churches and states have changed considerably during the course of the decades since 1900. Yet, if one single tendency can be said to be representative of the interaction between churches in the North and the Global South it is the following: Christian churches in Europe have encountered the continuous impact of what is often characterized as "modernity," meaning in this context the privatization and individualization of religiosity. In contrast, most churches in the South have committed themselves to a "holistic" view. A couple of cases may illustrate this dichotomy.

In Europe, two dominant political ideologies from the 19th Century, liberalism and socialism, gave impulse to diverse political strategies that at the opening of the 20th Century sounded a fanfare blowing the message of modernity. Each of them led toward the separation of church and state in both France (1905-06) and Russia (1917). The former case was the result of the liberal heritage from the Enlightenment, the latter was determined by Marxist ideology with its ingrained program of throwing off the chains of religious suppression as a precondition of freedom and equality.

Since the Revolution in 1789, France had witnessed a polarization between, on the one hand, critical leftist groups that aimed at a consistent realization of the ideals of freedom and, on the other hand, conservatives who were alarmed by the dissolute emancipation from established standards of life in society at large.

After 1870 the progressives seemed to be in the political lead. One of their watchwords was "religion — a private matter" as a necessary condition for freedom of thought, speech, and conscience. Their strategy led to some obvious political results in legislation, among other things the removal of theological faculties from state universities and steps towards the secularization of schools. The final turning point, however, did not come until 1905 when a bill leading to a decisive

separation of church and state was presented to the French parliament.

The legislation was based upon a fundamental tenet: the liberation of persons from all external chains that would prevent the individual from the realization of his or her own goals. Accordingly, the traditional church structure that contained religious sanctions for all institutions in society along with metaphysically binding moral standards was deemed unacceptable. Church services were to have no public character; rather, worship was to be restricted to the individual, private sphere. As a further consequence, the church could not be accepted as a legal entity. Individual congregations were to be seen as private associations not as public institutions. Religious instruction was to have no place in schools.

The rejoinder from the Catholic Church was not long in coming. On February 11, 1906, the new Pope, Pius X (1835-1914), issued the encyclical *Vehementer nos*, directed to clergy and congregations. This was a passionate protest, because the new legislation was causing distress and harm to the Roman Catholic Church. Religion had been forcibly removed from schools and hospitals, priests had been prevented from pursuing their studies and pastoral duties and were instead being called up for military service. The objection was centered around the basic Catholic claim that the Church constituted the fundamental foundation and social cohesion of society. Were politicians to tear apart the bonds between eternal, celestial foundations and practical realities on earth, they would ruin the community at all levels. The Pope left no doubt about his major concern, the traditional pattern of family life as the core of a sound society, but he extended the application of his concern to include a general respect for religion.

The clash regarding the separation of church and state had a particularly dramatic impact within France, but it may also be seen as prelude to a more comprehensive tension in Europe which lasted throughout the 20th Century. Even if, in subsequent decades, the confrontation was less spectacular, the impact of a secular interpretation of the ideals of the Enlightenment has persisted as a constituent factor in modern European philosophy and political theory. As far as the Roman Catholic counter-

assertion is concerned, the classical, conservative rejoinder has indeed proven to have lasting impact. Such conservatism has often been labelled 'corporatism' or (in a French context) 'integralism'. It has, however, frequently been modified and has accommodated a less adversarial position marked by a more flexible approach to liberal ideas.

When we move to Russia the shift to a different context could hardly be more radical. The contrast between West and East in Europe is obvious, specifically between France and the Soviet Union after the October Revolution of 1917. There is no similarity between politics in France in the first decade of the 20th Century and political realities in the later stages of Tsarist Russia. The barbaric persecution of Christian individuals and all kinds of church institutions in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution was the result of a radical ideology which aimed at the eradication of all signs of Christian presence in the public realm. Nor is it justified to equate the Roman Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church without considerable nuance and reservation. Nevertheless, notwithstanding obvious differences it remains a fact that the intention behind the separation between church and state in each case was exactly the same: in the interests of freedom of conscience to treat religion as a private matter. Even the legal measures adopted point to striking similarities. As was the case in France, the first law issued in St. Petersburg, January 23, 1918, by the Council of Popular Commissars declared a separation of church and state. The reason was partly respect for freedom of conscience and partly a determination to remove all privileges connected with religious adherence. The enormous wealth of the Orthodox Church — land, monasteries, and other property — should be transferred to popular ownership, that is, forcibly collectivized. Local authorities were mandated to ensure that church buildings were used solely for religious purposes. Taken at face value, the law showed a liberal attitude. Its aim was to protect the freedom of the individual and to remove all former church prerogatives in the interest of social equality. Subsequent political realities, however, point to a cynical strategy in which the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was invoked to justify a policy of eliminating all remaining traces of religion. Waves of open persecution alternated with periods of

rapprochement with which the Church was more or less willingly compliant. As a result, the Orthodox Church in the communist Soviet Union and minority churches as well were fragmented into private congregations meeting in private homes — if, indeed, they did not become persecuted churches withdrawing to the catacombs.

It would be misleading to adopt a bipolar view of the relationship between Christian churches and modern society in Europe, as though voices from the churches belonged only to guardians of morals and traditionalists and the strategies of the modern states in Europe were restricted to militant endeavors to eliminate the influence of churches in public life. We shall observe a variety of attitudes on the part of churches toward liberal democracy, world wars, and totalitarian ideologies, and no less varying patterns of reactions on the part of the states.

By way of contrast to dominant European tendencies, an example from the Lutheran Church in Ethiopia may serve as an illustration of the holistic view predominant in the Global South. In 1972 the General Assembly of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus issued a declaration, "On the Interrelation between Proclamation of the Gospel and Human Development." The context was the desperate humanitarian situation in Ethiopia. The country had been stricken by one natural disaster after the other, followed by drought and famine. On top of that, the nation was surrounded by neighboring countries enmeshed in civil war. As a result, Ethiopia, itself already multi-ethnic and multi-religious, was heavily dependent on aid, largely provided by Western church-related agencies. However, those agencies laid down rather strict criteria for relief and aid, leading most obviously to an apparently permanent division between development, which was provided magnanimously, and proclamation, seen exclusively as a responsibility for the local church. The declaration protested passionately against this division: "From the African point of view it is hard to understand this division and the dichotomy created in the West and reflected in the criteria for assistance laid down by the Donor agencies." This basic disagreement was supplemented by the observation that the policy of agencies in the West was determined by a truncated understanding of

the gap between rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped countries. "The standard of human life and that of society is normally evaluated in terms of economic growth and material wealth or in technology and production. Based on this materialistic Western concept of development and in an effort to find a remedy at least two things seem to have been largely overlooked, namely a) that there are values in life beyond those of modern technology and economic betterment without which man's development will never be meaningful and lasting, and b) that man is not only the suffering creature who needs help, but that he is also the most important development agent." Exactly this "holistic" view of man was expanded as an integral part of Christian faith. In conclusion, the Ethiopians referred to the striking difference between moral decline in many Western countries and its consequences for the "old" mission churches and the growth of many churches in the South, exemplified by the rapid increase in numbers of baptized members in their own church.

Similar thoughts have been expressed at earlier and later points of time and in other places in the global South, including other confessional and continental settings.

Edinburgh 1910. The Early Stages of the Ecumenical Movement

The World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 was seen from one angle the first step in a development that has been a key element of the history of global Christianity in the 20th Century: the ecumenical journey which established a transconfessional relationship between churches in the first world and those in the southern hemisphere. When seen against the background of history of mission and ecumenism in the 19th century, however, the Edinburgh Conference also contained important signs of continuity with preceding decades. The agenda for the conference in Edinburgh focused upon missionary efforts to remove barriers resulting from the collision of national interests in the mission fields, in the hope of realizing the "evangelization of the world in this generation," to use the well-known phrase associated with John R. Mott. However, growth and progress in these efforts were impeded by many factors, including not least the divergent national interests of the colonial

powers, persisting differences between confessions, and, not to be overlooked, the outbreak of the First World War four years later. Yet, when seen against the background of global developments in the last hundred years, the Edinburgh conference stands out as the inaugural event of a long-term dynamic, an overture to a new century with a significance exceeding even the best expectations of the organizers.

Notwithstanding its long-range achievements, the conference itself must be analyzed with due attention to certain important reservations.

It was a convention attended by some but not all Protestant churches; Roman Catholics found it inconceivable to attend a conference called together by leaders from outside the Mother Church. There were still fundamental doctrinal differences between the participating churches, divergent traditions of such gravity that the organizers had to agree to exclude discussion of certain key issues — such as the historic episcopacy and the celebration of the Eucharist — in order to avoid cancellation of the event. Most of the delegates had no authority to act as official representatives of their home churches. They were individuals, fervent activists of the first generation of the ecumenical movement, representative of an age of strong personalities who spoke and acted decisively on behalf of their flocks.

No less significantly, there was a heavy dominance of delegates from the churches of Great Britain and North America. Among the 1,215 delegates, 509 were British and 491 were from North America, while 169 were from the churches of continental Europe. A further 27 participants came

from white colonies of South Africa and from Australia, most of British background. In contrast, there was but scant representation from churches outside the first world. Only 19 delegates came from churches representing the other continents, and 18 of those were from Asia (China, India, Japan and Korea). There was just one single indigenous African, a man from Ghana who was not even included in the official list of delegates. The presence of a certain number of Asians and the almost complete absence of Africans reflected an underlying sense of racial and civilizational hierarchy led by the representatives from the first

world. Their self-esteem was based upon a firm conviction of the superiority of European civilization. This was accompanied by both a certain respect and admiration for the major Asian cultures and a comparatively condescending view of African cultures.

One of the Indian delegates, the Anglican priest from South India Vedabayagam Samuel Azariah, expressed the indignation which non-Western participants felt when faced with Western arrogance. He considered relationships between the races to be one of the crucial challenges for universal Christian fellowship. The attitude which he frequently met from colleagues from the first world was in his view not an expression of true Christian love between equals, but a condescending love. "Too often you promise us thrones in heaven, but will not offer us chairs in your drawing room," Azariah maintained. In contrast he offered a positive view of Christian love transcending all earthly frontiers: "The exceeding riches of the glory of Christ can be fully realized not by the Englishman, the American, and the Continental alone, nor by the Japanese, the Chinese and the Indians by themselves — but by all working together, worshipping together and learning together the Perfect Image of our Lord and Christ".

Azariah's courage and gifts as speaker were all the more remarkable because he was an Indian of low caste who in spite of his social background had won respect as the moving spirit in missionary organization within his home country. It was a sign of the times that he had been invited as a keynote speaker, but it was no less significant that his address was met by rather diverse reactions. Some of the Western delegates appreciated it, moved to respect for the speaker and to self-scrutiny, whereas others were offended and made no secret of their dismay.

By way of comparison, the Roman Catholic Church has always had a more consistently universalistic self-understanding and a more dynamic missionary strategy. However, when seen against the background of the ecumenical endeavors of the 20th Century there seems to have been a certain asymmetry between the church hierarchy and the Holy See on the one hand and the attitudes at the local level and among laity on the other. It was not until the Second Vatican Council, beginning in 1963

under Pope John XXIII, that a manifest ecumenical spirit became apparent. Much earlier in the century, a number of Roman Catholic groups had at the local level introduced initiatives aiming at ecumenical, trans-confessional community. At the same time a reorientation in liturgical theology and in many disciplines within academic theological research pointed towards new directions.

Statistics further underscore the European-North American dominance within Christianity at the beginning of the 20th Century in contrast to the changed relationship between North and South in the second half of the century:

Around 1900 the population in Europe, apart from Russia, amounted to a total of 298 million persons, of whom 260 million, or 87 percent, were Christians. North America had 82 million inhabitants, 50 percent of whom were Christians. Europe and North America together considered themselves the core of Christian civilization, the "sending" churches in relation to the "receiving" churches of the Global South. In comparison, the Asian continent had 902 million inhabitants, of whom 9 million, or 2 percent, were Christians, whereas Africa had a population of 118 million persons with 4 million, or 3 percent, being Christians. Latin America, since the 16th Century a largely Christian continent, was entirely different: 80 percent of its 64 million inhabitants were Christians.

New Types of Revival Movements.

Christianity throughout its history has witnessed many different kinds of revival movements, some opposing a rigid hierarchical leadership ambitious for worldly power, some directed against clergy who demonstrate no sense for the inclusion of laity in the life of the church, and others attempting to reverse a general weakening of piety in congregations and appealing for a recovery of ethical seriousness and sincerity in belief. Especially the "holiness-movement" in Anglo-Saxon countries and awakening movements in the United States were important forerunners for what proved to become significant features of the 20th century. Since the Enlightenment, many such revivals have emerged as counter-movements against modern developments in science, cultural life, and morality. Revivalist clergy on their part have been zealous in their cause to preserve traditional beliefs and

lifestyles in defiance of the powerful forces of modernity.

In the Roman Catholic Church, many revival movements emerged in reaction to critical voices from the new political ideologies of liberalism and socialism. The rejoinder from the Church was a wide-spread network of groups for laity: men, women, young people, children, labor unions, seniors, etc., which added to new initiatives within holy orders and renewals of popular piety such as the cult of Mary and the celebration of religious feasts with processions.

Around 1900 new types of awakenings and revival movements emerged within the Protestant churches, transcending national and confessional borders and exhibiting a striking dynamic towards global propagation. They were able to make use of new types of publicity and social cohesion. An important example was the World Student Christian Federation founded in 1895 at an international conference in Vadstena, Sweden. The movement was a continuation of similar initiatives, notably the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations. Behind the initiative was a group of fervent individuals from many countries with one person proving to be a most effective communicator and motivator, namely, the American John R. Mott (1865-1955). Mott demonstrated a remarkable ability to address audiences with catching rhetoric, convincing his listeners to commit themselves to perseverance in ongoing collaborative initiatives.

In sharp contrast to the rigid and static structures of the traditional, official, and hierarchical churches, revival movements in the United States manifestly found their origin in "voluntary" piety. Often the biggest hall in town was rented as a venue for public meetings, a sign that the campaign exceeded the framework of traditional church services and meetings in parish halls. Efficient advertising methods were adopted as a regular aspect of purposeful use of modern means of communication. The general tone was decidedly modern, in the sense that it was far from being otherworldly.

In conclusion: John R. Mott represented a movement which pointed a way into the new 20th Century. The insistent yet also eloquent use of catchy one-

liners as well as the abandonment of traditional European restraint in the expression of religious fervor, laid the foundation for a global revival movement with a distinctly American tone.

The characteristics of this movement included explicit missionary zeal, exemplified in the famous watchword "the evangelization of the world in this generation." This slogan was adopted by John R. Mott to be the title of a book he published in 1900 which was quoted far and wide as one among the preludes to the new century.

Another important revival movement took place in the Far East, centered in Korea and inspired by American missionaries, mainly Presbyterian and Methodist. The atmosphere in Korea was less antiWestern than in other parts of the Far East and this revival moment has contributed significantly to the astonishing growth of Christianity in presentday South Korea.

A further and different type of revivalism also gained ground in the first decade of the 20th Century: the Pentecostal movement. Its background extended back perhaps to the "awakening" movements in the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries but at the turn of the century there were new developments. Preachers claimed to have been inspired directly by the Holy Spirit and led by the gifts of grace as enumerated in 1 Cor. 14. Within church services new practices were established, centering around adult baptism and glossolalia or "speaking in tongues." The informing conviction was that a maturely conscious reception of baptism, accompanied by the gift of the Holy Spirit, laid the foundation for a new life in holiness. Services of worship were characterized by ecstatic expressions within the congregation and a flexible attitude to hitherto fixed rituals. The movement saw a striking growth, and soon the assemblies were too large to convene in traditional church buildings. The dynamic included a missionary effort, which led to the organization of foreign mission campaigns, especially to Africa.

A specific branch of the overall Pentecostal campaign was added with the "charismatic movement." Its focus was largely on the gift of healing power, seemingly miraculous acts of healing performed before and fervently acclaimed by praying congregations. Pentecostals have

emerged as dominant factors in global Christianity, especially in the Southern Hemisphere. A parallel propagation has proven to be particularly dynamic in Africa, the so-called African Independent Churches especially before 1960. Since 1960 the African Independent Churches have often languished, whereas Pentecostalism has swept the continent. Arguably, it is precisely because these churches found their origin independently of the traditional missionary churches, rather in grassroot initiatives free to develop in response to their own ambience and needs, that these particular manifestations of revival have spread globally to become the churches marked by far by the most growth. With no structure of abstract doctrine, it is the immediacy of religious experience that they offer, the claim that reception of the gifts of the Spirit can be experienced by all believers who open themselves to the gospel, which in turn inspires an impulse for freedom from suppression, poverty, and hunger, leading ultimately to liberation in the widest and most embracing sense. This is a principle factor in explaining the striking fact that these modern revival movements have gained ground at the expense of the historic, hierarchical, mainline churches. Moreover, the comparison with the historic churches can be stretched even further: whereas the liberal established churches have rightly claimed to live up to basic challenges in the era of modernity in contrast to many conservative churches, it stands as a paradox that new revival movements have exhibited a remarkable dynamic with a different way of being modern.

The inter-war period. The two decades between the wars are often reduced to an interlude, a waiting time until in 1939 the inherent consequences of the First World War erupted with untamed violence. In spite of the indisputable factors of continuity such a simplistic determinism does not do justice to the complexity of the inter-war period, either in terms of political history or realities in the history of the churches. The period was a labyrinthine tangle of contrasting tendencies. The League of Nations was established in consequence of the post-World War I peace conditions as an instrument to prevent future wars by committing all member states to seek mediation before going to war. Posterity has sometimes regarded this attempt at defining basic elements of international law against the rigid right of the

powerful as an idealistic delusion. Again, this kind of wisdom after the event is surely simplistic. It is true, though, that the inter-war period saw the establishment of a number of political systems based upon totalitarian ideologies. Soviet communism, German Nazism, Italian and Spanish fascism are primary examples, allowing for fundamental differences between theory and praxis in the countries concerned. Totalitarianism in any of these cases can be defined as a state ideology claiming unlimited validity and requiring unconditional obedience. Reactions by Christians under the rule of totalitarian systems demonstrated a wide spread of attitudes. There were instances of adjustment to or even willing approval of the ideology, often with the argument that the new system prevented something worse, whether economic chaos, unemployment, or defeatism in the face of outward enemies. Moreover, there were many instances of "inner emigration," where citizens felt overwhelmed by the power of the ruling totalitarian system in spite of their qualms of conscience, but restricted their hesitation to silent, "inner" opposition. There were other examples of partial opposition, where the preservation of traditional liturgy and continuation of church life in loyalty to the clergy was seen as the acceptable possibility within reach, even at the cost of permitting the political course to move forward unrestrictedly. This solution — the preservation of confessional and liturgical integrity without open resistance to injustice (violent suppression, racism and persecution of minorities and dissidents) — was an apparent feature in the time of the Church Struggle in Nazi Germany and later in Eastern Europe and also in South Africa during the time of apartheid. In all countries instances of resistance stand out as counter-examples, showing open opposition, sometimes by individuals, sometimes by groups, congregations, and other organizations, even at the price of persecution and martyrdom.

The decades between the two world wars were periods of political reform. In the Nordic countries the democratic structures proved strong enough to resist assault from the international financial crisis and the dangerous seeds of antidemocratic movements. At the same time a peaceful co-existence between the established national churches and early forms of the welfare state emerged as a realistic option.

From a different perspective, the inter-war period saw signs of reform in religious life and theology. The Roman Catholic Church found itself strengthened in many parts of Europe after the First World War, and the Vatican tried to ensure the integrity and universality of the Church by signing concordats, notably with the Italian state 1929 and with Nazi Germany in the summer of 1933. For the Protestant churches the impulse from the Edinburgh conference in 1910 towards ecumenical fellowship lay dormant during the war, but was not annihilated. The International Missionary Council held a number of conferences in which promising new forms of collaboration between the "old" missionary churches and the "young" churches on the mission field were discussed. Archbishop Nathan Söderblom had not given up his hope to promote ecumenical fellowship in spite of the immediate setback caused by the War. He hosted the important Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in Stockholm in 1925. The primary significance of this initiative was to be found in the fact that Söderblom succeeded in bringing the participants together with a focus upon their shared heritage, demonstrated most spectacularly when the Orthodox Metropolitan of Alexandria recited the Nicene creed in Greek before the altar of the Uppsala Cathedral, a sign that this ecumenical creed had preserved its significance even in face of 1600 years of distance in time and a great deal of sad experience in between. Without undue idealization, this event provided a viable method for ecumenical progress by aiming at common ground for all churches concerned instead of describing ecumenism as a process where the churches were urged to waive parts of specific confessional identities as a precondition for reaching a platform where they would gather around a reduced core of foundational belief.

However, there were many instances of active opposition to attempts to establish patterns of Christian fellowship across the boundaries of confession. Some insisted rigidly upon their own identity, characterizing transconfessional unity as yet another sign of liberal reductionism, which to them constituted an imminent danger of the time. Others explained away the offense of doctrinal disagreement by maintaining that the variety of confessional expositions was inevitable by all

normal human standards. Only from an eschatological perspective would any degree of visible unity be a reality — here and now there was no way. German Protestants had to deal with their own specific difficulties in joining any attempt to define a common ecumenical agenda. They considered the prevailing international dialogue to be a tool used by Anglo-American Christians to establish a forum of superiority for their own churches, somewhat parallel to the political dominance which they had already enforced upon the humiliated Germans through the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. In this period, the Roman Catholic position in respect to Protestant efforts towards dialogue and community remained an unconditioned dismissal of Protestant legitimacy as true Christian churches.

The Second World War. The horrendous nightmare of World War i was brought to new heights during World War ii. Statistics speak a clear language: While the former had been largely a European war, though with lasting global impact, the latter in point of fact did become a global confrontation. From a European perspective it has been customary since 1945 to dwell one-sidedly upon the European battlefields, cruel as the war was on both the eastern and the western fronts and, not to be discounted, on the northern (Finland and Norway) and the southern Mediterranean fronts. Yet, even if all corners of the warfare on European soil are seen together it remains a fact that the war outside Europe was in many ways more extensive, primarily because of the Japanese attempt to become the leading power in the Far East and Pacific. Globally, the loss of life rose to nearly sixty million, including civilians in all parts of Europe and Asia. Another macabre record was the mass extermination of innocent people on the basis of racist and ethnic claims. The Holocaust, the killing of six million Jews in gas chambers in extermination camps, was itself beyond imagination, but it must not be forgotten that other groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Romanies, were killed with the same cruelty. Another horror that defied accepted ethical standards was the dropping of atomic bombs over Japan in August 1945, even with the goal of finally bringing the war to an end.

Globally to assess the role of Christian churches during World War II requires a consideration of

the variety of reactions in both the belligerent and neutral countries. In Nazi Germany it was essential to preserve Christian integrity in the face of fanaticism and aggressive international expansionism. The structure of the Roman Catholic Church proved tighter and more developed than the structure of the Protestant churches. Moreover, the universal character of the Catholic Church was more resistant to the proliferating Nazi chauvinism. Within Protestantism, the Confessing Church fought a brave struggle to preserve Christian identity as much as possible by setting up a theological bulwark to combat totalitarian claims of absolute validity. However, the struggle came largely to be limited to doctrinal integrity at the cost of open, full-scale opposition, which was left to individual resistance fighters and martyrs. The complexity within German Protestantism was exacerbated by the fact that many Lutherans allied themselves with Luther's insistence upon the subject's duty to submit to temporal power, even when that power does wrong, and accordingly obeyed their Prince (Hitler) even though he violated all standards of law and dignity.

The challenge to the churches had a completely different character in countries occupied by Nazi Germany. It appeared in such countries as the immediate duty to promote active resistance against the perpetrator and to legitimize national integrity against all breaches of international law. This was true, with important variations, in countries like Holland, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark and others. While the radical Christian response to Nazism in Germany was pacifist and internationalist, the corresponding response in the occupied countries was active military resistance in defense of the right to national self-determination. Finland was plunged into a different challenge, as the country had to defend itself against the aggression of its powerful neighbor, the Soviet Union. Since Finland stood alone and without allies, the country was left with no other option than an alliance with Germany against the Soviets. In this heroic struggle against the superior Soviet power the Lutheran Church in Finland was given the important task of deepening the spiritual and moral aspects of the national heritage, of assuming the service of military chaplains, and of providing pastoral care for victims and civilian casualties of war.

History thus clearly reveals an astonishing variety of reactions among the churches of both the belligerent and neutral countries. What was the picture in other countries outside Europe? How were relations between churches and the world religions affected, especially in countries where Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism dominated?

A new era after 1945. Negotiations between the victorious Allied Powers following their defeat of the Axis Powers resulted in a division of Germany into four occupation zones and subsequently a division of Europe into two blocks: the Western in alliance with the United States of America and the Eastern led by the Communist Soviet Union. Considering the still prevailing self-understanding of the Western world it is only logical that the globe was divided into three "worlds": the first (the Western) the second (Eastern) and the third, also called the block of "U-Countries" (i.e., underdeveloped), comprising the entire Southern Hemisphere, in fact two-thirds of the world, with the exception of Australia and New Zealand. It was not until several decades later that this world view was modified, first by decolonization together and then by early signs of a new self-confidence in the countries in the South and the humiliation of the United States of America in the Vietnam War which, characteristically, in Vietnam is always called "the American War". The Latin American continent together with Central America and the Caribbean region remained a particular case different from Asia and Africa?

In the post-World War II period, political divisions and the colossal affluence of the Western world fostered a notion of Christian superiority. Europe and North America were together still seen as the center and safeguard of Christian civilization, and the mission fields in Africa and Asia were viewed as dependent upon leadership from the parent churches in the first world. Accordingly, many Christians in the Western countries saw their nations as entrusted with the responsibility of preserving Christian civilization, against both the threat from atheism as propagated in the Eastern Communist block and also against the perversion of the European cultural heritage which had been apparent in other totalitarian ideologies, notably Nazism.

It is a striking historical irony that this arrogant self-understanding in the Western world was subsequently accompanied by a growing suspicion among Christians in the "young churches," who became increasingly anxious at the signs of decadence — secularization and inner decline — in the historic churches in Europe. This paradoxical convergence of perspectives is strengthened by the fact that the historical skepticism in the Eastern Orthodox churches toward the liberal spirit marking the Western world ever since the Enlightenment persisted even during decades of communist suppression, a fact which became especially apparent after the breakdown of Soviet communism in 1989/91.

The changes on the global map of Christianity maybe further illustrated by statistics. By 1965 the population in Europe had grown to a total of 440 million with 387 million Christians. North America had 213 million inhabitants, of whom 192 million or 90 percent were Christians. The population in Asia had increased to a total of 1,827 million with 62 million Christians, 3 percent. The development in Africa is even more striking: out of altogether 306 million inhabitants 75 million were now counted as Christians, 24 percent. Latin America was still the Christian continent, the population amounted to 245 million out of which 220 million or 90 percent were Christians. An account of the more recent development since 1989/90 in the continents will be given in the regional chapters in this book with a summary in the concluding remarks. A significant perspective concerning the general transition in the 1960s was the Second Vatican Council, 1962-1965. Pope John XXIII (1881-1963, pope from 1958) even in his earlier service had been an innovator, demonstrating indignation at social conditions in the societies where he served by personal participation in pastoral care, and also by revealing a fervent interest in liturgical renewal and a zeal for improved ecumenical relations with churches outside the Roman Church. He stood in contrast to his predecessors who had been more traditional with more or less aristocratic attitudes. His main initiative was the call for an Ecumenical Council. Out of the 2540 delegates approx. 1000 were from Europe, the two Americas were jointly represented by close to 1000 delegates, whereas Africa and Asia each sent 300 delegates. No less significantly, observers from other confessional

churches were invited and were even given prominent seats close to the Council committee.

Important aspects of the Council documents added proof to the quest for renewal. The nature of the Church was described with biblical images, pointing to the community of believers, "the people of God," with less emphasis upon the hierarchy. A decidedly ecumenical attitude was developed towards Christians from other confessions and the relation between the Roman Catholic Church was decisively altered by the Constitution, *Nostra Aetate*. Moreover, a new liturgical view of sacramental worship paved the way for a comprehensive reorientation which could be sensed also at the grass root level. See the contribution by G. Mannion.

During the same span of years the Protestant churches went through a similarly pioneering reorientation. The World Council of Churches had been established in Amsterdam in 1948. The founding Assembly was held in the early shadows of the Cold War and was still heavily dominated by the European and North American churches. A longing for the full inclusion of the churches of the Southern Hemisphere could be sensed and came to full fruition during the next decade during the process of decolonization and establishment of young churches in the new independent states. The impact of the restructuring of the international Christian community became apparent especially during the third Assembly which convened in New Delhi in 1961. Then it was that the Orthodox Churches joined the Council, an important landmark of ecumenical progress. The fourth Assembly in Uppsala 1968 was itself further evidence of the fact that the 1960s were years of transition. The call for social justice, which could be heard on the streets of many cities that same year, did not stop at the doorstep of the churches. On the contrary, the delegates in Uppsala demanded that the churches should speak and act as mouthpiece for the oppressed, as the voice of the voiceless. The determination to include plain words about social ethics and human rights in the Assembly's message had a deep and lasting impact, but it also caused controversy and split. Divisive issues arising at Uppsala in 1968 have been supplemented by continuing debates about women's ordination and

also about problematic areas within social ethics, not least homosexuality and same-sex marriage.

A new global order after 1989/90. The removal of the previously cordoned off Iron Curtain in Europe and the breakdown of Soviet Communism marked the beginning of a comprehensive restructuring of the global order. Former satellite states in Eastern and Central Europe became free and gradually joined other alliances, and the Soviet Union split into regional nation-states. In sometimes direct, sometimes indirect connection with this transformation many countries in the global South likewise adopted, at various levels, new political orders: in Africa, South Africa, Namibia and Ethiopia; in Asia, China, Vietnam and Korea; and in Latin America, Argentina, Chile and several countries in Central America. In some cases, the revolutionary process happened after intervention by Christian churches; in others, the churches were more indirectly involved. Without any doubt the Roman Catholic Church in Poland largely through Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, later Pope John Paul II, was a bold critic of the country's Marxist government. Similarly, it cannot be questioned that groups in the Protestant Church in the German Democratic Republic were catalysts for growing opposition against the governing communist party. Whether they, or for that matter the Catholics in Poland, were the decisive factor in the breakdown of communist rule is another question. A range of diverse factors were involved, some of them manifest realities such as control of media, economics, and international politics, others more intangible within cultural and religious life. In any case, many groups in the churches served as mediators during the transitional period, thus making an important contribution to the peaceful character of the transition. In the transformation processes in the global South we find a great deal of church involvement, ranging from prolific and public opposition to serving as a silent reservoir for disagreement with dominant totalitarian ideologies. A quite different issue is the question whether Christian churches have been able to profit from the sudden shift to a new open society with democratic structures. A more detailed analysis of the global transformation around 1989/90 will be given in the continental chapters and in the concluding remarks. <>

[Ecclesiastical Law 4th Edition](#) by Mark Hill QC with Matthew Chinery, Norman Doe, Benjamin Harrison [Oxford University Press, 9780198807568]

[Ecclesiastical Law](#) has established itself as the leading authority on the laws of the Church of England. Offering a uniquely detailed and scholarly exposition of the law, it has become an essential reference for anyone with a professional interest in ecclesiastical and canon law.

The fourth edition has been fully revised and updated to take account of significant changes in the substantive law, specifically: the effects of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Churches Measure 2018; and the overhaul of the procedure in the Consistory Court in consequence of the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2015; substantial repeals in the Statute Law (Repeals) Measure 2018 and the new procedure under the Legislative Reform Measure 2018; the effect of the House of Bishops' Declaration on the Ministry of Bishops and Priests concerning provision for traditionalists; and the role of the Independent Reviewer under the Priests (Resolution of Disputes Procedure) Regulations 2014.

[Ecclesiastical Law](#) offers insightful commentary, thoughtful analysis, and a wealth of materials to the practitioner and student alike. Materials include: the Canons of the Church of England, together with the Measures and Rules (updated to 2018) regulating the faculty jurisdiction and clergy discipline.

Excerpt:

Preface To Fourth Edition

Thinking about the law of the Church is thinking about practical ecclesiology—how the life of the Church recognises and nurtures the shared dignity and liberty of the children of God. Rowan Williams

There is a popular perception of ecclesiastical law as impregnable, irrelevant, and unchanging. Pressure for this fourth edition from the publishers, and from loyal readers of the third, suggests it is none of these things. In the decade which has passed since the last edition was published there has been an unrelenting stream of new Measures, some amending, some consolidating, and some entirely new. Finding a propitious moment to publish a further definitive text is never easy:

before the ink is dry on the printed page, the law has already begun to become stale. But this fourth edition marks a coming of age for a volume that still seeks to provide the practitioner, cleric, church administrator, and scholar with a handy compilation of (and commentary on) the ecclesiastical law which touches and concerns their daily lives. As the green colour on the cover and spine indicates, Ecclesiastical Law is now well established in ordinary time.

However, as with the hill-walker who can only appreciate distance travelled and elevation gained by occasionally looking over his shoulder, a small backward glance is necessary to show the extent to which things have changed over the past decade. On the global scale, an additional province, serving Sudan, has been welcomed into the worldwide Anglican Communion; and nationally there are two fewer dioceses in the Province of York, with three merged into one pursuant to a scheme under the Dioceses, Pastoral and Mission Measure 2007. The past decade has seen the first woman to be consecrated as a bishop in the Church of England (and several more subsequently), but, more bleakly, it has also witnessed a bishop serving a term of imprisonment for offences of misconduct in public office. As a sign of the times, a recurring theme in the legislative changes introduced over the past ten years has been a focus on enhanced protection for children and vulnerable adults.

Since the bruising experience or the failure or the first attempt to make reference to the ordination of women to the episcopate, the professional intervention of facilitators seems to have produced a less polarised General Synod, more confident in its legislative function and more conscious of the nature of law as applied ecclesiology, reflecting and informing the Church of England's self-understanding and facilitating its mission and witness as the national church.

Some legislative developments have been overtly simplifying in nature, inspired by the Reform and Renewal agenda, while others have been of substance. No chapter has escaped the onward march of the prodigious output of General Synod or the business of the courts and tribunals of the Church of England. The Nature and Sources of Ecclesiastical Law, discussed in Chapter 1, remain

the same but there is now greater emphasis upon quasi-legislation (or 'soft law', as it is often styled), with Guidelines and Codes of Practice taking prominence in the legal regulation of the Church. In addition, the new canon C 30 requires every diocese to have a diocesan safeguarding officer, and an amended canon C 8 creates a mandatory obligation for all clergy to participate in safeguarding training.

In Chapter 2, on the Constitution of the Church of England, the effects of the work of the Simplification Task Group are beginning to be felt. The Statute Law (Repeals) Measure 2018 will consign to oblivion vast swathes of obsolete ecclesiastical law. This is long overdue: back in 1987 the Ecclesiastical Law Society had established a Working Party on the Revision of Ecclesiastical Statute Law under the chairmanship of Chancellor George Spafford. Its reports were published in the Ecclesiastical Law Journal and contained proposals for the repeal of more than 30 Acts and Measures, some over 400 years old. The clearing away of this dead wood can only be welcomed. Slightly more controversial is the Legislative Reform Measure 2018, which will provide a mechanism for removing burdens (such as cost, administrative inconvenience, or obstacle to efficiency) from ecclesiastical legislation by way of an order approved by General Synod, avoiding the cumbersome Synodical legislative process. The original proposal was poorly presented, referring disparagingly to the Church of England's 'rule book', but in consequence of public consultation and debate in General Synod, the resultant Measure contains significant safeguards—including the establishment of a new committee to scrutinise proposals emanating from the Archbishops' Council and a 'sunset' clause, giving this procedure a five-year lifespan in the first instance. There will be an opportunity to assess its effectiveness in the fifth edition of this work.

In parallel with reform to the legislative functions of General Synod, the constitution and function of the ecclesiastical courts (as well as the faculty jurisdiction, of which more below) have been addressed in the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Churches Measure 2018. The changes are largely of form rather than substance, as dispersed provisions are now helpfully consolidated in a

single Measure, but there has been some useful tidying up along the way. While much of the content will be familiar, it may take a while to adjust to the new topography. On a highly personal note, the Measure preserves the only statutory provision to make express provision for the Chancellor of the Diocese in Europe, albeit only to exclude the holder of that office from being a judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury.

Going deeper into the text, the changes since the third edition become more extensive. The treatment of the Parish in Chapter 3 has been rewritten in the light of the Mission and Pastoral Measure 2011, another consolidating Measure which renumbers and reorders previous provisions. It has itself been subject to revision in the Mission and Pastoral etc (Amendment) Measure 2017, which further simplifies the process for making pastoral schemes and orders and makes adjustments in the level of compensation to affected clergy. The 2011 Measure empowers the making of bishops' mission orders and, as now amended, bishops' pastoral orders, but the legal framework within which these entities function remains somewhat nebulous. On a more practical level, the Ecclesiastical Property Measure 2015 made changes to the Parochial Church Councils (Powers) Measure 1956 giving PCCs and parochial trustees a greater level of autonomy in relation to certain financial and property transactions.

Much of the regulation of parochial governance rests on the Church Representation Rules, a wholesale review of which is underway in the General Synod. The draft Church Representation, Ecumenical Relations and Ministers Measure will substitute an entirely new set of Church Representation Rules by replacing Schedule 3 to the Synodical Government Measure 1969. At the time of writing, the progress of this draft Measure is insufficiently advanced, so a full consideration will have to await the fifth edition. For present purposes, I simply issue a health warning that the content and numbering of the Church Representation Rules are likely soon to change, so readers should cross-refer to the new provisions when they come into force. As their shelf-life is thus limited, the Church Representation Rules are not included in the Materials.

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In contrast with these substantial consolidating Measures, the momentous Bishops and Priests (Consecration and Ordination) Measure 2014, which authorised the making of a canon allowing women to be consecrated as bishops, is of remarkable brevity. This one-clause Measure is accompanied by a significant piece of so-called 'soft law' in the form of the House of Bishops' Declaration on the Ministry of Bishops and Priests, designed to ensure the mutual flourishing of those who support women's ordained ministry and those who (for a variety of theological reasons) do not. The Declaration sets out five guiding principles, which inform and facilitate the making of

appropriate arrangements for those opposed to the ordained ministry of women. The Declaration is underpinned by a Resolution of Disputes Procedure, which provides for an Independent Reviewer to determine grievances in relation to acts or omissions under the Declaration. After the hiatus occasioned by the nomination to the See of Sheffield in 2017, it will be interesting to evaluate in the fifth edition the lived reality of mutual flourishing in a quasi-legal framework. Mindful of the role of senior bishops in the Upper House of Parliament, the Lords Spiritual (Women) Act 2015 made provision, for a ten-year period, for priority to be given to women bishops when a vacancy arises on the bishops' benches in the House of Lords.

One of the most significant and widely felt changes since the last edition of this work has been the introduction of common tenure and, in consequence, Chapter 4 on the Clergy has been substantially rewritten. With the Supreme Court looking afresh at the employment status of clergy in *President of the Methodist Conference v Preston* (2013), applied by the Court of Appeal in *Sharpe v Bishop of Worcester* (2015) and the Employment Appeal Tribunal in *Pemberton v Inwood* (2016), the workings of the Church of England have been subject to a degree of scrutiny. A new Canon C 30 deals with safeguarding, making provision for clergy to undergo risk assessments, making failure to agree to do so justiciable under the Clergy Discipline Measure 2003. A revision to canon B 8 has provided a greater level of discretion in relation to clerical vesture.

The Vacation of Benefices Measure 1977 remains on the statute book (and indeed has been subject to some amendments and revisions in the past ten years), but one can confidently predict that the provincial tribunal which conducted an inquiry into the Parish of St Mary and St Michael Trumpington (2008) will mark both the first and the last exercise of its kind.

As to Worship and Liturgy, discussed in Chapter 5, there have been no radical changes but a series of modest revisions, all of which are reflected in the text. The Church of England Marriage Measure 2008 became law soon after the third edition was published and extended the classes of persons with a right to marry in the parish church to include people with a qualifying connection. Instances of

sham marriages as a means of evading immigration control have led to intervention by Parliament. In relation to liturgy, a revised canon B 38 allows those who have taken their own lives and the unbaptised to be buried in accordance with the normal burial service. Regulations may be made under a revised canon B 12 permitting the authorisation at parochial level of persons to distribute holy communion.

The Clergy Discipline Measure 2003 came into force in 2006, just as the third edition was being written, so Chapter 6 was then a blank canvas and dealt with the subject in an abstract and theoretical way: sketching out the bodies and tribunals being brought into existence and the new procedures for cases of misconduct. Now we have a decade of experience and a growing corpus of jurisprudence, at both first instance and appellate level, available both on the Church of England and my own website. Much of the effective work under the Measure goes on below the surface, with penalties by consent being imposed by the bishop in appropriate cases, but there have been a sufficient number of bishop's disciplinary tribunals to have a clear idea of the effectiveness of the new system. The 2003 Measure was amended significantly by the Clergy Discipline (Amendment) Measure 2013 and the Safeguarding and Clergy Discipline Measure 2016. The Clergy Discipline Rules and the Appeal Rules have also been revised. The Code of Practice has been routinely updated, as have the Guidelines for the Professional Conduct of the Clergy. Keeping the system under regular review should ensure that it never becomes obsolete and suffers the fate of the provisions listed in the Statute Law (Repeals) Measure 2018.

Next comes Chapter 7 and the Faculty Jurisdiction, which is the bread and butter for practising ecclesiastical lawyers. Here again the changes of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Churches Measure 2018 are keenly felt, with formerly dispersed provisions being brought together and reordered in a single Measure. It also assimilates the procedure formerly adopted for listed places of worship under the Care of Places of Worship Measure 1999, as well as provisions originally intended for an ill-fated Inspection of Church Buildings Measure. Dovetailing with the new Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care of Churches

Measure 2018 are the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2015, replacing the Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2013, which came and went.⁴ The innovation of national Lists of Minor Works has produced greater uniformity in respect of matters which may be undertaken without a faculty than was previously the case when these were regulated at a diocesan level. The injunction and restoration order provisions, together with the procedure for appeals, are now neatly brought together in a single document. They are all included in the Materials, providing (until such time as they are next revised) a portable toolbox for the ecclesiastical bar and bench.

The reporting of judgments of ecclesiastical courts continues to increase, fostered by the introduction of obligatory neutral case citation since 2016 (about which see the List of Abbreviations). Not only are they growing in number, they are also increasing in length. The decision of Doe Ch in Re St Gwenfaen, Rhoscolyn (June 2014, unreported) Bangor Coni Ct comes as a small booklet, whereas that of Rodgers Dep Chin Re Christchurch Spitalfields (No 2) [2017] ECC Lon 1, running to over 800 paragraphs, requires a lever arch file. I have sought—not always successfully—to look beyond the two mainland dioceses which I am privileged to serve as chancellor in providing illustrative judgments and guideline cases.

As to substantive changes, we bade farewell to the Bishopsgate questions and became familiar with the Duffield framework as an aid to chancellors determining petitions concerning listed buildings, mindful of the heavy presumption against change. The former prohibition on the erection of buildings on disused burial grounds has been removed. It is no longer necessary to secure both a faculty and a government minister's licence to authorise an exhumation.

Finally, Chapter 8 on Cathedrals has been updated, drawing on a recent publication by Norman Doe in the form of his excellent volume, *The Legal Architecture of English Cathedrals* (2017). After a seemingly endless run of new legislation dealing with cathedrals, there has been more restraint latterly, although we still have the Care of Cathedrals Rules 2006 and the Care of Cathedrals Measure 2011. That said, there has been controversy around several episcopal

visitations and rumours that some cathedrals may be close to bankruptcy. Issues of governance and solvency are never far away. The Cathedrals Working Group, chaired by the Right Reverend Alan Newman, Bishop of Stepney, was established in April 2017 to examine the planning, execution, communication, and implementation of cathedral visitations. Accordingly, I am braced for some major rewriting of this chapter when the fifth edition is commissioned.

In terms of language and vocabulary, the Diocese of West Yorkshire and the Dales enjoyed a brief moment in the sun before resolving to self-identify by its legal name as the Diocese of Leeds. English Heritage has rebranded as Historic England; and the Council for the Care of Churches has morphed into the Church Buildings Council. The Court of Arches has defined the term 'church treasures' as 'articles of particular (or special) historic, architectural, archaeological or artistic interest falling within the faculty jurisdiction', and accepted as 'probably correct' the description of a 'fuck-buddy' as 'someone with whom [the witness] had a regular arrangement for sex, rather than someone with whom he had a full committed relationship'. It remains to be seen whether either or both of these definitions will find their way into Words and Phrases Judicially Defined.

Other literature and resources have become available since the last edition of this work. The fifth edition of the Ecclesiastical Law volume of Halsburys Laws of England (2011) replaced the 1975 edition, which had become something of a museum piece. It is a thorough, detailed, and authoritative work of reference, but already out of date in some areas. Also of note is C Mynors, *Changing Churches* (2016), which gives practical advice on some of the matters covered in Chapter 7. There is now a great deal more ecclesiastical law available electronically. The Church of England website is an invaluable resource, as is the webpage of the Ecclesiastical Law Society. The Ecclesiastical Law Association maintains an e-library of judgments of the ecclesiastical courts, under the able hand of the Revd Ray Hemingray. The blog Law & Religion UK produces regular posts on a range of subjects, but particular mention should be made of its monthly round-up of consistory court decisions together with those of the Cathedrals

Fabric Commission for England, and the occasional analysis of points of general interest arising from individual decisions. The Ecclesiastical Law Society has committed itself to promoting education in ecclesiastical law among ordinands, curates, parochial clergy generally, newly appointed archdeacons and bishops, as well as churchwardens, PCC members, and others concerned with the administration of the Church of England. If this modest volume can contribute in some small way to that objective, then the time and effort devoted to its production will have proved worthwhile.

Preparing the fourth edition of this work has proved particularly burdensome: caused in part by allowing a whole decade to pass before setting about the task, but also because of the other activities and commitments which I have taken on in the meantime. It has been an arduous and depressing process, but one alleviated by the generous assistance of many friends and colleagues to whom I am indebted, including the Right Reverend Graham James, who provided assistance with research funding from the Bishop of Norwich's Discretionary Fund. Three individuals substantially rewrote particular chapters: Matthew Chinery, registrar of the dioceses of Chichester and St Albans (Chapters 4 and 5); Professor Norman Doe, director of the Centre for Law and Religion, Cardiff University and chancellor of the diocese of Bangor (Chapter 8); and Ben Harrison, barrister (Chapters 3 and 6). The responsibility for errors and omissions throughout the whole volume remains my own.

Having noted at the outset the long-overdue opening of all three orders of ministry to women as well as men, I conclude with an apology that the language of this volume has not adapted more swiftly. Whilst it may be comfortable to deploy the Interpretation Act so that the masculine includes the feminine, the substantive revisions to the text were so time-consuming that there was insufficient opportunity to rework the volume in a more gender-inclusive style. I will atone for this omission in the inevitable fifth edition.

I have taken the bold step of drafting this fourth edition on the basis that the Statute Law (Repeals) Measure 2018, the Legislative Reform Measure 2018, and the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Care

of Churches Measure 2018 are already in force. At the time of writing they are yet to be considered by the Ecclesiastical Committee. It is anticipated that the Committee will consider them to be expedient and that they will receive parliamentary approval and royal assent such that their provisions will be brought into force prior to the summer recess. All being well, therefore, within a few months the law of the land will fall into line with how it is described in this volume. With the exception of these future matters, the law is stated as at 1 January 2018. <>

[Trustworthy Men: How Inequality and Faith Made the Medieval Church](#) by Ian Forrest [Princeton University Press, 9780691180601]

The medieval church was founded on and governed by concepts of faith and trust—but not in the way that is popularly assumed. Offering a radical new interpretation of the institutional church and its social consequences in England, Ian Forrest argues that between 1200 and 1500 the ability of bishops to govern depended on the cooperation of local people known as trustworthy men and shows how the combination of inequality and faith helped make the medieval church.

Trustworthy men (in Latin, *virī fidedigni*) were jurors, informants, and witnesses who represented their parishes when bishops needed local knowledge or reliable collaborators. Their importance in church courts, at inquests, and during visitations grew enormously between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The church had to trust these men, and this trust rested on the complex and deep-rooted cultures of faith that underpinned promises and obligations, personal reputation and identity, and belief in God. But trust also had a dark side. For the church to discriminate between the trustworthy and untrustworthy was not to identify the most honest Christians but to find people whose status ensured their word would not be contradicted. This meant men rather than women, and—usually—the wealthier tenants and property holders in each parish.

[Trustworthy Men](#) illustrates the ways in which the English church relied on and deepened inequalities within late medieval society, and how trust and faith were manipulated for political ends.

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Excerpt: In 1328 the vicar of St Breock, a parish just outside Wadebridge in Cornwall, received a letter from his bishop, John Grandisson. For a parish priest this would not have been an especially common occurrence, and its arrival may have unnerved him. A letter from the bishop meant that something was afoot: perhaps some sought-for favour had been granted or, as was the case in this instance, unwelcome trouble was brewing. The letter had been written at Clyst, one of the bishop's residences, and was dated 22 June. It read:

On behalf of some of your parishioners who have sent us an irritable petition intimating that you, against the custom long observed in the said parish regarding the payment of mortuaries, have rashly and without cause molested and unsettled them: not wishing to fail in the defence of the rights of these parishioners, our tenants, we

order and exhort you to desist from all molestation, introducing no novelty until we shall be fully informed about the matter by some trustworthy men unsuspected by either party. Otherwise, we are not able to lie, we shall use whatever lawful ways and means we may to ensure that the injury done to them by you is stopped, and corrected according to the exigencies of the law.

The vicar of St Breock cannot have remained unruffled by this threatening message. Bishop Grandisson was a powerful man, not only in the church, but also among the landed elite of the West Country and of the kingdom.² His appointment as bishop had taken place only the previous August, and this angry fulmination arrived in St Breock even before he had been enthroned in Exeter cathedral. The unfortunate vicar's existence was about to be disrupted by a bishop making a statement about episcopal power.

We know about the message because Grandisson, following the common practice of most English bishops since the middle of the thirteenth century, made copies of all his outgoing correspondence in a register. Bishops' registers are full of similar letters, taking an interest in the conduct and income of the local clergy, haranguing them, insisting that they change their ways: this was the daily grind of administering a diocese. There was a certain amount of idealism in play, with grand references to ancient customs, rights, and the law, but the bishop was also acting in his own interests. He was the lord of a manor within the parish of St Breock, benefitting from his control of some of the land and labour there, and the parishioners had complained to him in this dual capacity. What was the substance of their grievance? The vicar appears to have been collecting 'mortuaries' from the parishioners, which were payments to the parish church from the goods of deceased relatives, ostensibly in lieu of tithes unpaid during life. It was normal for these payments to be made to the rector of a church, the priest who possessed the 'benefice' or living, but St Breock was served by a vicar, in other words a deputy (from the Latin vice). The rector had been given leave of absence to study, and his deputy was almost certainly trying to make his salary go further by claiming the mortuaries. It is hard to say exactly why the parishioners were upset, but most likely they

feared being asked to pay twice (to the rector as well as the vicar), or even three times (to their lord the bishop as well, in the form of a 'heriot' or secular death duty). Although England in 1328 was recovering from the famines that had struck between 1315 and 1322, and the 'great pestilence' was twenty years away, clergy and peasantry alike were always keen to protect their means of subsistence.

Grandisson for his part rarely did things by halves, and the rumbling menace of this letter is rather typical. It exudes the self-assurance of power with its evocation of the force of the law, the rights of his tenants, and the ancient customs of the parish. It is also a missive acutely aware of the impact it seeks to make, namely the arrival of awesome secular and spiritual power in the small world of a Cornish parish. And yet its actual substance reveals a very different power dynamic. The bishop was not able to act in as summary and decisive a fashion as his rhetoric implies he might have wished. He had heard a complaint and he feared his interests might be compromised, but he did not know the local context, and he had not heard all sides of the story. Instead he had to postpone his pursuit of the 'exigencies of the law' until he had heard from 'some trustworthy men unsuspected by either party'. Who were these people? What did they do? Why did bishops need them?

The answers to these questions will unfold in many directions in this book, until they have extended so far as to demonstrate the need for a complete reconceptualization of the medieval church. In short, the 'trustworthy men' (in Latin *virī fidedigni*, literally 'men worthy of faith') were predominantly lay (that is to say nonclerical) witnesses and jurors who made the medieval church what it was between about 1200 and about 1500. In 1200 the adjective *fidedignum* was already an old word, used in the first millennium to refer to the gospels and their authors, some saints, and other holy men, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to refer to living informants by historians and collectors of miracle stories. But it did not yet form part of the discourse of church administration, and was notably absent from the vocabulary of Gratian, the twelfth century's most influential legal writer.

Some clues as to their role and importance are contained in Grandisson's letter, and much of the

evidence on which the ensuing interpretation is based comes from thousands of similar documents recorded in the registers of scores of bishops from across England between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. The challenges of governing a church are revealed in Grandisson's language. We can perceive a tension between 'long observed' custom and the 'novelties' brought about by trying to make a living. At first glance custom is being praised and novelty denigrated, but a bishop's role and intellectual formation suggest something more ambiguous. He would have seen himself as both the guardian of a stable and well-ordered creation, and as the reformer of a fallen humanity and the builder of a church. Grandisson's recorded deeds show him adopting both personae. The power that bishops wielded in pursuit of these conceptual contradictions was both spiritual and temporal, deriving from their status within a hierarchy and their possession of frequently enormous landed wealth. But this did not mean they could act alone, and it was both in order to promote reform and to arrest change that bishops sought out allies in the parishes. They could not operate without such knowledge of local realities as only the locals could provide. And that is the dynamic that I shall explore in this book. It was a relationship that made the church.

The importance of the relationship between 'trustworthy men' or *virī fidedigni*, on the one hand, and bishops, on the other, is further indicated by the pattern of communication implied in Grandisson's letter. In it we see that parishioners petitioned the bishop and he responded by writing to the offending priest, saying that information would be gathered from 'trustworthy men', and that action would follow. There would also have been a report from this panel of adjudicators, and other stages of consultation and documentation, which survive less often, may have been undertaken. We can begin to see that governing a church was not simply a question of how forcefully a bishop could proclaim his authority. Even an expression as forceful as this letter had to acknowledge the gulf that separated the bishop from his subjects, and his reliance upon judgements other than his own. Furthermore, the requirement that his informants should be not only trustworthy but also 'unsuspected' hints at a nagging doubt about involving laypeople in the business of rule.

These are all themes whose significance I will explore in the coming pages. Reading such letters at face value might encourage a view that the late medieval church was composed of institutions at two very different and separate levels: the diocese and the parish. But as this brief dissection of just one example has shown, to do so would be to miss the real location of institutional dynamism, which was in the communication and interaction between the two.

The institutional history of the medieval church has become something of a poor relation within the wider historical discipline in recent decades, despite, or perhaps because of, its importance to the origins of professional historiography in so many European countries. My purpose in this book is not to make a plea for the restoration of the sort of ecclesiastical history that dominated the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The legacy of that tradition, in describing organizational structures and the emergence of offices and recordkeeping procedures, as well as in editing documents, retains enormous value in its own right, but its potential to inform the history of a living social world is limited. The medieval church has been much described, but its existence and character little analysed.

In reaction to the traditions of ecclesiastical history the past forty years have seen historians turn in droves to the study of lived religion as a changing, dynamic, varied, and above all human phenomenon. Influenced by the anthropology of religion and often conducted across the divisions between formal academic disciplines, this movement in historiography has sought to understand religious experience in terms of gender, age, status, language community, devotional preference, identification with particular saints or cults, and a host of subtle individual negotiations of the boundaries between heresy and orthodoxy. In this movement the subjectivity of experience has been a touchstone for authenticity, and the individual Christian—rather than 'the church' as an institution—has become the primary focus of enquiry. During this time the practice of ecclesiastical history has continued, but it has not responded as much as it might to the questions and methods that characterize the history of religion. As a result the 'institutional church' tends to feature

most often as a backdrop to the stage upon which more exciting historical questions are addressed. But this need not be so. A wholly new set of questions can be asked of the 'institutional church' if we just change our perspective, and thinking about that letter to the vicar of St Breock in 1328 has shown us what some of these might be.

What I propose here is a new sort of institutional history, one that could be summed up in the phrase 'a social church'. This is a history that treats as inseparable the influence of actions and phenomena usually studied disjointedly as religious, social, cultural, political, economic, and institutional history; it is a history in which the impact and effects of institutional action are essential to explanations of its nature and meaning. As well as being an amalgam of clergy, bishops, law, and formal institutions, the church was simultaneously an identity, something to which people felt they belonged, and an endlessly shifting constellation of real relationships: their belief, belonging, and identity experienced in relation to specific people. Because the church meant all these things, it makes little sense for historians to study the institutions, the identity, the belief, the belonging, and their socioeconomic situation as if they were not all mutually constitutive. The starting point for analysis, suggested by the example from early fourteenth-century Cornwall, is the observation that in deciding upon obligations arising from membership of a parish and the passage from life to death, neither the parishioners nor the bishop possessed the capacity to effect change on their own. Each appealed to the other for assistance, making plain their symbiosis and mutual historical development. We might say that both the character of life in the parish and the bishop's government of his diocese were formed by the interaction between the two. The clergy, though they were often central to the lives of parishes and the work of dioceses, found themselves caught in the middle of this alliance between bishops and 'trustworthy men'. Thinking of parishes and bishops as part of a 'social church' therefore necessitates a more expansive definition of 'institutions', seeing them more as the sum of multiple actions and habits of thought rather than simply as organizational structures. It is an approach heavily influenced by the sociology of interaction, which sees repeated patterns of human connection as the building blocks of all social

phenomena, by the so-called 'new institutional economics', which interprets individual transactions as constitutive of (and not just reactions to) the 'rules of the game', and by feminist history writing, which sees patriarchy as a dispersed and adaptable institution without any single definitive location. The ways in which this scholarship has affected my thinking will become apparent in the following chapters.

I will pursue this new history of the church by putting the 'trustworthy men' centre stage as the vector for communication between bishops and parishes, the site where processes of mutual formation affected both institutions. There will be two distinct, and yet closely connected, strands to my investigation. First, to take a cue from the keyword itself, the *fidedigni*: trustworthy people or people worthy of faith. What was the faith, the *fides*, of which they were worthy? What relation did it have to the faith that all Christians were supposed to have in God? What did it owe to legal conceptions of good faith, or feudal ideas about fidelity? How was it connected with the confidence essential to the conduct of everyday life? Why was this name used, especially when other terms were available to describe local collaborators with governmental power, as we shall see in Chapter 4. What were its connotations, and what meanings of faith—such a ubiquitous and malleable word in medieval culture—did it incorporate? Second, bearing in mind the distinction that Bishop Grandisson was careful to make between 'some ... parishioners' and 'some trustworthy men', how did the act of discrimination inherent in trusting affect both parish society and the bishop's government of his diocese? Calling some people trustworthy was a choice with real social consequences. Who could be trustworthy in the bishop's eyes? Because the trustworthy men were living people, and not just a figure of speech, such questions have to do with material inequality, and I will ask how a bishop's attributions of trustworthiness (and by implication untrustworthiness) intersected with the multiple existing inequalities of life. Did the concept and the sociology of the 'trustworthy men' merely echo constructions of gender difference and the facts of social stratification, or did they in turn affect those fundamental aspects of life? The faith that made the church was the trust placed in these men; the

inequality that made the church was the social status that enabled them to be trusted.

It is fair to say that beyond a community of specialist scholars the medieval church has not enjoyed the academic attention that its interest and importance merits. To some extent this is because it is church history, but the fact of it being medieval history has also played a part. Medieval history is so often assumed to be irrelevant to broader historical concerns. Yet, as a phenomenon in global history, the medieval church is of considerable significance, being the complex institutional expression of a major world religion at a crucial time. It is worthy of study in its own right, but also as something amenable to comparison with other religious institutions or other governing systems. Indeed, by engaging critically with the massive and varied scholarly literature on trust in disciplines as diverse as economics and the philosophy of science, I hope that study of the medieval church can not only be enriched in itself, but also make a contribution to other fields of enquiry. Indeed a medievalist's perspective on the study of trust immediately disrupts a whole series of complacent assumptions about 'modernity' that have come to dominate thinking in the social sciences, and by coupling the study of trust with the interrogation of inequality, it is also possible to confound some of the more developmental and celebratory accounts of 'Western' history.

In order to reframe this study of the medieval church, each of the four parts of the book begins with a short introduction situating the discussion within the scholarly literature on trust, inequality, and a number of related topics. The chapters in Part I examine three components in the late medieval culture of trust, namely belief in God (Chapter 1), trust and promises (Chapter 2), and faith as an element in personal identity and reputation (Chapter 3). All of these fed into the contemporary meaning of *fides*; they had their distinct histories and implications, but they also overlapped with one another in conscious and unconscious ways. Part II identifies the trustworthy men, beginning with their emergence as a feature of ecclesiastical rhetoric in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Chapter 4), and the impressions that bishops had of them as collaborators with episcopal power (Chapter 5), before looking in

detail at the identities, social status, and economic position of named trustworthy men (Chapter 6). The conclusions of these chapters then contribute to a discussion of faith and inequality in the parish in Part III, looking first at the ways in which trustworthy men could and could not be said to have represented their communities (Chapter 7). Inequality is revealed as fundamental to the church's reliance upon so-called trustworthy men, and I show (in Chapter 8) how the impact of this was felt differently in changing conditions between about 1250 and about 1500, in the varied landscapes of England and the wider British Isles. Discussion of faith and inequality is concluded with an intimate history of life lived alongside the trustworthy men (Chapter 9), where the social capital accrued from collaborating with bishops is shown to have been a major contributor to enduring, and worsening, social inequalities.

In Part IV the relationship between parish and diocese is looked at in detail from the bishop's perspective, describing the ways in which bishops thought about knowledge and testimony when dealing with hundreds of people they did not know and of whose motives they were suspicious (Chapter 10), before examining three areas in which the trustworthy men made the power of bishops what it was. These are the management of financial transactions of various kinds (Chapter 11), coping with change in the material world (Chapter 12), and probing relationships through subtle judgements about character, intentions, and belief (Chapter 13). In all of this we will see bishops gaining power by commodifying social relations for their institutional benefit. This leads to a discussion of the role of information and trust in shaping the late medieval church (Chapter 14).

Finally, before launching into the enquiry proper, it is worth pointing out what I am not doing in this book. In arguing that the church was made by faith and inequality, the two principal attributes of the 'trustworthy men', I may risk giving the impression that I am resuscitating two corpses of historical prejudice. One is that the medieval centuries were an 'age of faith', a naïve view of the period as a time of unquestioning faith, which has been inflected as credulity or piety depending on the writer's point of view. This position was attacked in the 1970s by historians who argued that

Christianity was never more than a thin veneer of elite culture prior to the sixteenth century, and in some cases beyond. However, that revisionism was equally condescending towards the majority, who were cast as the bearers of folkloric traditions, their capacity for engaging with cognitive belief implicitly denied. In opposition to both these approaches, I assume that faith was such a pervasive and multifarious concept affecting so many areas of life, that there was no-one who did not experience it and think with it in some fashion, but also that no two people had precisely the same conception of faith. Faith certainly made the church, but not in the way you might think. Equally, the European Middle Ages, and especially the medieval church, are frequently bywords for intolerance and ideological control, so my assertion that inequality also made the church could be mistaken for a rather totalitarian view of ecclesiastical power. On the contrary, feeling like a member of the church did not depend upon the coercive power of bishops or inquisitors, and one of the leading arguments of this book is that ideas about belonging and belief were formed at every location within the 'social church', though especially where people of different social and cultural backgrounds had to negotiate one another's divergent perspectives and relative power. <>

[Ways of Reading Scripture: Collected Papers](#) by Frances Young [Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Mohr Siebeck, 9783161540998]

This volume consists of previously published articles by Frances Young, a scholar of early Christianity, well-known for her work *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, together with a few newly composed additions. The studies collected here are concerned with the New Testament, but their approach is often not in the modern historico-critical mode. Rather, they bring new insight through being informed by the author's patristic specialism, by methodological enquiries, by her interest in doctrinal and theological reading, and by exploration of the very nature and function of sacred scriptures. The significance of this volume lies in the way it exemplifies the extraordinarily interesting changes which have taken place in biblical hermeneutics during the last 50-60 years. Many of the essays could be useful, not only to

research specialists, but to advanced undergraduates as well as clergy and preachers.

Excerpt: In some ways I hardly regard myself as truly a New Testament specialist, though I did teach Greek and New Testament studies throughout my lecturing career. Doing that alongside research in patristics, particularly in patristic exegesis, has constantly raised issues for me about exegesis, doctrine and hermeneutics. This somewhat disparate collection, with its rather all-embracing title, is the fruit of these discrete but overlapping concerns.

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The significance of this book must lie, surely, in the way it exemplifies the extraordinarily interesting changes which have taken place in biblical hermeneutics during the last 50-60 years. It consists of articles and chapters published previously over the course of a career as a scholar of early Christianity, together with a few newly composed additions. The focus is on studies concerned with the New Testament, but in a context of enquiries about methods of interpretation, and of exploration of the nature and function of sacred scriptures, with a slant towards theological and doctrinal reading.

Excerpt: My principal research interest has been patristics, but my teaching activities for over 20 years were focused on the New Testament. The two areas converged somewhat in my work on patristic exegesis, Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture, which implicitly, though not explicitly, showed up the similarities and differences between ancient and modern interpretation. In 2012 a collection of my patristic essays and papers was published by Ashgate in the Variorum series; this collection is my response to an offer to collect together my work on the New Testament. Many of the pieces included here draw upon my awareness of a broader range of early Christian texts than just the New Testament. They also display a range of compositional registers, many being accessible to a wider readership than is the case generally in collections of this kind. A few of those selected, however, are more technical articles concerned with Greek vocabulary and sentence construal.

As in the earlier patristic collection, the process of gathering together previously published material has provided an opportunity for an introductory overview of the work included. It may seem strange to place first in this collection a piece composed at the end rather than the beginning of the author's career. The reason, however, is clear: it provides retrospective light, not only on my own developing thought, but on a major paradigm shift that has affected some, if not all, biblical scholarship in the past half-century. The collection as a whole reflects changes in approach in both large and small matters: for some readers the lack of so-called inclusive language in the early essays will be all too noticeable, alongside the assumption that

original meaning can be distilled from historic texts if you set about it with the right linguistic and historical tools. When I began research, the dominant ethos of New Testament studies was entirely historical, as indeed was the approach to patristic study, geared as it was to tracing the development of doctrine in the first four to five Christian centuries. As postmodernism raised questions about objectivity and textual meaning, both exegesis and doctrine would be approached with rather different perspectives. Chapter 1, "Ways of Reading the Bible," produced for a predominantly Roman Catholic conference on biblical scholarship, sets out the methodological issues as perceived towards the end of my intellectual journey, while subsequent papers are evidence of various stages along the way.

My initial research at postgraduate level was to be a study of patristic exegesis of Hebrews. From the beginning, however, I was drawn to doctrinal and hermeneutical issues, and this proved a distraction from engagement with the epistle's exegesis as such. In the end, my doctoral thesis focused on sacrificial ideas in early Christian writings from the New Testament to John Chrysostom, tracing the impact of Greco-Roman and biblical understanding of sacrifice on interpretation of the death of Christ, the eucharist and other aspects of Christian practice in the early church. An early paper, figuring here as chapter 2, similarly engaged with doctrinal issues, demonstrating as it did the influence on patristic exegesis of Hebrews of fourth-century christological preoccupations. Thus it exemplifies the hermeneutical point made in the opening essay that readers' interests and questions materially affect the way a text is read — there is no presuppositionless exegesis. It also illustrates a related point that, while many of the same processes are at work in exegesis ancient and modern, differing interests and cultural presuppositions materially affect the outcome. It is, of course, by hindsight that such observations are possible. At the time the exercise was conceived entirely in terms of the historico-critical interest in what people thought back then, and what were the influences upon them.

As indeed were conceived the following two essays in section A, originally published as chapters in the notorious volume, *The Myth of God Incarnate*. My

involvement with that project was consciously driven by the sense that the majority of believers were in some sense docetist in their understanding, unable to take the human, historical Jesus really seriously and innocent of the inevitable implications of a truly historico-critical reading of the New Testament. Its reception did indeed highlight the gap between the scholar and the pew, exacerbated as reactions were by the mass media, much to my own discomfiture. Some 40 years later I am not ashamed to republish my contributions to the volume; they gathered together a whole range of cultural parallels to early Christian claims about Jesus, historical material which was and is routinely discussed among scholars. This gives these chapters a certain perennial usefulness, but there is a further point in their resurrection: from a later perspective they show how profoundly the critical approach challenged traditional Christology, and how inadequate the historico-critical method was for discerning scriptural meaning.

It will be evident by now that I was somewhat preoccupied with Christology in my early researches — hence the focus of section A, which moves from critical and historical approaches to Christology to constructive theological reading. Postmodern questions have enabled a more complex appreciation of the nature of truth and knowledge, a wider perspective on what might constitute meaning, a recognition of the inseparability of fact and interpretation, a deeper readiness to value insight and intuition, multiple meanings, even paradox and ambiguity, and a willingness to value literary criticism as highly as historical analysis. This last move is reflected in chapter 5, entitled "The Mark of the Nails," which springs from a fundamentally literary question: it argues that, even with the apparent resolution of resurrection, the drama of Jesus's story is fundamentally tragic. Tragedy exposes the truth, and as tragedy the passion-story becomes "a universal narrative, a story told by an inspired poet, not a mere chronicler or historian." Furthermore, its atoning power is revealed by its association with tragedy's origin in cathartic rituals. Thus, the piece exemplifies the point that meaning and truth are found not in facts painstakingly established through historico-critical argument, but through interpretation and insight.

The new intellectual environment also enabled a return to Christology some 20 years later: the outcome appears here as chapter 6. Tackling the view that the Chalcedonian Definition is incoherent, a view espoused by the editor of *The Myth of God Incarnate*, John Hick, it defended, on the one hand, the analytical approach of that historic statement as essential to safeguard Christianity from popular tendencies, either to divinize Jesus in ways analogous to pagan mythology, or to give an inadequate account of the Son of God as a mediating confusion of divinity and humanity, neither fully one nor the other; and, on the other hand, in a bid to re-present the identity and significance of Christ as traditionally conceived in Christian theology, it explored the synthetic thinking of, particularly but not solely, St Paul. His overlaying of scriptural texts produces, not so much a collage, as "a synthetic whole in which they all penetrate and illuminate one another." Furthermore, being utterly other, "divine being could be both differentiated from and mystically identified with another being." Thus, the article implies that neither exegesis nor doctrine need remain trapped in the reductionism of modernity's critical analyses.

Chapters 7 and 8 from a further ten years on might seem to evidence a reversion to sharply critical methods. Demonstrating that the first incontestable christological use of Proverbs 8:22 ff. is to be found in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* in the mid-second century, chapter 7 on "Wisdom in the Apostolic Fathers" makes the case that anachronistic doctrinal reading of the New Testament persists, despite the century and a half of modernity's dismantling of the claims to find Christian doctrine in scripture — indeed this piece of work on wisdom undermined my own use of Wisdom-Christology in earlier papers (chs. 3, 4 and 6), where my assumption had been that Paul, not to mention the author of John's Gospel, had correlated with the pre-existent Christ the personified figure of God's wisdom found in Proverbs 8:22 ff. and subsequently in the Deutero-canonical books of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. The following chapter on "The Gospels and the Development of Doctrine" also uses critical methods to show that the Gospels had little real impact on doctrinal development: indeed, conversely, credal confessions and doctrinal disputes influenced the

identification of approved gospel narratives rather than vice versa, and even affected the formation of the gospel texts. Later on proof-texts certainly figured in doctrinal argument, but they were drawn from right across scripture; appeal was not primarily to the gospel texts themselves — which were in any case invariably read in the light of doctrinal interests and often yielded ambiguous answers to the questions in debate. One of those questions arose entirely from the common assumption since Justin that Proverbs 8:22ff. did refer to the pre-existent Christ, an assumption deriving from the second-century impulse to search the prophetic scriptures for clues to identify the Christ-figure. The effect of these two pieces is to demonstrate that critical methods remain key to understanding the profound "otherness" of the reasoning and exegesis which produced classical Christian doctrine. Only by understanding this can we work out how to read scripture Christianly in a totally different intellectual environment, whether modern or postmodern, a point made even clearer by the following article (ch. 9) suggesting we might learn from the Fathers to treat the conundrum of the relationship of John's Gospel to the Synoptics as a theological opportunity rather than a historical problem. Needless to say this brief if suggestive article scarcely begins to work out what that might mean.

Thus, the various essays gathered in section A pose a series of provocative questions about Christology in particular, doctrine in general and, above all, how to read the Gospels Christianly. The newly composed chapter 10 suggests a way to reread the Gospels so as to reread Jesus, both as a historical figure and as the catalyst for Christianity, by being more methodologically open to reading for resonances and to respecting memory as a clue to the impact of Jesus. That Jesus was impelled by a scripture-shaped vocation to live and die for God alone is a conclusion some may regard as too great a concession to traditional Christian belief and a betrayal of critical scholarship. Yet it could be argued that it is not only true to the gospel texts, but something like this can alone account for the rise of Christian belief, a point perhaps further confirmed by the appendix to this essay: considering the Pauline evidence does, after all, introduce the earliest material we have for

assessing Jesus and his impact. This also provides some transition to the following section.

For the essays in section B mostly derive from a period in my career of intense engagement with the interpretation of the Pauline and post-Pauline Epistles. The works gathered here were almost all produced during the research process for two books. The first of these, *Meaning and Truth in 2 Corinthians*, was a joint project with David Ford — a deliberate attempt to build bridges between New Testament criticism and systematic theology.⁶ Key to the book were the hours we spent debating how to translate each phrase and sentence, each paragraph and section of the letter. The outcome demonstrated how much, in matters of exegesis and interpretation, it all depends on what questions you ask of the text. Two of the chapters from my pen are included in this volume as chapters 13 and 14, not least because they presented challenges to the general consensus of New Testament scholarship while equally engaged with the questions concerning Paul's own meaning and intention within his historical context. In the case of these two chapters, as well as the two articles that here precede them (chs. 11 and 12), literary, rhetorical and patristic readings became the genesis of fresh insights into the purpose and context of 2 Corinthians in particular and the Corinthian correspondence in general. One of our important contentions was that 2 Corinthians, as in effect Paul's *apologia pro vita mea*, should provide the best access to what made Paul tick, and the following article (ch. 15 in this collection) was my attempt to test that out by reading the Pauline classic, *Romans*, in the light of our findings, rather than letting *Romans* lead the shaping of Pauline theology as it has done predominantly since the Reformation.

The second book project arose from a request to contribute a short volume on *The Theology of the Pastoral Letters* to a series focusing, more or less one by one, on the theology of the New Testament writings. The associated article included as chapter 16 specifically tackled the question how to read appropriately texts generally recognised as pseudonymous. Here the consensus of New Testament historical scholarship was simply accepted as most plausible, and attention focused on the implications of such a conclusion: how were

pseudonymous texts to be treated respectfully? How were they to function as scripture? Exploring how to read them ethically drew the discussion into an exploration of the interactions between author, text and reader, anticipating the dynamics traced in chapter 1.

The final piece in this section had a different genesis, which explains the curious range of material it covers. Gathering together the "non-Pauline letters," with the exception of the Johannine epistles, might seem at first an arbitrary project generated solely by the exigencies of covering everything in a volume on biblical interpretation. Intriguingly the result produced far greater coherence than anticipated. For the material covered, Hebrews and the Pastorals, James and the Petrine letters, raised similar questions. All are most likely pseudonymous, all ask us to determine how they relate to Paul, and all seem to pose issues about the next generation, not least about the possibility of various different forms of early Christianity. Other questions raised in common by these diverse little epistles concern (1) the perceptions which they carry of their relationship with Jewish history, together with their interpretation of the Jewish scriptures, (2) their development of a Christian lifestyle, not least in response to persecution, and (3) their warnings against false teaching and search for the true tradition.

If section A explored the "Gospel," with an eye to the doctrinal significance of the gospel texts, while section B focused on the collected "Apostle," section C turns to the function and nature of scripture. Function is implied in the first article, which considers the way in which interpretation is affected by the generic context in which it takes place: commentary, homily, theme-study, literary-critical study, church report, sermon, liturgy, hymnography, even systematic theology. The advantages and drawbacks of each context are considered, and the question raised whether we should expect exegesis undertaken in one genre to work effectively in another — indeed, whether we should expect scholarship and preaching to be related as master and slave. A plurality of meanings is perhaps inevitable, depending on what is asked of the text, how it is meant to function. The second piece in section C, commissioned for a

journal issue focusing on Augustine, considers the similarities sometimes claimed between Augustine's theory of signs and postmodern semiotics, highlighting the substantial differences in overall intellectual context, and suggesting not only that those similarities can be overplayed but that Augustine might have something significant to say with respect to certain postmodern trends. The perhaps surprising inclusion of this piece arises from the fact that it provides an overview and critique of postmodern approaches to interpretation, while also showing how Augustine could at once approach the language of scripture with a certain scepticism and insist on the essential truth of scripture. Thus it leads naturally into the following papers in which the very notion of scripture is explored.

What is it after all which distinguishes scripture from other literature? In "Books and their 'Aura'" this question is raised by exploring the functions of written texts in the Judaism, Paganism and Christianity of antiquity. In general books were venerated in a way we can hardly imagine; for miraculously they carried the wisdom of ancient, inspired and revered seers over generations. For Jews this was enhanced by the affirmation that their sacred books contained the Word of God. Against this background the Christian attitude to books at first seems surprisingly ambiguous: roughly speaking, authority shifted away from books to Christ as the Word of God, though books provided crucial testimony to that. So, eventually, a canon of authoritative books provided the church with texts functioning as foundation documents, as doctrinal and moral guidebooks, and as a key element in the liturgy, books read and interpreted in homilies, processed with candles and incense, becoming a kind of "icon" or "image" of the divine. Inserted immediately after this discussion is a brief new essay asking the question, "Did Luke think he was writing scripture?" This implicitly highlights those ambiguities associated with the term "scripture," while at the same time enabling some consideration of the process towards canonization during the second century.

The next pair of articles gives more consideration to the relationship between scripture and doctrine. In the first (ch. 22) ways in which the Fathers sought doctrinal truth through a search for the "mind" of

scripture as a whole are contrasted with modern historical readings, and the question is raised how far their doctrinal legacy can remain valid. The suggestion is that systematic theology needs to justify the orthodox doctrine it interprets as an appropriate reading of scripture in our very different intellectual environment. The second turns specifically to the doctrine of the Trinity, avoiding the usual developmental model and asking whether the doctrine does or does not reflect the implications of the New Testament writings. It traces the building up of the trinitarian superstructure through deduction from, and argument about, the scriptural texts, and raises the question whether the result permits a better view of what the New Testament is about. So, through addressing a key example it potentially provides a way of responding to the challenge of the previous piece.

The climax of section C is a piece written in a more popular register and with a far wider horizon, that of contemporary religious pluralism. Telling parallels are drawn between different religious traditions with regard to the cultic meaning and liturgical function of sacred writings, something which lies beyond any quest to read with understanding; while the apparent exclusivity of different, potentially rival, scriptures is challenged by highlighting the way they point to transcendence of sectarian perspectives, the Christian Bible providing a classic example. Thus implicitly the question is raised: how to read scripture as scripture. For in the end that is the real question raised by this whole collection.

So, as a concluding hermeneutical exercise, I return after some 50 years to the exegesis of Hebrews, with which my research career and this collection began, this time seeking to learn something from Hebrews' own approach to reading its scriptures — what Christians call the "Old Testament." Two aims shape the enquiry: the first is to discern what Hebrews itself is all about; the second is to discover how to read scripture Christianly and as scripture, including Hebrews itself. It turns out that this means reading scripture not just as a collection of disparate texts from the past, but as a body of text which illuminates the present, text and reader being judged in the light of Christ, and drawn into the dynamics of scriptural living through hearing the Word of God in the context of liturgy. Thus, the

essay reads Hebrews, and ultimately scripture, with bifocal vision — one eye on the demands of the academy, another on those of the ecclesia.

That scripture is like an inexhaustible fountain was the suggestion of Ephrem Syrus in the fourth century.¹ This collection of essays demonstrates that the interpreter of scripture cannot expect to come up with one incontestable, universal meaning appropriate to every age and context. Rather the riches of scripture lie in its potential to generate meanings that transform people's lives in a multitude of ways, pointing beyond itself and themselves to the elusive yet revelatory reality of God's love in Christ.

Ways of Reading the Bible: can we relativize the historico-critical method and rediscover a biblical spirituality?

In this paper I shall attempt three things. I shall first outline the methods of biblical interpretation that have dominated the modern (as distinct from the past and the postmodern) period, remarking on the value and importance of the so-called historico-critical challenge to traditional interpretation, as well as its pitfalls.² Secondly I intend to provide comparison and contrast by looking at the methods of interpretation used in the early church, briefly indicating its legacy in the medieval four senses of scripture.³ I propose, finally, to develop a model of interpretation⁴ whereby we can hold this together with the historico-critical method, with benefits from both, while defining *lectio divina* against this background, and offering a doctrinal model of Holy Scripture which could under-gird this.

So I shall not suggest that we discard the historico-critical method, but rather put it into relation with past approaches so that it can be transcended.

The historico-critical method

A number of things contributed to the rise of the modern historico-critical method:

In the fifteenth century the Renaissance and the work of great scholars like Erasmus reminded people that the word of scripture did not come in the Latin of the Vulgate, but rather Greek was the language of the New Testament, and what Christians call the Old Testament was originally in Hebrew. As printing superseded manuscripts, questions about the differences between the

handwritten witnesses became significant, and the attempt to find what lay behind these differences, so as to provide printed editions of the pristine, uncontaminated original, became paramount. So one big factor was the drive to get back to the original and pare away all the mistakes and misinterpretations that had accumulated over the centuries.

This has to be important. We all know that we cannot make things mean what we like: we argue over meaning in everyday life, sometimes because we have misheard, sometimes because we have not grasped the point the other person was trying to make; occasionally the person will say, "I said so-and-so but I really meant so-and-so." In other words language carries meaning, and we cannot arbitrarily attribute meanings to words or sentences which do not fit them. To understand something requires the establishment of exactly what was said in the original language, and that involves acquiring the expertise to do it.

A second factor was the rise of what has been called the romantic view of what happens when one reads a text. In the nineteenth century it was famously described as "thinking the author's thoughts after him." So primacy was given to authorial intention — the meaning lay in what the author had in mind when he wrote it.

So in reading any text from the ancient world, the Greek and Latin classics as well as the Bible, the first thing was to grapple with the question what was in the author's mind. In the case of scripture this meant establishing who the author was, with the time or occasion of the writing and how it fitted into the author's situation and purposes, so as to discern the original meaning. Dating, biographical details, events and relationships would provide clues to authorial intention; so reconstruction of the original situation was fundamental.

This too has to be important. In our everyday arguments about meaning we sometimes find a person saying, "You misunderstand — I was referring to something else." We certainly will understand what we read better if we know something of the circumstances. Paul provides the most obvious example: he was writing letters to his congregations about all kinds of problems in the

churches, and if we can reconstruct what was going on we shall get his point much better.

Then alongside this was the rise of what has been called historical consciousness: that is, the sense that back then was not the same as now. Another famous quotation is "The past is a foreign country." People grow up within a culture which shapes their whole way of thinking, and people think differently in different cultures. That applies not just across the globe in different areas, but across time in different periods. So uncovering that other world where the author lived, becoming acquainted with the author's context, cultural assumptions, influences, sources, through studying parallel literature which could illuminate what the author might have meant — all this became crucial, and it remains so.

There is a lot more to translation than simply substituting the words of a different language, since all kinds of resonances and assumptions are carried for people whose culture it is. You need to enter the biblical world with an informed imagination. Here too the developing science of archaeology had a big contribution to make, setting the material in the Hebrew Bible in the wider culture of the Ancient Near East as it was rediscovered through the unearthing and decipherment of hieroglyphs and cuneiform.

But the sense of the otherness of the past also meant asking whether the religious and theological ideas were really the same as ours, and it encouraged attempts to make implausible narratives fit modern understanding. For example, scientific developments challenged the possibility of many of the miracle-stories in the Bible: so sceptics made hay with the credulity of believers, and serious scholars looked for cultural explanations — "What really happened was so-and-so, but people back then didn't understand the world the way we do, so they imagined it happened in a way we cannot believe it did." The past is a foreign country.

One can immediately see how these three contributing factors would drive the enterprise that has been called the "Quest for the Historical Jesus" — the Jesus of History had to be distinguished from the Christ of Faith, so that we could uncover what really happened. We can also see how the historico-critical method could enable theologians to meet the scientific challenges to the Bible's accounts

of creation — these stories came from a pre-scientific culture, and reflect the understanding of the Ancient Near East. These are just two of the consequences which have caused controversy and still do, in the deep divisions between so-called liberals and fundamentalists.

The important thing to notice is that scholars of both those opposing camps are in fact stuck with the historico-critical method: the original meaning, or the literal meaning understood in those terms, is the starting point. The particular kind of literal fundamentalism that is around today in conservative Christianity is the child of modernity. It is not traditional interpretation. It is concerned with the factuality of the events behind the text, and shares this with so-called liberal scholars. All alike agree that the original meaning is the only valid meaning. It is, we might say, an entirely archaeological approach.

The biblical scholarship of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been dominated by these assumptions. To understand the Bible properly you need to be expert in the languages and cultures of all the different periods from which the biblical books come, which means even the experts become narrow specialists in particular bits of the Bible, and ordinary readers are dependent on the experts if they are going to understand the scriptures. That understanding means understanding what the texts meant originally, and it is not the job of the experts to tell us what it might mean for us now. This latter problem has given rise to hermeneutics, which explores the philosophy of how texts from another world can mean anything to us in ours.

But despite all these problems with the method it has had enormously important fruits. It has meant, for example, that Jews and Christians could join together in a common enterprise as they tried to understand the same texts in their historical context. And since Vatican II Roman Catholic scholars have been able to join in the same project on the same terms. So it has been ecumenically important that there has been a common understanding of what the appropriate methods of interpretation are. It has also enabled study of the Bible to be conducted in the public domain, and its meaning debated in the academic world, without reference to any prior commitment or belief.

However, many of these assumptions are breaking down in what has been called the postmodern context, and their disadvantages are becoming clearer. We turn to our second objective — to outline by comparison and contrast the approach to biblical interpretation found in the Church Fathers.

Biblical Exegesis in the Fathers

Patristic biblical interpretation was largely dismissed by the modern historico-critics because in their terms the Fathers really had no historical sense, and their so-called allegory allowed any meaning to be read into the text. Yet paradoxically commentaries still in fact cover much the same ground as they did back then, though often with rather different outcomes.

It is important to realize first how much more like a school than a religion the early church was. The apologists had to respond to the charge that Christians were atheists because they had no temples, offered no sacrifices, in fact did nothing recognizably religious. They were more like philosophers, with teachings (= dogmas, doctrines) about the way the world is and how you should live your life (metaphysics and ethics); they gathered round teachers to read texts and interpret them.

Reading texts at School: the Origins of the Commentary

We need to understand the physical reality: handwritten copies in the form of scrolls or codices, with no punctuation or even word-division, though some paragraph distinctions. Did all the copies in the classroom have the same wording? Had the text been tampered with? How were the words to be divided where there was ambiguity and different possibilities? "Correct reading precedes interpretation," writes one ancient textbook.¹ The first stage, then, was to establish the text — and as we have seen this was recovered in early modern biblical scholarship as a primary issue. The Fathers are aware of these contingencies and at crucial points they are discussed.

In the ancient world the written text was regarded rather like a tape is now — it was a recording of speech. Reading was generally aloud rather than in people's heads, and the object was recitation of the text, a kind of re-play. Sometimes tone of voice determines meaning which is not indicated in the written form: a statement could become a question

if read differently, or it might be ironical — in other words it might actually imply the opposite of what it said. Such things are often discussed in commentaries, and similarly doubtful texts were discussed by the Fathers.

Then there is grammar, and this involved parsing, vocabulary, and identifying figures of speech. Parsing words could show how they fit together in sentences — commentators still discuss such things where the original language is unclear or ambiguous. In vocabulary, it was important to explain ancient words no longer in everyday usage, or words with specialized senses in a particular body of literature: in the schools Homer presented problems, in the church the translationese of the Septuagint — in both cases exegetes would collect lists of instances and examples to show how the words were used in the relevant body of text, and commentators still do this.

It was also essential to identify figures of speech, such as irony, but also metaphor, parable, hyperbole, and other techniques adopted to catch attention or reinforce the point. These were called tropes or turns of language. They remain current in our everyday speech: my children could always play with the non-literal character of language, teasing with a phrase like "Mum's climbing up the wall." In similar vein, what the Fathers were clear about is that you cannot do things like taking "God is my Rock" according to the letter, or literally, and worship the Standing Stone on the hill.

The ancients also loved etymology, explaining the meanings of words by analysing their supposed roots — a good example occurs in the New Testament: the Hebrew roots of the name Melchizedek mean King of Righteousness, and he was King of Salem = Peace (though it was an alternative name for Jerusalem). In the Epistle to the Hebrews this initiates a reading of the Genesis passage as pointing to our High Priest, Jesus Christ. Now we can see how the same techniques of identifying grammatical characteristics in the language produce different outcomes: the modern interpreter would keep Melchizedek firmly placed in his historical (or perhaps pre-historical and legendary) place, while making similar comments about the meaning of his name. Allegory may grow out of linguistic analysis. For language always points beyond itself.

So far we have looked at the way they attended to the wording, and their recognition that the words point beyond themselves. The phrase we might translate as "literal" did not mean literal in the modern sense, but rather this careful attention to the "letter" — to the nature of the language being used. All this would be called (to methodikon).

The next stage was called (to historikon):

We have to grasp that this did not mean "historical" in our sense. The Greek word means "investigation," and this implied enquiry concerning unexplained allusions in the text to myths or well-known stories, characters, events, heroes, legends, facts of geography or history — explanatory notes of all kinds. This potentially distorts the reading of the text by distracting from what the text is about to what the commentator finds problematic or interesting — Origen offers pages of comment on the "pearl":⁶ he writes down everything he could find out about pearls and where and how they form, showing off his learning, but hardly increasing our grasp of what Jesus was getting at when he spoke of the pearl of great price.

Among the Fathers, Origen may be identified as the first really professional biblical scholar who produced commentaries. These have been described as "a strange mixture of philological, textual, historical, etymological notes and theological and philosophical observations." Exactly so. Commentaries are still a bit like that because they arise out of following through a text providing notes and explanations as they go along in order to explain some difficult point in wording or reference. Comments are problem-oriented, often taking up problem-points discussed by earlier commentators, or noting new difficulties — there is no comment where the meaning is obvious. One ancient commentator remarked that it is the job of the commentator to deal with problems, whereas the task of the preacher is to reflect on words that are perfectly clear and speak about them.

This piecemeal approach to interpretation was mitigated by paraphrase and summary. Paraphrase is a kind of interpretative translation — not word for word, but bringing out the meaning in another way (Targum would be an example); but the way something is said subtly changes its impact and possibly its meaning. Different

paraphrases may bring out different nuances and different potential layers of meaning. I said earlier language carries meaning and you cannot make it mean what you like, and yet language is not rigidly finite either. We may not be able to determine a single definitive meaning. Exegesis is a process of substitution, but that very substitution produces slightly different tones and senses.

Summary derives from the ancient schools who made a distinction between the subject-matter and the wording/style: the wording was the clothing in which the subject-matter was dressed. They recognized there were many different ways in which the same thing could be said, and often insisted that the style should be appropriate to the subject. As they read texts they sought to discern the hypothesis or argument underlying the outer dress of the style. So ancient commentaries, like modern commentaries, would summarize the argument of each section, or the text as a whole. This helps to counteract the piecemeal and problem-oriented character of commentaries.

In these ways, modern commentaries are very like ancient ones. But now we can see some of the differences: they had a very different approach to coherence, sequence and structure, found different things problematic and had very different interests. The modern historico-critic spots incoherences and analyses inconsistencies in order to read between the lines and reach theories about the facts or history behind the text; the ancient reader was usually concerned with moral, spiritual or dogmatic meaning and worried when texts seemed to contradict themselves doctrinally: how could Jesus Christ both say, "My Father is greater than I" and "I and the Father are one"?

In other words exegetical methods are not dissimilar, but interests are, and so different meanings emerge. This observation is confirmed by an article by Kenneth Hagan, writing of a very different time, the sixteenth century.¹ He shows that there were three forms of interpretation: sacred page (the monastic interest in scripture as intended to guide the pilgrim's journey to God); sacred doctrine (the scholastic interest in understanding the faith of the church); and sacred letter (the humanistic tradition begun by Erasmus whereby the Bible, along with other literature, was read for its wisdom, leading to piety, morality and justice, and

so a better society, better church, better education, better government). The difference lay in the different interests in what the Bible said.

So what were the interests of the early church? To deduce right doctrine from scripture, especially in the face of heretics; to spell out the right way of life for Christian believers — ethics, ascetic ideals, etc., and to find maps for the spiritual journey of the soul. In other words, they were less interested in the material, earthly, historical or factual meaning than the theological or spiritual meaning.

This too had a background in the schools. The great philosopher Plato had attacked Homer and the poets for the immorality of the stories; so people had to show how to find moral lessons in the texts which formed the backbone of education. By the time the early church was doing similar things with the Bible, philosophers were finding all their doctrine in Homer by allegorical interpretation.

For the Fathers, the Bible was the Word of God for the church and its people NOW.

- They believed that God had accommodated the transcendent divine self to our human level not only in the incarnation but also in the language of scripture. So how did they get to this deeper meaning?
- From linguistic analysis, metaphor, etc. (as already indicated), and cross-referencing different scriptural passages that use the same wording
- From prophetic oracles and riddles, assumed to be in code which had to be unpacked
- From exemplary actions/models — Job was a type of patience, for example
- From puzzles (— *aporiai*) — for Origen the difference between John's Gospel and the others was not a historical puzzle, but a theological opportunity

From all of these allegory was developed: so they got to the classic interpretation of the Song of Songs in terms of the love between Christ and the church, or the soul of the believer; while Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses* shows how the journey of the soul follows the same pattern as the stories of Moses's life. And there developed a symbol system

allowing one always to interpret Jerusalem as referring to the church, Joshua as a type of Christ, etc.

There was a reaction against allegory in the fourth century, yet the anti-allegorist was also finding types and symbols, morals and doctrines in the scriptures — they just avoided certain arbitrary methods of decoding associated with allegory.

All of the Fathers were trying to discern the underlying eternal meaning intended by the Holy Spirit, rather than the historical factual meaning which has dominated modern interpretation.

So what did they think the Bible was all about? What was the subject-matter behind the wording?

The subject-matter of scripture — Christ

Here, it should be said, Christ covers a range of things — obviously the incarnation, but also the Body of Christ, that is the church, the sacraments, Christians, their moral life, their salvation and final destiny, and so on.

The view that the whole of scripture refers to Christ arose very quickly and was consolidated in various ways.

Already in the New Testament there is the assumption that Christ fulfils the prophecies. The Dead Sea Scrolls and apocalyptic literature from the period show that many Jewish groups practised the prophetic reading of scripture, and for Christians this meant that Christ was there in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms and the Wisdom-books. Prophetic interpretation often treated the scriptures as collections of riddling oracles, and applied individual texts to particular events — the New Testament showed the way, and the Fathers developed it.

In Jewish tradition of the time we can trace the expectation that future salvation has been prefigured in the past as recounted in scripture. So events of the Exodus were to be replayed. In the New Testament the classic example is the miracle of the feeding in the wilderness, which is shown, implicitly in the Synoptic Gospels, explicitly in John's Gospel, to be the fulfilment of the manna in the desert. The Fathers developed this so that the crossing of the Red Sea prefigured baptism, the Passover the eucharist, and so on.

So scripture was taken to have a symbolic meaning throughout; it was always pointing beyond itself.

In the third century the scholarship of Origen took up all these traditions and developed them into the spiritual meaning of scripture. The meaning was veiled until Christ came and revealed what it was all about. The puzzles and difficulties of scripture, were deliberately put there by the Holy Spirit to provoke the reader into discerning this deeper meaning intended by the Spirit. Progress in the spiritual journey was related to different levels of reading: the literal meaning was often important — you cannot ignore "Thou shalt not murder." But the literal meaning was there for the simple, for the beginners; moral and spiritual meanings were for those who were making progress, and they were discerned by allegory. The feeding of the multitude was a symbol of spiritual feeding by God's Word.

Origen's allegory sometimes produced many different interpretations of the same passage; he outlined a theory of three levels of meaning, but in practice offered multiple meanings in basically two modes — the literal and the spiritual. Nevertheless we can see in the Fathers, as they responded to his lead, the elements that would lead to the medieval analysis of four senses of scripture: the literal, the allegorical, the moral and the anagogical. To explain briefly: the literal sense teaches what happened, allegory what you are to believe, the moral sense what you are to do, anagogy where you are going — there is a spiritual progression through levels of meaning.

Even with the fourth-century reaction against allegory Christ remained the subject-matter: typology and prophecy were not rejected, and (theōria), or insight, was encouraged — deeper moral and doctrinal meanings were assumed to be what scripture offered.

All of this is foreign to the historico-critical approach to the Bible, which, amongst other things, would set the prophecies in the time of the prophets, rather than assuming they were predictions of events centuries later. Some modern scholars, such as Daniélou, have tried to reclaim typology, suggesting that the consistent patterning of events derives from God's providence, and so history, especially salvation history, is reflected in this. But that approach reinforces the contrast —

the primacy of history for Daniélou and modern interpreters, over against what held primacy for the early church, namely, to discern true doctrine and derive moral and spiritual benefit from reading scripture.

Doctrinal Reading of Scripture

Modern interpretation regards the doctrines of the church as future developments, not actually to be found in the texts of the New Testament. They distinguish different books of the Bible by authorship and date, even dissect particular books into sources. The Fathers argue for and then assume the unity of the Bible and the presence in scripture of orthodox doctrine. This is a fundamental difference between the approach of modern interpreters and their distant predecessors. We may look briefly at three important moments.

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon in the second century, was faced with Gnostics who produced and used books as scripture which are not now part of our canon, and interpreted the books which did become canonical in ways that delivered the wrong outcome — at least from Irenaeus's point of view, as well as that of developed orthodoxy. At the time the Bible was not a single book — it was technically impossible to put it all together — it was a collection of books. So which belonged to the collection?

The writings of Irenaeus contain the first attempt at defining the boundaries, and the first clear outline of what constitutes the unity of the scriptures and the criteria for interpreting them as a unity. This is contained in what he calls the "Rule of Faith" or the "Canon of Truth." It is not a fixed formula and appears in several different forms in his writings, but basically it is like the creeds. It affirms one God, the Creator of all, who sent Jesus Christ to be our Saviour in fulfilment of the prophecies of the Holy Spirit, and who will bring all things to fulfilment in the end. In other words there is an overarching story which is the Bible's fundamental content, and you cannot read the scriptures "Christianly" without taking this seriously, and seeing that all the details relate to that outline.

Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria in the fourth century, was faced with the heretic Arius and his successors. To an extent not always appreciated, the interpretation of scripture lay at the heart of

the controversy. Each side appealed to particular biblical texts. One of these was Proverbs 8:22: "The Lord created me [that is, wisdom] in the beginning of his ways." Both sides assumed the text was about the pre-existent Christ, who was identified with God's Word and Wisdom. Arius deduced that Wisdom was a creature. How was Athanasius to deal with this over-literal interpretation? He argued that you have to attend to the mind/sense of scripture as a whole, and interpret individual texts in the light of the total perspective. In this case, the Christ did become a creature in the incarnation, but was the Word of God from eternity.

Augustine, bishop of Hippo in North Africa in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, wrote a book about scriptural interpretation — its title is *De Doctrina Christiana* (On Christian Instruction), but that just bears out what I was saying earlier about doctrine meaning teaching and the reading of texts in schools. He makes a distinction between the subject-matter (*res*) and the language or signs (*signa*) that point to it. So his first book concentrates on the subject-matter and identifies it as "Love God and love your neighbour." Then every detail has to be interpreted in the light of that, and if anything does not fit with that it has to be carefully considered and interpreted until it does.

So to gather up the main points:

- The Fathers insisted on the unity of scripture by contrast with modernist analysis and differentiation.
- They were primarily interested in the spiritual/moral/christological sense rather than having the historical interest of modern interpreters.
- They had an external test of how to read scripture aright, which we can roughly identify as the creed in one form or another. (One postmodern approach known as canon-criticism, tries to interpret in the light of the Bible as a whole, as the Fathers did, but fails to see that the Bible is not self-explanatory unless there is some kind of a framework.)
- They said a person had to have inspiration to read scripture — it was not just that the text was inspired, and for scripture to speak one had to see oneself in it, and

learn from it; modern interpretation seeks to be objective rather than subjective.

- They recognized the inadequacies of human language to express the divine, and so saw the language of scripture as symbolic of deeper meanings.
- They understood that God in his infinite divine grace had accommodated the divine self to our level both in the incarnation and in the language of scripture.

A Model of Interpretation for Today

In the latter part of the twentieth century scholarly interpretation of scripture largely remained in its historico-critical phase, but some of the fundamentals of this method were also challenged. The possibility of objectivity began to be questioned, given the impossibility of divesting the investigator of all presuppositions, and so was the value of an exclusively archaeological approach to meaning, distancing the reader from the text.

Meanwhile, critical theory changed the approach to texts across the whole field of literary studies, and this began to affect biblical interpretation too. Structuralism shifted the focus away from the original authorial intention — the French thinker Roland Barthes wrote a famous essay entitled, "The Death of the Author." Attention was given instead to analysis of the text itself: for texts might carry a surplus of meaning that the author never intended. Structuralism, however, soon gave way to interest in the reader: for texts have no reality until 're-played' through someone making sense of the black and white patterns on the paper — so the reader's contribution became paramount. It was then noticed that traditions of reading are formed in reading communities, that texts can acquire authority and "create worlds" — so, for example, the Bible had reinforced social orders which included slavery and patriarchy. The future of the text, its potential to generate new meaning, became important for interpretation, not just its past, or its background. Meanwhile hermeneutics had been attending to questions concerning the gap between the world of ancient texts and the world of the reader.

So, one way and another the question how texts are to be read is more open now than it was 100

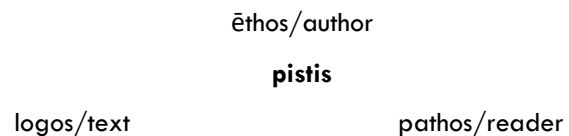
years ago. Then it was generally assumed that arguments, especially between liberals and conservatives, were about the "facts behind" the text, such as questions about miracles; now arguments are often about the "future in front of" the texts, issues such as the position of women or the acceptance of persons who are gay. So this greater openness creates uncertainty: can we make texts mean anything we like, or are there ethical standards of reading?

Against this postmodern background I want to suggest a model of the process of reading and interpreting which allows room for both scholarly research and spiritual reading, taking seriously the dynamics of objectivity and subjectivity implicit in each.

- The object of rhetoric in the ancient world was to achieve persuasion or conviction (that is, *pistis*), usually translated "faith" in a New Testament context.) Three things were required for this:
- The (*ethos*) of the author/speaker. The author's character and life-style had to be such as to inspire trust in his integrity and authority — in other words, should carry conviction.
- The (*logos*). The argument, narrative, discourse of the speech/text had to be logical, reasonable, convincing.
- The (*pathos*) of the audience. If the readers/hearers were not swayed by the author and the argument — if there was no response, then the whole thing was ineffective and unconvincing.

Conviction depended on the dynamic interplay of author/orator, text/speech and reader/audience. These three elements were interacting, and as it happens they are the three which modern and postmodern criticism have successively prioritised — they need to work together, as in figure 1.

Figure 1:



But in the case of scripture, we can see a series of different dynamic triangles. The author may be

identified, say, as Paul, writing a letter to his converts in Corinth (figure 2).

Figure 2:

ēthos/Paul

pistis

logos/

pathos/

letter to Corinth

the Corinthian Christians

But if that is the case, "we" are not the intended readers, and there is no way in which exactly that original situation can be recreated.

Alternatively, we may identify the author as the Holy Spirit, ourselves as believers in the context of liturgy — part of the church universal over time and space, and the material as an extract from the timeless, canonical "Word of God" (figure 3).

Figure 3:

ēthos/Holy Spirit

pistis

logos/scripture

pathos/believers

This is a different "reading genre" with a very different dynamic, and it never exists in a "pure" sense; for we carry over the previous dynamic triangle, knowing that the text was shaped by human history and by particular circumstances, and that we are too — we do not read Holy Scripture now in the same way as believers in the Middle Ages. Scripture is the divine Word in human words — it is incarnational, and the point of scripture is transformation: it is meant to carry conviction and change people's lives. In every generation and in different cultures particularities somehow carry the eternal Word of God. Somehow we need to keep both dynamic triangles in play, and the concern of the modern scholar, to be "objective," and the concern of the believer, "subjectively" to hear the Word of God, are both valid and true to the nature of scripture.

So our model necessitates the recognized involvement of the reader when it comes to the interpretation of scripture. The reader cannot simply make the text mean anything he likes — he/she must respect the "otherness" of the text. On the other hand, we can discern a legitimate place for the believer approaching the texts for insight

and spiritual transformation; for it is new insight that the believer seeks from the texts — a mirror reflecting back his/her own prejudices is a danger, but not necessarily the outcome: rather the text stands over against the reader, challenging and calling into a new future. Always the reader interacts with author and text, and ideally is changed by the process — for the point of scripture is transformation.

What of Lectio Divina?

So in the light of all this, how would we define lectio divina? Can we hold it alongside the historico-critical method? And can we offer a doctrine of Holy Scripture which would justify this?

By lectio divina I understand the process of reading oneself into the text so as to come away changed. Cardinal Martini put the same thing in a slightly different way when speaking at the Dei Verbum Congress 2005 on the importance of the Vatican II statement on Holy Scripture. What is meant by lectio divina is "devotional reading," "spiritual" in the sense that it is done under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, in the context of the church. It is "prayerful reading," allowing us to "unify our lives within the framework of [God's] salvation plan." The "spiritual and meditative experience" of lectio divina may not be "strictly exegetical." The Bible is to be treated as if it were a "Someone who speaks to the one reading and stirs in him a dialogue of faith and hope, or repentance, of intercession, of self-offering...." Martini emphasizes three moments: lectio, meditatio, contemplatio. Reading means reading as if for the first time, seeking to discover the key words, the characters, the actions, the context, both in scripture and in one's own time. What is this text saying? Meditating means reflection on the message of the text, its permanent values, the coordinates of the divine activity it makes known. What is this text saying to us? Contemplation points to the most personal moment of the lectio divina, when "I enter into dialogue with One who is speaking to me through this text and through the whole of scripture." Lectio divina is "prayer born of a reading of the Bible under the action of the Holy Spirit."

Now this might imply a freeing of the Bible as God's Word from the expertise of church leaders and clergy, and indeed from the expertise of scholars: a lay person's simple reading may discern

more directly the core of what the Word of God is about. Nevertheless, we should note that Martini, just like the Fathers, puts it in the context of church: "in the footprints of the great ecclesial tradition, in the context of all the truths of faith and in communion with the pastors of the church."

As for the expertise of scholars, let me give an example of how a little historical knowledge can sharpen the message of the text for us today. The parable of the Good Samaritan was not simply about the kindness of strangers: Samaritans had no dealings with Jews (John 4:9), although they had the books of Moses in common and originally derived from the Twelve Tribes of Israel. They were historically close, and yet different in ethnicity and religion, hostile to one another (like Jews, Christians and Muslims; like the various peoples of the former Yugoslavia). Jesus was challenging people (1) to see the goodness of those they hated and mistrusted and regarded as heretics; (2) to see the lack of goodness in those who rigidly obeyed religious rules (neither the priest nor the Levite could carry out their duties if they had touched a corpse, and that was why they passed by). To pick up the challenges of the parable, we need such information. So we do need to honour the expertise of scholars and church leaders, alongside engaging in our own prayerful meditation of the text.

The theology that could undergird this is a view of scripture that acknowledges that it is in two natures: there is the human historical reality that these texts were composed by human beings in the dialectic they used at the time and limited by the ideas and knowledge of the time, and the texts were then subject to the chances and changes of constant copying and translation; and there is the divine reality that the Word of God is alive and active — it cuts like any double-edged sword and slips through the place where the soul is divided from the spirit or joints from the marrow; it can judge the secret emotions and thoughts (Heb 4:12).

The Word of God was incarnate for our sake in the human Jesus; the Word of God is inscribed for our sake in the word of this collection of ancient books. This view of scripture not only parallels the incarnation, but also other core doctrines of the faith, such as the real presence in the eucharist. As the human Jesus had weaknesses and was vulnerable on earth, yet in him we see God, so

scripture is earthly and limited, yet "teaching solidly, faithfully and without error that truth which God wanted put into sacred writings for the sake of our salvation." To realize this we need the disciplined expertise of the historico-critical method alongside *lectio divina*. <>

[The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity: Networks and the Movement of Culture](#)
by Nathanael J. Andrade [Cambridge University Press, 9781108419123]

How did Christianity make its remarkable voyage from the Roman Mediterranean to the Indian subcontinent? By examining the social networks that connected the ancient and late antique Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, central Asia, and Iran, this book contemplates the social relations that made such movement possible. It also analyzes how the narrative tradition regarding the apostle Judas Thomas, which originated in Upper Mesopotamia and accredited him with evangelizing India, traveled among the social networks of an interconnected late antique world. In this way, the book probes how the Thomas narrative shaped Mediterranean Christian beliefs regarding co-religionists in central Asia and India, impacted local Christian cultures, took shape in a variety of languages, and experienced transformation as it traveled from the Mediterranean to India, and back again.

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examines how the religion of Christianity traveled from the Mediterranean to India. As such, it may seem obvious what one means by "Christianity" at a glance. But the term itself can be quite vexing. Several factors make it so. First, what defines "religion" (and thus Christian religion) and whether it existed among various premodern societies are increasingly issues of debate. While acknowledging the complications and possibilities for anachronism, I will nonetheless employ terms like "religion," "religious culture," and "Christianity" (with its religious implications) throughout this work. 'Whatever problems they may raise, they do serve the present purpose of defining the type of culture (or cultures) whose movement this book aims to trace.

Second, it is not always easy to distinguish between Christianity and Judaism as two stable and separate religions. Scholars vary in their perspectives regarding when they became distinct, and even then, some have argued that certain Jews were in practice Christians and certain Christians were in practice Jews throughout antiquity. Further difficulties are posed by the widely recognized premises that Christianity and Judaism are blanket terms for multiple, distinct strands of Christian or Jewish belief, practice, and culture. Ancient Jews and Christians often differed regarding what the normative practices or beliefs that constituted the proper bases of their religion were. Given that Christianity and Judaism were characterized by multiplicity and underwent internal transformations, it has been difficult to create universal criteria by which to define or classify them.' Even religions that have been deemed beyond the boundaries of Christianity in the past have therefore received reevaluation as forms of Christianity. Manichaeism has increasingly been recognized as one such form, even if it maybe best to conceive of it as an eclectic and cosmopolitan religion that interwove Christian, Zoroastrian, Jain, and Buddhist religious strands.

'When this book uses the term "Christianity," it is in the most inclusive sense possible. The term integrates the various religious communities that scholars have typically labeled "Judaean-Christian," "baptist," or Manichaeism to distinguish them from what have arbitrarily been defined as more "normative" forms of Christianity. But this is primarily for the purpose of making it easier for readers to navigate general trends in the movement of Christian cultural strands over vast distances. When this book makes references to "baptists," "Judaean-Christians," and Manichaeism, it is not with the intent of taking a particular position on whether they were or were not Christians. Recognizing how porous and unstable religious boundaries were, it simply stresses how such figures too embodied, carried, and moved threads of what can be defined as Christian culture. Similarly, when this book employs the phrasing "Christian culture," it is not to imply that a single, monolithic Christianity or Christian culture inhabited ancient Afro-Eurasia. One can speak of many "Christianities" or "Christian cultures." But for purposes of clarity, references to Christianity or "Christian" denote any practice, cultural life, or person within a vast and diverse array that can be qualified as Christian in context. Christian culture was very heterogeneous indeed; Christians assumed many shapes and sizes. Such points are relevant to the second consideration.

[The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity: Networks and the Movement of Culture](#) examines sources depicting the movement of Christianity to India, and it includes Manichaeism as a religion that both shaped and intersected with the categorical frame of Christianity. As such, it analyzes the early movement of Manichaeism and the sources that describe it. But it does not recount the entire history of its movement throughout Afro-Eurasia. It instead explores how it traveled on the first legs of its journey to the Roman empire and central Asia from its lower Mesopotamian regional origins. This is in part because the study of Manichaeism has increasingly constituted its own unique field of analysis, and the nature of its movement throughout Eurasia and north Africa, attested by sources in a dazzling array of languages, has received the examination of specialists. But it is also due to the fact that such a study of Manichaeism would extend beyond the

geographic and chronological parameters of this study.

Place names can be vexing too. Given the trans-regional and, indeed, trans-imperial nature of this work, it is not unusual to encounter cities, sites, and regions that bear different names in diverse languages. This tendency is amplified by the fact that vast empires governed by different language groups rose, underwent consolidation, and receded, often leaving a legacy of place names if nothing else. Classical Babylonia, for instance, could be represented by different terms in Greek, Aramaic, or Iranian languages. It is noteworthy that for the connected territories between the Levant and China, scholars have been assembling a polyglot database of place names.¹ This work will often (but not always) use Greek names or terms for sites in the Middle East, Red Sea, or Indian Ocean, for the following reasons. First, many of the sources cited in this work were composed in Latin or Greek, and even if many sources are in Syriac too, they sometimes represent a tradition informed by Greek precursors. Second, with the obvious exception of Indian Ocean and east African locations, many regions treated in this work were at some point governed by successor empires of Alexander the Great or by the Roman empire, in which Greek toponyms proliferated. Third, many names of ports in coastal India are known primarily from Greek or Latin texts. Muziris and Barbarikon are some key examples. The use of Greek and Latin toponyms will not be universal, however, and certain occasions justify using other languages. In direct quotations of ancient sources in Syriac or Asian languages, the toponym typically will be cited according to the language used. In Chapter 4, the consolidation of Christianity in Sasanian Persia is examined through the prism of Syriac texts. Aramaic or Iranian toponyms will thus be rendered as they normally appear in Syriac sources.

In the city of Jerusalem, a follower of the recently crucified Jesus confronts one of the greatest challenges that he has faced. Having cast lots with the rest of Jesus' apostles, he discovers that he is to trek to India to preach. But he refuses due to the enormity of the task. As he wavers, the likeness of Jesus appears to him in a vision and exhorts him to complete his mission. But he again refuses. It just so happens that an Indian merchant is in Jerusalem,

and Jesus, recently resurrected, approaches him in the marketplace. Offering his recalcitrant apostle as a slave, he quickly composes a contract with the merchant, and the transaction is sealed. The Indian merchant, named Habban, sails from Jerusalem with his slave, and by doing so, he ensures the evangelization of India.¹ Thus begins the surviving Acts of the Apostle Thomas, one of the most oft-cited sources for the movement of Christianity from the Roman empire throughout the ancient Asian landmass.

Historians are invariably at the mercy of their sources, and this is certainly so for historians endeavoring to narrate the voyage of early Christianity to the Indian subcontinent and how it traveled across Asia to reach it. This book accordingly examines the movement of Christianity to various parts of the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system and its anchorage in them through the analytical lenses offered by recent trends in world history. As it does, it also raises the question of what exactly constitutes an historical source for the arrival of Christianity in India or, for that matter, in the Iranian plateau or central Asia. As ancient historians increasingly craft narratives of the transimperial and intercrossed webs of ancient societies, their expanded scope necessitates that they consult sources that have been generated by diverse unfamiliar contexts or that possess epistemologically complicated backgrounds. But such sources are not always placed in proper context, and the epistemological issues that they raise are not always adequately recognized. As a result, many of the texts that scholars from diverse fields have treated as historical sources for Christianity's early movement to India and central Asia are perhaps not sources for this phenomenon at all. They instead reflect historical experiences of a literary tradition, not the fact of Christianity's movement. No source is perhaps more vulnerable to this critique than the apocryphal Acts of Thomas (or hereafter the Acts).

According to the Acts of Thomas, an apostle named Judas evangelized all of India. Because this apostle bore the Aramaic epithet of "twin" (tāmā), he quickly became known as "Thomas" (tāwma or a similar variation). Far from being a sterile narrative known only to enthusiasts of antiquity, this text is part of the living tradition of Thomas Christians in

south India. Many of these in fact trace their communal origins to the activity of this very apostle and accordingly value the testimony offered by his Acts, alongside certain orally transmitted narratives linked intimately to their sacred topographies. As the chapters of this book outline, the Acts of Thomas has been cited by Thomas Christians as evidence for the antiquity of Christian traditions in south India and for missions that the apostle Thomas conducted there in the decades after the death of Jesus of Nazareth. It has also served as fodder for historians of ancient and late antique Christianity or of the connectivity of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean worlds, even when they deem the events or people of the Acts to be invented.' In fact, the Acts' fundamental ambiguity and empirical weaknesses often constitute the greatest assets for the scholars who treat it as evidence for the phenomena that they seek to evaluate. While probably composed in Syriac in Upper Mesopotamia during the mid-to-late third century (as discussed in Chapter i), the text is by most reckonings unclear regarding whether Judas Thomas traveled from the Levant to India by way of the Red Sea or via Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf. In its apparent lack of clarity, and due to the existence of known trade routes in both instances, it is often surmised that early Christianity could have followed either route at an early date and probably did so. Whether scholars believe the account, deem it invented, think it contrived in its specifics but representative of a broader phenomenon, or proclaim uncertainty, they have repeatedly cited the Acts in support of the premise that it could be a source for Christianity's arrival and anchorage in India before 400 CE.

In light of such issues, this book analyzes how Christianity traveled from the Roman Mediterranean to central and south Asia. But it does so in ways that rely as little as possible on the dubious testimony of apostolic apocrypha and late antique hagiographies. By examining the dispositions of the social networks that connected the various regions of the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system, it probes how and when traders and travelers carried their embodied Christian cultures to new places, transferred them to converts, and thereby enabled these cultures to find regional anchorage and enjoy movement farther afield. [The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity:](#)

[Networks and the Movement of Culture](#) is in this regard part of a recent fruitful trend in intercrossed or connected histories that examine the interactions of various populations inhabiting the world system of ancient Afro-Eurasia. It does not analyze the totality of dynastic interactions, objects exchanged, or ideas transmitted by such populations, and it does not provide a historical description of the populations, kingdoms, or empires of Afro-Eurasia involved. But it does focus on the movement of Christianity and the networks that carried its culture, and it thereby reconstructs the social connectivity by which Christian subjects transported their Christian culture in its various forms from the Mediterranean basin to the Indian Ocean world.

As the book maintains, what can be known about ancient sociocommercial networks is of immense value for those who aim to reconstruct the movement of Christianity throughout the ancient Afro-Eurasian world system. The textual and archaeological evidence for such networks between the Mediterranean and the Indian subcontinent provides valid alternatives to dubious literary narratives. By contemplating the networks, one can craft a new lens of interpretation regarding when and how Christianity arrived and became anchored in central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, and one can trace the social pathways that it followed. The networks also illuminate how the remarkable narrative tradition regarding the deeds of the apostle Judas Thomas traveled from its origins in Upper Mesopotamia to south India, where Thomas Christians would continue to reanimate it well over a thousand years later.

A series of assumptions pertaining to the broader context of movement and social contact between the Mediterranean and India is often invoked in support of the Thomas tradition's historical value. One of them is that the trade that flourished between the Mediterranean and India, which attracted Roman merchants to the subcontinent, must have brought Christian preachers there (and even Roman cohorts)." Whatever the possibilities may have been, no rigorous analysis at all has yet been made regarding when Christians in particular became involved in the dynamics of this trade and thus began traveling to India. Another dubious

premise is that when late Roman ecclesiastical historians and patristic authors described how missionaries traveled to a place called "India" and sometimes even encountered Brahmins there, they were referring to the subcontinent. But as we will see, such authors more often used the term "India" for Ethiopia and Arabia and even placed Brahmins within them." In a similar vein, one can also cite the claim that the bricks of Thomas' tomb at Mylapore are similar to those of a "warehouse" at Arikamedu that scholars sometimes associate with Roman traders (and occasionally even call a "Roman warehouse"). This would suggest that the apostle Thomas or Christians had arrived on the Coromandel coast in the first century amid the throes of Indo-Mediterranean trade. The problem is that the "warehouse" and other buildings at Arikamedu have no distinctly Roman or Mediterranean features. The premise that Thomas' tomb or its bricks demonstrate links to the Roman Mediterranean has not been supported by rigorous archaeological analysis."

Finally, oral traditions and undated (or problematically dated) texts associated with figures other than the apostle Thomas are often cited to support the premise of Christianity's early arrival in the subcontinent. These include oral traditions and a (now lost) copper plate grant for Thomas Kinayi, who reputedly came to south India in 345; the oral traditions of the Jews of Cochin regarding their migration to India after the Babylonian conquest (597 BCE) and their revolts against Rome (66-74 and 132-35 CE) and a copper plate grant that they date to 379; and an undated text on palm leaves from Quilon that describes how a Chola king persecuted Christians in 293 CE. But again, nothing securely situates the oral traditions, copper plates, or palm-leaf text in remote antiquity. If anything, the copper plates bear signs of having been produced in the ninth—tenth centuries CE. The view that relentlessly violent Persian persecutions against Christians (including laypersons) induced waves of exiles to India is also problematic. The premise of such unrelenting violence has been challenged by recent scholarship.

As [The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity: Networks and the Movement of Culture](#) proceeds, it will often return to the assumptions just described. But for now, it should simply be noted

that scholars only arrive at more reliable documentation during the medieval Islamic period of the eighth—tenth centuries CE. At this time kings in the Kerala coast bestowed privileges upon Persian Christians (tarisapalli), Jewish trade guilds (anjuvannam), and guilds that included Christians (manigrammam). Such privileges, dated according to the reigns of current monarchs, were inscribed on copper plates near Quilon for leading Christian figures like Sapir Iso and Iravi Korttha, and as we will see, the lost plates for Thomas Kinayi probably date from this period. In general, scholarship on medieval Christians in south India is on more stable ground in terms of the available and reliable sources. But scholarly beliefs regarding ancient Christianity in India rely on a litany of widespread but tenuous claims. Altogether they ascribe the early presence of Christianity in India to sources that have not been properly contextualized.

As stated previously, the problem with such perspectives is that they are based on literary sources, oral traditions, and material objects of highly dubious historical value, at least in respect to ancient Christianity's movement. We will return to this complication continually. But another issue is that they do not ask of social networks the questions that they should. Trade routes do not exist without social networks, and people and culture do not simply move indiscriminately along them. In antiquity, social networks shaped and structured where people and culture traveled, and it is thus important to explore the beginning and end points between which networks facilitated actual movement. But social networks could not carry culture if the people who formed them had not yet embodied it so that they could move it. If none of the Syrian or Egyptian merchants who traveled into the hinterland of Asia or the Indian Ocean had yet become Christian, then their networks were arguably not yet carrying Christianity anywhere. Similarly, if a network of Christians only extended part of the way to India, it could not bring Christianity there by itself. It had to transfer Christian culture to the inhabitants of places in which it had forged residential settlements or to members of other networks, thereby ensuring that Christian culture could travel through an interconnected geography of Afro-Eurasia. Such transfers often occurred slowly or required substantial time.

In such respects [The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity: Networks and the Movement of Culture](#) confronts issues beyond the exact date when Christianity became firmly anchored in India. Broader questions are at stake. The relationship between creative literary genres and historical phenomena; the crafting of historical experiences from literary and oral inventions; and the connection (and distance) between social practices and their representations are among them. One cannot meaningfully measure how and when Christianity arrived in India without explicitly or implicitly taking a position on these issues. How they are understood will inevitably shape how Christianity is perceived to have traveled. This book parts ways from most previous scholarship principally by maintaining that knowledge of socio-commercial networks and other social factors should provide context for the Acts of Thomas and problematic literary narratives, not vice versa. The regional dispositions of socio-commercial networks in fact shaped how most forms of Christian culture were transported throughout the ancient world system. They were vital in structuring how Christianity traveled from the Mediterranean world to the Red Sea, Iran, central Asia, and the Indian Ocean world between the first and fifth centuries CE.

Chapter 1 provides a general analysis of the Acts of Thomas and the narratives of Thomas' preaching that preceded the Acts. While exploring textual issues that offer challenges to the historical validity of the Acts, it also demonstrates how the Acts shaped Christians' understanding of their religious geographies and history.

Chapters 2 and 3 shift focus to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. As they argue, a Roman Egyptian network extended into the Red Sea and Arabian Sea, and it therefore transmitted Christianity to Aksumite Ethiopia, south Arabia, and perhaps Nubian Ethiopia during the fourth century CE. But it did not carry Christian culture to India. The principal reasons for this are as follows. First, from the first century to the late third century, the network extended directly to India and fostered direct contact between the Roman Mediterranean and the Indian subcontinent. But Christianity had not yet penetrated it in any substantive form, and it therefore did not carry Christian culture to new

places and transfer it to new bodies and new locations. After the late third century CE, the Roman Egyptian network suffered disruption. Its reach into the Red Sea was restored by the early fourth century, and it was thereby able to anchor Christianity in Red Sea regions. But its direct contact with India was not restored until c. 500 CE, and by that time, the lowland Sasanian network and a counterpart anchored in coastal Fars had firmly rooted Christian culture in south Indian ports, as well as Sri Lanka.

Chapters 4-6 treat the interconnections of the Levant, Mesopotamia, Iran, the Persian Gulf, and India. They explore how Christianity first arrived and took root in these regions. They also comment on the relevance of Mani and the early movement of Manichaeism. As these chapters argue, Christian merchants who were members of a Levantine socio-commercial network carried Christian beliefs and practices to lowland Parthian/Sasanian territory over the first through fourth centuries CE. As they formed meaningful social bonds and relationships with residents of lower Mesopotamia, Khuzistan, Maišān, classical Assyria, and the Zab River region, they transmitted their Christian culture to them in ways that enabled a lowland Sasanian network to move such culture to new regions. But this process of conversion, transfer, rootedness, and further movement did not happen immediately; it actually lasted for centuries and occurred much more slowly than the rapid movement of Manichaeism across Asia. It was only after the lowland Sasanian network had sufficiently cultivated Christian beliefs and practices that travelers moved them across the Iranian plateau, into central Asia, deep into the Persian Gulf, and to India. This process began during the late fourth century CE and persisted throughout the fifth.

The social pathways and time by which Christianity traveled to India were foremost determined by the interconnected socio-commercial networks that carried it. Such networks both enabled its movement and imposed the limits within which it happened. How such networks cohered, created the pathways by which Christianity traveled, and related to the late antique literature on Christianity's movement is truly remarkable. To their remarkable dispositions, and their bearing on how we understand the Acts of Thomas, we now turn.

In the surviving text of the Acts of Thomas, the apostle Judas Thomas is allotted India to evangelize. But he refuses to go on the grounds that he is Hebrew and weak. The recently resurrected Jesus, however, appears in a vision and urges him to proceed. When Judas Thomas again refuses, Jesus sells him to an Indian merchant named Habban. With the transaction completed, Habban and Judas Thomas sail from Jerusalem to a port city in the Persian Gulf and then to India proper. There Judas Thomas builds a heavenly palace for a king named Gudnaphar and is eventually killed by a king named Mazdai.

The Acts of Thomas and other anecdotal narratives like it have motivated ancients and moderns alike to conceive of the movement of Christianity across the Afro-Eurasian world system as unfettered and diffuse. The Acts even bears ostensible historical validity due to the oral traditions of Thomas Christians that cohere with its basic narrative. But the Acts has little value as a source for the activities of the apostle Judas Thomas, the early movement of Christianity across Afro-Eurasia, or social relations between inhabitants of the Roman Mediterranean and south Asia. The Acts is a composite accretion of invented and contrived episodes, and the earliest traditions regarding Thomas apparently did not have him travel across continents or suffer martyrdom at all. His reputation for evangelizing Parthia and then subsequently India can be linked to specific literary agendas of the late second and mid-to-late third centuries. Moreover, the narrative of the Acts of Thomas only traveled eastward as fast as Christianity and Manichaeism. It was one of the articles of culture that the Christian bodies of a Levantine socio-commercial network carried into lowland Sasanian space. There it was transferred to a lowland Sasanian network that bore its narrative to central Asia and eventually south India. Accordingly, oral or written traditions regarding Thomas that emerged among various Christian populations of Asia, including the Thomas Christians of south India, reflect their engagement with a literary tradition that traveled by means of the same socio-commercial networks that carried Christianity to remote places. They are not sources for any historical phenomenon of apostolic or early Christian evangelization. In fact, their significance does not reside in their testimonial value but in their

status as articles of Christian culture that social networks transmitted between the ancient Mediterranean and India.

Ancient apostolic apocrypha, hagiographies, and ecclesiastical histories often make anecdotal references to merchants and associate them with the ability of Christianity to travel rapidly. They also depict solitary preachers as traversing geographic terrains in the manner of merchants. The Acts, for example, narrates how an Indian merchant transported Judas Thomas to India, and the Acts of Mar Mari accredits merchants from Khuzistan and Fars with bringing Christianity from Edessa to Iran. The holy man Mari encountered these merchants after he himself had trekked from Edessa, across Mesopotamia, and into the Iranian plateau. Traveling farther, he enjoyed the pleasant scent of the apostle Thomas. Ephrem indicates that a merchant was responsible for bringing Thomas' relics to Edessa from either India or an intermediary point. But such treatments of merchants and preachers typically reflect the literary demands of textual narratives that emulated the forms of movement depicted by the Acts of the Apostles, the ancient novel, the literary traditions regarding Mani and his disciples, and even one another. These factors frequently had a greater impact on late antique representations of movement than the social dynamics that actually carried Christian culture.

Christianity's trek to India and central Asia from the Roman Levant and Mediterranean required more time than such late antique representations would suggest. This is because culture in the ancient world did not simply travel by means of diffusion. People's bodies had to carry it. The bodies that carried it did not move in isolation; they engaged in forms of interrelation that determined the social pathways through which they moved. The social pathways through which culture traveled were not interminable; they had endpoints in which culture had to find anchorage, establish roots, and make the transfer to other bodies moving along different social pathways. In other words, trans-imperial social networks determined the mechanisms and timeline by which Christianity traveled outside the Roman empire, and in the period before 500 CE, these networks were foremost of a socio-commercial nature. A Levantine network (that

included Jews, Palmyrenes, and Edessenes) was ultimately responsible for bringing Christianity to lowland Parthian and Sasanian territory. Only after Christianity had taken root in the various lowland residential settlements that this network maintained did a lowland Sasanian network transport it to central Asia and India. By contrast, a Roman Egyptian commercial network carried Christian culture to Aksumite Ethiopia and south Arabia during the fourth century CE and enabled it to take root at the residential settlements that the network had established in such regions. But by then it no longer extended to India and could not bring Christian culture there.

An exploration of the interconnected socio-commercial networks of ancient Afro-Eurasia affords a more reliable perspective on how and when Christianity traveled to various parts of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean worlds than the problematic narratives on which much modern scholarship has depended. The surviving Indian Acts of Thomas has no reliability as an historical source for Christianity's movement or interconnections between the Mediterranean and India. Thomas' Indian ministry was the invented tradition of a mid-to-late third-century Edessene textual agenda that sought to remove him from Parthia. Despite its invented origins, its narrative produced the belief that Christians inhabited India among subsequent generations of Mediterranean Christians, and it shaped Ephrem's treatment of Thomas' relics as having arrived from India (Chapters i and 6). Likewise, the late antique ecclesiastical historians and authors that describe the evangelization of places called "India" by preachers from Roman Egypt were in fact referring to Aksumite Ethiopia and south Arabia (Chapters 2-3). Even the Parthian Acts of Thomas was a purely contrived narrative that endowed Judas Thomas or Thomas, whom Christians had hitherto believed not to be a martyr, with the accomplishment of evangelizing Mesopotamia, Iran, central Asia, and north India (Chapter 1).

Due to the circulation of such invented narratives regarding Thomas, Christians of the late antique Mediterranean world had a perception of the state of Christianity in Iran, central Asia, and India that differed from its actual situation in these places. Such narratives coaxed them to believe that

coreligionists inhabited these regions long before they actually had. They have even persuaded contemporary Christians and scholars of antiquity to cultivate similar beliefs. But the perceptions of ancient Christians regarding Thomas and the movement of Christianity through Asia reflect their historical experiences and how they construed their religious and ecclesiastical geographies. They do not reflect Christianity's actual movement and anchorage among the various societies of the Afro-Eurasian world system (Chapter 1). Such a process happened by other means.

Traders and merchants from the Red Sea coast of Roman Egypt did not carry Christianity to India and anchor it there. Direct contact and trade between Romans and Indians flourished during the first through third centuries CE. But the Roman Egyptian network that played a key role in facilitating it did not integrate merchants or other players who carried Christian culture at the time. Having suffered instability during the late third century CE, the network was only revitalized by the mid-fourth, at which point it had begun to carry and anchor Christian culture into the Red Sea littoral and south Arabia. But the network no longer extended directly to India, and it therefore did not carry Christian culture there. By the time that the Roman Egyptian network to India had been reestablished in the early sixth century CE, its participants discovered that Persian Christians with ties to lower Mesopotamia (and subsequently coastal Fars) were already populating the port cities of south India, Sri Lanka, and Socotra. These had begun to pass their Christian culture to south Indian converts and to establish a martyr site and tomb at the Coromandel coast (Chapters 2-3 and 6). At this point, the Roman Egypt network accordingly transported knowledge about Christians in south India to the Mediterranean world, including the existence of their tomb for Thomas at "Kalamene/Calamina." But it did not anchor Christianity in the subcontinent itself.

The lowland Sasanian Persian network that transported Christianity to India only completed the final leg of a journey that involved varied stages of movement, anchorage, and transfer. The Levantine Roman sociocommercial network (and all of its subsets) did not extend much farther than lowland Sasanian Persian space. For many reasons,

merchants who traveled from Roman Syria and Upper Mesopotamia typically terminated their trek in lowland Parthian/Sasanian territories, and their residential communities were situated in lower Mesopotamia, classical Assyria, the Zab River region, Khuzistan, and Mesene. These residential communities served as the anchor points in which Christians of the Levantine network were able to establish their Christian culture, and it was in these places that Christian culture took root until the lowland Sasanian network and its varied segments could carry it to the Iranian plateau, central Asia, the interior of the Persian Gulf, and India. Only thereafter did the lowland Sasanian network bear the Christianity of the Persian Church of the East to south India and Sri Lanka, with a network from coastal Fars carrying additional strands of Christian culture subsequently (Chapters 4-6).

The arrival of Christianity in south India from Sasanian Persian territory during the fifth century represents a significant shift in Mediterranean Christian knowledge of Christianity in eastern lands. It also represents another phase in the remarkable ability of the Acts of Thomas to shape Christians' experiences of the social pathways that their religion had taken through the Afro-Eurasian world system. After Persian Christians had begun to migrate to south India, they brought with them the narrative of the Indian Acts of Thomas, and both they and their south Indian converts eventually located the site of his death in the vicinity, where they identified a tomb in which he was believed to have first been buried. When the Roman Egyptian commercial network once again forged direct contact with India, its members encountered the presence of Persian Christian residential communities in south India and the veneration of Thomas' tomb (but not necessarily his body) at a site on the Coromandel coast. They began to conceive of Thomas' martyr site and burial place as Kalamene/Calamina, even if the belief that Thomas' actual relics were at Edessa persisted. Over time, the Christians of south India nurtured rich oral traditions regarding Thomas' evangelization of India, traditions derived from the basic template of his Acts. These oral traditions still survive among Thomas Christians today.

In the surviving text of the Acts of Thomas, the resurrected Jesus sold Judas Thomas to the Indian

merchant Habban in Jerusalem. From there, Habban transported Judas Thomas to India. But the value of this text as a source for the historical phenomenon of early Christianity's movement does not lie in its anecdotal narrative. Being itself an article of Christian culture, the ways by which the narrative traveled, as opposed to its representation of travel, shed more light on how Christian culture moved from the Roman Mediterranean to India. From its origin point in late third-century Upper Mesopotamia, socio-commercial networks transmitted this narrative tradition westward throughout the Mediterranean, where a host of late antique Christians encountered it and accordingly began to believe that they had religious brethren in India. Such networks also transported it eastward into Sasanian Persia, central Asia, and India, where Christian converts and their descendants integrated the narrative into their beliefs regarding the arrival of Christianity in the Asian hinterland. As socio-commercial networks, with their discrete geographic segments, carried the tradition eastward and transferred it to new bodies and networks, Christian communities embraced the narrative in ways that forever transformed how they experienced their Christian past or their sacred topographies. The oral traditions of Thomas Christians in south India in fact reflect the work of such sociocommercial networks in bringing the narrative of Thomas to the Kerala coast. Therein resides the potency and value of the Acts of Thomas as an historical source for Christianity's trek to India. <>

[The Ottoman "Wild West": The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth](#) by Nikolay Antov [Cambridge University Press, 9781107182639]

In the late fifteenth century, the north-eastern Balkans were under-populated and under-institutionalized. Yet, by the end of the following century, the regions of Deliorman and Gerlovo were home to one of the largest Muslim populations in southeast Europe. Nikolay Antov sheds fresh light on the mechanics of Islamization along the Ottoman frontier and presents an instructive case study of the 'indigenization' of Islam - the process through which Islam, in its diverse doctrinal and socio-cultural manifestations, became part of a distinct regional landscape. Simultaneously, Antov uses a wide array of administrative, narrative-literary,

and legal sources, exploring the perspectives of both the imperial center and regional actors in urban, rural, and nomadic settings, to trace the transformation of the Ottoman polity from a frontier principality into a centralized empire. Contributing to the further understanding of Balkan Islam, state formation and empire building, this unique text will appeal to those studying Ottoman, Balkan, and Islamic world history.

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Excerpt: The present study explores the formation of the Muslim community in the regions of Deliorman and Gerlovo (and adjacent areas) in the

north-eastern Balkans (modern northeastern Bulgaria) from the late fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries. In the late fifteenth century, Gerlovo, a small mountain valley region on the northern edges of the central-eastern Balkan range, and Deliorman (lit. "Wild Forest," mod. Ludogorie), a much larger, hilly, wooded plateau to the north of Gerlovo, were underpopulated and underinstitutionalized (the presence of the rising Ottoman state being minimal), but by the end of the following century the areas were densely populated, with Muslims constituting a solid majority. The two regions came to be firmly incorporated into the Ottoman territorial-administrative framework, in which three urban centers, two well-established and one emerging, served as strongholds of Ottoman provincial authority through which the imperial center in Istanbul projected its power.

The Ottoman central state had a particular interest in asserting its control in the region. From the late fifteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries the area's countryside witnessed an influx of large groups of mostly semi-nomadic (Muslim) Turcomans and heterodox dervishes; the dervishes usually serving the semi-nomadic Turcomans as spiritual guides and generally harboring attitudes of opposition toward the centralizing Ottoman state. Some of these migrants came from Thrace and the eastern Rhodope Mountains, to which their forefathers had come from Anatolia in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Others migrated directly from Anatolia, in the context of the evolving Ottoman-Safavid conflict, being either forcibly deported to the Balkans or fleeing from Selim I's (r. 1512-20) and Süleyman I's (r. 1520-66) persecutions of "heterodox" and largely semi-nomadic Turcomans as perceived sympathizers, on Ottoman soil, of the newly founded (Shi'i) Safavid Empire of Iran. While largely depopulated as of the late fifteenth century, Deliorman had a history of sheltering all kinds of religio-political dissidents — it was from there that Sheykh Bedreddin, the great Ottoman religious rebel and reformer, incited his revolt against the dynasty in 1416.

Thus, as Deliorman and Gerlovo's countryside was being repopulated by groups potentially not quite amenable to the centralizing drive of the rising, sedentary, and increasingly self-consciously Sunni,

Ottoman imperial bureaucratic regime, the Ottoman state undertook to encourage the growth of urban centers to strengthen its control over what was theretofore an internal Ottoman "no man's land." The most decisive development in this respect was the foundation of the city of Hezargrad (mod. Razgrad) in 1533 by the mighty grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, who provided for the town's rapid growth through the establishment of a richly endowed pious foundation (Ar. waqf; Tr. vakif) which would finance the construction and maintenance of a congregational mosque, a madrasa, a soup kitchen, and other typical Ottoman (and Islamic) urban institutions that would turn the new city into a stronghold of Ottoman Sunni "orthodoxy." Soon after its foundation, Hezargrad was made the center of a newly carved-out provincial district and equipped with a judge and the appropriate military-administrative personnel. Concurrently, Shumnu (also Sumnu, mod. Shumen) — a medieval Bulgarian fortress town to the southeast of Hezargrad which had been captured by the Ottomans in 1388-9 and destroyed by the crusaders of Varna in 1444 — was rebuilt and developed into an Ottoman provincial district center. By 1579, Eski Cuma (mod. Târgovishte), to the west of Hezargrad and Shumnu, had emerged as a new Ottoman provincial district center, to be recognized as a town by the Ottoman authorities in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Supporting urban development was not the only tool that the Ottoman central state utilized to bring the area under its control. Employing judicious, flexible, and accommodationist taxation policies, the state encouraged the gradual sedentarization and agrarianization of the incoming Turcoman semi-nomads and dervishes (and their immediate descendants). Most notably, it initially accorded them favorable tax exemptions and related privileges based on their status as semi-nomads and/or dervishes, which would gradually be withdrawn in the course of the sixteenth century. Thus, while at the turn of the century most of the Muslim residents in the countryside enjoyed one or another "special taxation status," by 1579 the overwhelming majority of rural Muslims had been "tamed" and "disciplined," having been converted to regular, sedentary, and mostly agriculturalist re`aya (tax-paying subjects), with dervishes settled in

convents and (supposedly) praying for the well-being of the dynasty. Similar policies applied to rural Christians; significant numbers of Christians from the area or brought in from elsewhere (usually with no previous permanent residence) were likewise gradually tied to the land.

The present work is thus essentially a double case study. On the one hand, it explores the formation of one of the most numerous, compact (and in this case, Turkish-speaking) Muslim communities in the Balkans; one characterized, moreover, by a very significant "heterodox," non-Sunni element — the Alevi-Bektashis of today. It can thus be compared to other significant Muslim communities that developed elsewhere in the peninsula, such as those in Thrace, the Rhodope Mountains, Albania, and Bosnia. Arguing for a nuanced view of the formation of these communities, the present study emphasizes the importance of regional differentiation, as each of these communities followed separate trajectories that make the search for a common model precarious. In this regard, it explores the interplay between Turcoman colonization, conversion to Islam, the articulation of confessional identities, and Ottoman policies of centralization and regional development in the formation of the Muslim community in Deliorman and Gerlovo.

No less importantly, the present work is a regional case study of "the process of imperial construction" whereby from the mid-fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries the Ottoman polity made the definitive transition from a frontier principality to a centralized bureaucratic empire. In the process, groups that had played paramount roles in the rise of the Ottoman frontier principality, such as Ottoman frontier-lord families, semi-nomadic Turcoman warriors, and non-Sharia-minded dervishes, came to be gradually displaced and marginalized by the emerging imperial regime's development of its institutional instrumentarium, which came to rely upon regular army units more tightly answerable to the center, a new military-administrative service class of largely kul/slave origin, a rapidly developing professional palace bureaucracy, and the rising ulema (Ar. ulama) class of medrese (Ar. madrasa)-trained religious scholars who endorsed scriptural, Sharia-minded Islam and would staff the Ottoman judiciary and educational

system. The semi-nomadic Turcomans and "heterodox" dervishes in Deliorman and Gerlovo who were "tamed" by the late sixteenth century were very much descendants of those original "masters of the frontier zone" who had made formative contributions to the success of the Ottoman frontier principality, having acted as members of a power-sharing partnership with the early Ottoman dynasty. The study thus aims to demonstrate how this "process of imperial construction" played out in a distant province, highlighting also the changing balance between the "wanderers" and the "settlers" — i.e. the itinerants and the (semi-) nomads and the sedentarists, respectively — in the decisive favor of the latter, the triumph of the cereal/agricultural economy over pastoral nomadism, and the relationship between confessional/religious identity and imperial policy.

Both dimensions of the book as a case study — the rise of the Ottoman imperial centralized state and the formation of a regional Muslim community in the northeastern Balkans — may be situated in the wider Islamic world and Eurasian context. The past several decades have witnessed the articulation of conceptualizations of "early modern Eurasia" as a distinct zone, from Western Europe to East Asia, whose historical development from c. 1450 to c. 1800 represented a global moment in world history and was characterized by a number of "unifying features," be they "parallelisms" or causally linked "interconnections." Linking local or regional, contingent events and processes to macrohistorical themes within the framework of evolving paradigms such as "integrative history" and "connected histories," scholars such as Joseph Fletcher, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Jerry Bentley, and Victor Lieberman have elaborated upon a number of such unifying features: "a sustained movement from local fragmentation to political consolidation" that entailed a "drive towards centralization and the growth of coercive state apparatuses," imperial expansion and the reformulation of ideas of universal sovereignty within the context of heightened apocalyptic and millenarian sensibilities (especially c. 1450—c. 1600), religious revival and reformations, large-scale migrations and overall population growth (c. 1450—c. 1550), rural unrest and the growth of regional cities, intensified exploitation of natural

environments, technological diffusions and global cultural exchanges, and a generally "quickenning tempo of history."

Within the same interpretive framework, Charles Parker has highlighted the process of globalization of universal religious systems, especially Christianity and Islam. The early modern period witnessed the Islamic world's significant expansion along its frontier zones, which entailed the formation of distinct new regional Islamic cultures. Beyond the confines of the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, the formation of the Muslim community in early modern Ottoman Deliorman and Gerlovo may thus be productively compared to similar processes in other areas across early modern Eurasia such as Bengal and the lands of the Golden Horde.¹ By providing a focused, regional perspective, the study aims to offer valuable insights on "the indigenization of Islam" — the process by which Islam, in its diverse doctrinal and socio-cultural manifestations, became part and parcel of a regional landscape; in this case, that of the Balkans.

Geographical Scope

The present study's geographical scope is largely defined by the use of Ottoman tax registers that constitute the main source base for exploring demographic and socio-economic change. The area studied is a part of the northeastern Balkans that included the Ottoman districts (kazas) of Chernovi (mod. Cherven, Ruse province) and Shumnu in the eastern part of the Ottoman province (sancak/liva) of Nigbolu (mod. Nikopol) as of the first decades of the sixteenth century, thus containing most of the historical-geographic region of Deliorman as well as Gerlovo (Ott. Gerilova) in its entirety.

This area thus stretches from the Danube River — roughly between modern Ruse (Ott. Rus, Rusçuk) and Tutrakan in the northwest to the Balkan range in the southeast — just to the south of modern Târgovishte and Shumen. At the northwestern end, along the Danube, lies a several kilometer-wide strip of flat land. Moving to the southeast, the larger part of the area studied is dominated by Deliorman — the hilly and wooded plateau roughly delineated by the Danube to the northwest, the Ruse-Varna line to the southwest, and the relatively arid steppe-like plain of Dobrudja to the east.⁹ With an average altitude of 300m, but

reaching 485m, Deliorman, like the rest of the area under discussion, enjoys considerable yearly precipitation (around 550-600mm per year); however, due to its karst limestone and loess base, its aboveground water resources are limited, small creeks and rivers often losing their way in the loess sediments. This lack, at least in the pre-modern era, demanded the digging of wells and tapping of karst springs to ensure a satisfactory water supply. Until the nineteenth century most of Deliorman was covered by oak, ash, elm, and maple trees."

To the south of Deliorman rises the Shumen plateau as well as the hilly area around Târgovishte. The southernmost part of the area under discussion is occupied by Gerlovo — a hilly, fertile valley on the northern edges of the central-eastern Balkan range, formed by the Golyama Kamchiya (Ticha) River and a number of small tributaries. With an altitude of 250-400m and a temperate continental climate, it is differentiated from Deliorman mainly by its much richer aboveground water resources.

Thus delineated, the region under investigation roughly covers the modern Bulgarian provinces of Ruse, Razgrad, Shumen, and Târgovishte, as well as a portion of the modern Bulgarian province of Silistra (Ott. Silistre). A small part of Deliorman remains left out in the neighboring Ottoman province of Silistre. While the area described above is the main focus of the present study, frequent references will be made to other parts of the eastern Balkans, above all Thrace and Dobrudja, as they relate to both the demographic and religio-cultural aspects of early modern Deliorman and Gerlovo's development.

Early Modern Ottoman Deliorman and Gerlovo in the Scholarly Literature

The formation of the Muslim community in early modern Ottoman Deliorman and Gerlovo, like that of those in the eastern Balkans in general, remains little-researched. A few late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century demographic/ethnographic studies written by Bulgarian scholars who lacked the relevant training and access to Ottoman sources attempted to explain why northeastern Bulgaria was predominantly populated by Turks at the time of the proclamation of the Bulgarian principality in 1878. In an unfinished article, M. Drinov, relying mostly on Western narrative sources, traced the demographic development of northeastern

Bulgaria up to the mid-sixteenth century, arguing that until the late fifteenth century the region was still largely populated by Christian Bulgarians, while for the sixteenth century he analyzed Bulgarian accounts of forced Islamization and ethnic assimilation now proven to be spurious. Other similar works do not throw much light on the history of the region, except in pointing to some interesting oral traditions.

The first Ottomanist to advance a hypothesis about the origins of Deliorman's heterodox Muslim population — usually referred to as Kizilbas (as well as Alevi-Bektashi) today — for which the region has

been well known in the modern age, was Franz Babinger — one of the founding fathers of Ottoman studies. He claimed, without adequate substantiation, that the Kizilbas in Bulgaria, Deliorman included, were descendants of adherents of the "Safaviyya" (Ger. "Sefewijje"), which he seems to have conceptualized in the narrower sense of adherents of the Safavid order, but which could also be understood more broadly in the sense of sympathizers of the newly established Safavid regime in Iran (1501) who had fled from Anatolia in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict in the sixteenth century. There the issue long rested, but later research on the revolt of Sheykh Bedreddin in the early fifteenth century and the letters of the judge of Sofia, Sheykh Bali Efendi, to the grand vizier and the sultan in the 1540s, which point to the presence of adherents of Bedreddin's movement in Deliorman," has induced some scholars to assume that the heterodox population in the area largely had its origins in that movement, and not in the Ottoman-Safavid conflict. In the past few decades this view has been expressed in specialized studies as well as in general histories of the Ottoman Empire. Most recently, Nevena Gramatikova, in several fine works devoted to the history of the heterodox Muslim communities in Bulgaria, emphasized the importance of the heterodox collectivity of the Abdals of Rum of Otman Baba (d. 1478) and his successors — the sixteenth-century saints Akyazili Baba and Demir Baba (the latter being the great sixteenth-century regional saint of Deliorman) — for the formation of the heterodox Muslim communities in the eastern and specifically the northeastern Balkans.

Gramatikova also places the development of heterodox Muslim communities in the eastern Balkans in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict and notes that these communities were in all probability augmented by the migration of Safavid sympathizers onto Ottoman Anatolian soil into the Balkans in the sixteenth century (which, in turn, affected these communities' nature).

However, none of the studies referred to above has specifically focused on Deliorman and Gerlovo, neither has any of them utilized a diverse enough spectrum of sources, including Ottoman administrative sources (especially tax registers), to provide a more detailed picture of the relevant processes of demographic, socio-economic, and religious change in the countryside. As for urban growth, one study of considerable scholarly value is Machiel Kiel's article, which briefly sketches Hezargrad's rise in the sixteenth century as a center of "orthodox" Sunni Islamic culture, as opposed to rural surroundings already populated by large "heterodox" groups.

Overview of the Sources

The present study utilizes a wide array of mostly Ottoman sources which may be divided typologically into administrative, narrative, and legal.

By far, the most important body of Ottoman administrative sources is a series of tapu tahrir tax registers (tapu tahrir defterleri) for the area under discussion.²⁴ Compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these registers survey tax-revenue sources, including land and agricultural produce in the countryside and taxable urban properties and enterprises (e.g. town markets, artisanal shops, or public bath-houses). They can be detailed (mufasssal) or synoptic (icmal). Detailed registers include the names of taxpayers (adult Muslim and non-Muslim males — married household heads or bachelors — but also those of non-Muslim, usually Christian, widows registered as household heads) as well as a detailed breakdown of tax-revenue amounts for each settlement. Taxpayers, together with their families, were defined as re`aya (lit. "flock"), and were registered separately by religious affiliation and by specific local community when relevant (e.g. a Muslim or Christian neighborhood in a town, but also nomadic or semi-nomadic groups). Some reaya had special

(privileged) taxation status usually related to some specific duties they performed (e.g. auxiliary military personnel of semi-nomadic provenance, mountain-pass guards, rice cultivators who acted as suppliers for the state, etc.).

Synoptic registers usually contain only summary household and bachelor numbers as well as the total tax amounts assigned for each settlement. Most of the land was defined as state-controlled (miri) and tax revenue accruing from it was apportioned into small, medium, and large revenue grants assigned in lieu of a salary to state functionaries, usually defined as the ruling askeri class (lit. the "military" class, but which included bureaucrats and members of the learned hierarchy). The most numerous, small benefices (timars) were usually assigned to members of the provincial sipahi cavalry, fortress garrison members, and low-level administrative and judiciary personnel; mid-sized benefices (ze amets) to mid-ranking provincial military commanders; and large benefices (has, pl. havass) belonged to the sultan, members of the dynasty, high state dignitaries, and provincial governors. Apart from miri lands, these registers include pious endowment (evkaf) properties (with the respective taxpayers, the accrued tax revenue, and the beneficiaries of the endowment) as well as freehold properties (mülk, pl. emlak). While many such registers included properties of all three kinds (miri, evkaf, and emlak), some covered only miri lands with their respective revenue grants (often referred to as timar tahrir defterleri) or only covered pious endowments and freehold properties (referred to as evkaf ve emlak tahrir defterleri).

Related to these registers are provincial law codes (sancak kanunnameleri), usually included in tax registers, which not only reflect the normative aspects of taxation and various socio-economic activities, but also may contain references to forced deportations and migrations of Turcoman nomads from Anatolia to the Balkans in the sixteenth century. To these sources, one should add pious endowment charters (vakfiyes) as well as "registers of important affairs" containing outgoing imperial orders (mühimme defterleri).

As for narrative sources, the study utilizes a variety of works of Ottoman historiography: chronicles of the Ottoman dynasty (Tevarih-i Al-i Osman) and

narratives of specific military campaigns and heroic deeds (gazavatnameler), as well as the account of the famous seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi. Hagiographic accounts (vitae, velayetnameler, menakibnameler) of heterodox Muslim saints, especially those of Otman Baba and Demir Baba, are utilized to explore the nature of their respective saintly cults and the values and worldviews of the respective hagiographic communities, but also to offer an alternative perspective on historical events and processes.

Lastly, the study utilizes Ottoman fatwa (Tr. fetva) collections, especially those of early modern Ottoman sceyhülislams (the heads of the Ottoman judicial/religious hierarchy), which highlight important aspects of the process of conversion to Islam as well as the development of confessional identities.

In addition to Ottoman sources, the study makes use of some Byzantine, Slavic, and Western chronicles and travel accounts.

Apart from the basic division into administrative, narrative/literary, and legal, at least two other divisions among sources could be made. First, from the perspective of authorial provenance, one may distinguish between sources that were products of the state and/or clearly endorsed the dynastic and state perspective, as opposed to sources emanating from non-state actors, who could be individuals or groups that espoused varied and changing attitudes toward the evolving Ottoman dynastic project. Thus, Ottoman administrative documents and dynasty-centered chronicles would fall in the former category, while hagiographic accounts of heterodox saints and sources of non-Ottoman provenance in the latter.

In addition, sources could be divided into those that shed light above all on administrative, demographic, and socio-economic change (mostly Ottoman administrative sources) and religio-cultural and socio-cultural developments (narrative/literary sources, as well as fatwa collections).

This study seeks to integrate in a balanced way the major aspects of demographic and socio-economic change on the one hand and religiopolitical and cultural developments on the other, but also to bring together the perspectives of the imperial center and those of non-state actors, thus exploring

the interplay between the global and the local, the imperial and the regional, as well as the urban and the rural.

The book consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 serves as an expanded introduction that provides a brief overview of Ottoman history through the sixteenth century and discusses theoretical and comparative aspects of the Ottoman transformation from a frontier principality to a centralized bureaucratic empire, together with a historiographical analysis of the formation of Muslim communities in the Balkans. Chapter 2 analyzes the broader aspects of Turcoman colonization in the Ottoman Balkans through the early sixteenth century and also contains case studies of the lives of two prominent Balkan Muslim heterodox saints from the mid-fourteenth through the fifteenth century — Seyyid Ali Sultan (Kizil Deli) and Otman Baba — based largely on their respective hagiographical accounts. Chapter 3 discusses the pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman northeastern Balkans (through the fifteenth century). Chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to the demographic and socio-economic development of Deliorman, Gerlovo, and adjacent areas in the rural countryside and the urban centers, respectively. Chapter 6 analyzes select aspects of religion, culture, and authority in Deliorman and Gerlovo, largely through the lenses of Demir Baba's vita. Chapter 7 concludes with a discussion of two major conceptual and historiographic issues — conversion of Islam and confessionalization — within the regional context of the present study. <>

[Anthropomorphism in Islam: The Challenge of Traditionalism \(700–1350\)](#) by Livnat Holtzman [[Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture](#), Edinburgh University Press, 9780748689569]

More than any other issue in Islamic theology, anthropomorphism (tashbih) stood at the heart of many theological debates, and was mostly discussed within the circles of traditionalist Islam. The way a scholar interpreted the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Qur'an or the Hadith (for instance, God's hand, God's laughter or God's sitting on the heavenly throne) often reflected his political and social stature, as well as his theological affinity. This book presents an in-depth literary analysis of the textual and non-textual

elements of ahadith al-sifat - the traditions that depict God and His attributes in an anthropomorphic language. It goes on to discuss the inner controversies in the prominent traditionalistic learning centres of the Islamic world regarding the way to understand and interpret these anthropomorphic traditions. Through a close, contextualized, and interdisciplinary reading in Hadith compilations, theological treatises, and historical sources, this book offers an evaluation and understanding of the traditionalistic endeavours to define anthropomorphism in the most crucial and indeed most formative period of Islamic thought.

[Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture Series](#) Editor: Carole Hillenbrand: A

particular feature of medieval Islamic civilisation was its wide horizons. In this respect it differed profoundly from medieval Europe, which from the point of view of geography, ethnicity and population was much smaller and narrower in its scope and in its mindset. The Muslims felt heir not only to the Graeco- Roman world of the Mediterranean, but also to that of the ancient Near East, to the empires of Assyria, Babylon and the Persians – and beyond that, they were in frequent contact with India and China to the east and with black Africa to the south. This intellectual openness can be sensed in many interrelated fields of Muslim thought: philosophy and theology, medicine and pharmacology, algebra and geometry, astronomy and astrology, geography and the literature of marvels, ethnology and sociology. It also impacted powerfully on trade and on the networks that made it possible. Books in this series reflect this openness and cover a wide range of topics, periods and geographical areas.

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Excerpt: The purpose of this study is to identify, characterise and contextualise the different

approaches towards anthropomorphism (tashbīh, the literal meaning of the word is to make similar, compare, liken) in Islamic traditionalism. The period under review is from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries. The traditionalistic approaches towards tashbīh were crystallised during centuries of vehement debates about ahādīth al-sifāt, the traditions that depict God and His attributes in anthropomorphic language. These debates were an intrinsic part of the discussions on the divine attributes and God's spatiality. As versatile scholars who mastered the entire spectrum of literary genres, the Arab polymaths documented these debates in a variety of literary works. This documentation was neither systematic nor comprehensive. Naturally, we find references to these debates in the vast theological literature: kalām manuals, theological treatises, compendia of heresiography and simplistic traditionalistic creeds (ʿaqā'id). However, other literary works also disclose the essence of the inner debates of the traditionalistic circles. Thus, we find fragments of information about these debates in the historical sources, mainly chronicles, and the professional literature for Hadith scholars, such as biographical dictionaries, Hadith manuals, exegeses (shurūh) of prominent Hadith compilations, and exegeses (tafāsīr) of the Quran.

When I started planning the research for this book, I assumed that I would focus on the theological writings of the leading Islamic thinkers. Ibn Qutayba, Abu Ya'la, Ibn al-Jawzi, and naturally Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, were the names that immediately came into my mind. However, in my reading of these scholars' works of theology, I found myself drawn more and more to other literary genres, mostly Hadith compilations and Hadith manuals. As a result, the task of conducting the research for this study was less tranquil than I had initially imagined and planned. First, the amount of literature relevant for this study turned out to be overwhelming. I found that almost every respectable thinker, whether Hanbalite, Ash'arite or otherwise, possessed an unrestrainable need to write a treatise about the divine attributes, the divine throne or God's spatiality, topics which are related to tashbīh. Furthermore, I soon realised that the true story of anthropomorphism in traditionalist Islam lies in the almost unexplored

territory of ahādīth al-sifāt. The task of contextualising the different approaches towards tashbīh required me to temporarily leave my 'territorial waters', namely the hard-core theological literature. I was forced to set sail in 'high seas' into the heart of a conglomerate of texts of all kinds in search of pieces of evidence that contained the inner debates about anthropomorphism in Islamic traditionalism. The magnitude of this task entailed several decisions. The first decision was to concentrate on ahādīth al-sifāt and touch upon other related issues (such as the Ash'arite doctrine of the divine attributes) only briefly. The second decision was to pay attention to the ultra-traditionalists (the Hanbalites and their forerunners) and middle-of-the-road traditionalists (the Ash'arites and their forerunners). This decision necessarily entailed the exclusion of other groups that did not fall under the category of Islamic traditionalism such as the Kharijites, the Zahirites, the Kullabites and the Karramites. These groups, as well as the rationalistic groups (the Mu'tazilites, the Ibadites, the Shi'ites, and the Zaydites) are of course mentioned in the course of the discussion, but the focus is strictly on the traditionalists. The third decision acknowledged the need to avoid redundancy by excluding theological treatises that duplicated the arguments of previous texts that were already included in the book. The outcome of these three decisions influenced the focus of the book; this work does not encompass the entire range of relevant sources and topics. Instead, by focusing on ahādīth al-sifāt, the traditionalists who discussed them, and reading a selection of theological treatises, I was able to see the woods rather than the trees, and to explore new trajectories.

Ahmad ibn Salman ibn al-Hasan ibn Isra'īl ibn Yunus, also known as Abu Bakr al-Najjad (d. 960, at the age of ninety five), was a mu'addith (a professional Hadith transmitter) in tenth-century Baghdad. As a Hanbalite, Abu Bakr al-Najjad belonged to the most dominant group in this vibrant city. Led by the ambitious preacher al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Barbahari (d. 941), the Hanbalites of tenth-century Baghdad were characterised by their doctrinal enthusiasm and political activism. They

enjoyed the unrestricted support of al-ʿĀmma, the masses; this support enabled the Hanbalites to instigate riots against their opponents and dominate the public sphere.

The Hanbalite dominance of Baghdad notwithstanding, the city hosted scholars from the entire spectrum of Islamic thought. Thus, at one end of the spectrum of theological trends were the ultra-traditionalistic Hanbalites, who perceived themselves as the proponents of the genuine heritage of the Prophet Muhammad and his followers. At the other end of the spectrum were the rationalistic Mutazilites, the leading proponents of kalām, namely speculative theology. Between the rationalists and ultra-traditionalists, the middle-of-the-road traditionalists were situated. This group formed the majority of the traditionalists of Baghdad. The middle-of-the-road traditionalists were engaged with the study of Hadith, and some of them even expressed rationalistic views. As a political movement, the Muʿtazila lost its power in the middle of the ninth century; however, prominent Muʿtazilite thinkers thrived in Baghdad while their intellectual influence was wide and transcended the boundaries of the city. The Muʿtazilite thought attracted Shiʿites and Zaydites, and even influenced the development of Jewish systematic theology. Tenth-century Baghdad also witnessed the emergence of Ashʿarism. The Ashʿarites, a rising force in Baghdad, were traditional-rationalists: their thought combined reliance on the Hadith material (and from this respect, they were traditionalists) with the application of the principles of kalām. Last but not least, Baghdad hosted Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophers and intellectuals of different faiths (Christians, Jews and Buddhists).

However, as far as Abu Bakr al-Najjad and his fellow Hanbalites were concerned, Baghdad was the most important centre of Hadith transmission in the Islamic world, and a stronghold of Islamic traditionalism. Like many of his fellow muhaddithūn, al-Najjad followed the model of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855), the eponymous founder of the Hanbalite school. Ibn Hanbal lived in abject poverty while generously sharing the scarce food he had with the poor and needy of Baghdad. This ethos of asceticism, called zuhd, united the Hanbalite scholars and the masses. Al-Najjad, as

his fellow Hanbalite scholars recounted, was such a role model of piety. Once he joined a group of Hanbalites who paid a visit to one of the most bashful muhaddithūn in Baghdad, Bishr ibn Musa (d. 901, at the age of ninety eight), to hear Hadith from him. Al-Najjad drew the attention of his fellow Hanbalites because he carried his sandals in his hand and walked barefoot in the streets of Baghdad. When his compatriots asked him why he did not wear his sandals, al-Najjad replied: 'I prefer to walk barefoot while I am in quest after the aphorisms of the Messenger of God.' A later Hanbalite scholar, who quoted this anecdote, remarked that perhaps al-Najjad followed a Prophetic ḥadīth in which the Prophet informed the believers that on the Day of Resurrection, God would look attentively and benevolently on the Muslim who walked barefoot while performing charitable deeds.

Al-Najjad was exceptionally popular among the students of Hadith in Baghdad: his Hadith classes were offered regularly every Friday at the mosque named after the caliph al-Mansur. In fact, he offered two kinds of classes: one class on Hanbalite jurisprudence (fiqh) that was held before the Friday Prayer, and one class that occurred after the prayer. The latter was dedicated to dictating (imlāʾ) the copious Hadith material that was at al-Najjad's disposal. This class was so crowded that the superintendents of the mosque were forced to close the doors that led to the court in which al-Najjad taught, to prevent more fervent students from entering.

Abu Bakr al-Najjad's prestige as a muhaddith emanated from his stature as the last disciple of the illustrious Hadith compiler, Abu Dawud al-Sijistani (d. 889). The Hanbalites used to passionately claim that al-Najjad also heard Hadith from 'Abd Allah ibn Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 903), the son of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. 'Abd Allah was responsible for compiling his father's oral teachings and Hadith material. He canonised Ahmad ibn Hanbal's teachings by creating the Musnad, the most important textual source for the Hanbalites. As far as the Hanbalites were concerned, al-Najjad's alleged proximity to 'Abd Allah was sufficient to establish al-Najjad's scholarly stature. Other scholars, however, were much less impressed by al-Najjad's scholarship. First, they did not mention

'Abd Allah as one of al-Najjad's teachers, which means that they did not consider him one of 'Abd Allah's disciples. Secondly, al-Najjad's name was somewhat tainted by allegations of plagiarism. For instance, the Baghdadian Hadith scholar, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Daraqutni (d. 995), who participated in al-Najjad's classes, claimed that al-Najjad used the Hadith material of other scholars, and attributed this material, which he was not entitled to teach, to himself. Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi (d. 1071), who cited al-Daraqutni's unflattering view of al-Najjad, tried to exonerate al-Najjad from this severe accusation: 'Al-Najjad became blind towards the end of his life – explained al-Khatib al-Baghdadi – so perhaps one of his students dictated in his name this material that al-Daraqutni mentioned'. These allegations aside, al-Najjad was generally considered a reliable muhaddith: *sadūq*, that is, truthful, is the epithet that the Hadith experts attached to his name.

Al-Najjad's expertise in Hadith, combined with his ultra-traditionalistic worldview and his modest lifestyle, made him a faithful representative of tenth-century Baghdadian Hanbalism. His oral teachings and testimonies, which are scattered throughout the biographical dictionaries, are therefore important in reconstructing the views of the Hanbalites of Baghdad. An unusually lengthy passage preserved in the biographical dictionary of Hanbalite scholars written by the authoritative Hanbalite scholar Ibn Abi Ya'la (d. 1131), describes al-Najjad's intensive efforts to verify the authenticity of one particular hadīth. This brief hadīth, attributed to the *tābi'ī* (pl. *tābi'ūn*, lit. a successor, an epithet given to a disciple of the *sahāba*, the companions of the Prophet Muhammad) Mujahid ibn Jabr (d. between 718 and 722), reflected Mujahid's understanding of God's promise to Muhammad as uttered in the Quran. Mujahid normally transmitted exegetical Hadith material on the authority of the *sahābi* 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas (d. 687–8), who is generally considered to be the founder of the science of Quran exegesis. However, in the case of this brief hadith, Mujahid opined his own understanding of God's promise to Muhammad as uttered in the Quran. According to Q. 17:79, God promised Muhammad 'an honourable station' (*maqāman mahmūdān*). Mujahid explained this phrase: '[God]

will make [Muhammad] sit down with Him on His throne'. Previous scholarship that discussed this hadith focused on its authenticity and its connection to the hardships that the illustrious historian and Quran exegete, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923), suffered from the Hanbalites of Baghdad. Relying on the relevant primary sources, the following discussion on the hadith attributed to Mujahid adds to the previous research and highlights several points that the research neglected. Three of these points, namely the paraphrasing of the hadith attributed to Mujahid, the addition of embellishments to this hadith, and the performance of a bodily gesture that accompanied the recitation of this hadith, demonstrate the most important features of the present monograph.

When Abu Bakr al-Najjad completed his thorough investigations about this hadith, he issued a creed ('*aqida* pl. '*aqā'id*'), a profession of faith which reflected the feelings of the Hanbalites on this matter:

This is our profession of faith before God: We believe in the content of the *ahādith* that are attributed to the Messenger of God, but also to 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas (d. 687–8), and the scholars who succeeded him. These *ahādith* were transmitted from one great scholar to another, from one generation to the next generation, until the times of our great teachers. We wrote these *ahādith*, and meticulously investigated their content. These *ahādith* interpret the meaning of the Quranic verse [Q. 17:79] 'your Lord may exalt you to an honourable station'. According to these *ahādith*, 'the honourable station' means that Muhammad will sit with His Lord on His throne. Whoever rejects this interpretation and refutes it, expresses the views of the *Jahmiyya* (the *Mu'tazilites*). One must avoid this person, turn away from him, and beware of him. Abu Bakr al-Khatib (d. 933) informed me that Abu Dawud al-Sijistani told him: 'Whoever rejects the hadith attributed to Mujahid is a *Jahmite* (*Mu'tazilite*)'.

Al-Najjad concluded that the belief in Muhammad's noble virtue (*fadila*) of sitting with God on the throne was one of the cornerstones of the Hanbalite creed. To illustrate the strength of this belief, al-

Najjad explained that hypothetically, a man who declared that God would make Muhammad sit down with Him on the throne and thereafter took the oath on pain of triple divorce to strengthen his declaration, should have never feared that he needed to divorce his wife. If this man came to al-Najjad to seek his legal advice whether he should divorce his wife or not, the scholar would tell him:

You declared the truth, your oath is valid, and your wife should remain safely in her position. Because this is our way, our religion, and our creed. This is the root of our conviction from which we emerged. We will adhere to this conviction until the day we die.

Written in the middle of the tenth century, al-Najjad's creed paraphrased the hadith on Mujahid's interpretation of 'an honourable station' and elevated it to the degree of an article of faith for the Hanbalites. By doing so, al-Najjad sealed the turbulent history of this hadith and silenced all the voices that spoke against this hadith or merely doubted its veracity. Al-Najjad's creed concluded the continuous controversy about this hadith with a smashing victory over the middle-of-the-road traditionalists. To correctly evaluate al-Najjad's creed, we need to examine the meaning of this hadith and its history.

The hadith on Mujahid's interpretation of 'an honourable station' was one of the conspicuous *ahādith al-sifāt*, the traditions on the divine attributes that included anthropomorphic descriptions of God. This hadith was controversial in spite of the fact that it did not describe God in any physical way or form. When read literally, this hadith implies that 'an honourable station' is an actual, physical place, and that God's sitting on the throne (with Muhammad next to Him) is accordingly an actual sitting of a physical body. This reading obviously led to *tashbih*, namely comparing God to His creation and anthropomorphising Him. Laymen who heard this hadith might have been led to visualise a majestic human figure on a throne, sitting next to a much smaller human figure. The implied description of God in this hadith was unmistakably an anthropomorphic description. Alongside the circulation of this anthropomorphic hadith in ninth-century Baghdad, a 'sterilised' or 'mild' version of the hadith proliferated in growing numbers among the traditionalistic circles in Baghdad and

elsewhere, and dominated the traditionalistic discourse. This version, devoid of any anthropomorphism, was attributed to several Hadith authorities: the *sahāba* Abu Hurayra (d. 678) and Ibn 'Abbas, and a group of *tābi'ūn*, among whom the name of Mujahid was also conspicuous. According to this mild version and its variants, Mujahid and the other persona explained 'an honourable station' as 'the intercession (*shafā'a*) of Muhammad on the Day of Resurrection', that is, it was not an actual place but the role that Muhammad played as an intercessor (*shafī'*) for the Muslims facing their trial in the Final Judgement. This version, therefore, could have led its readers and listeners to an abstract concept but also to a specific scene depicting Muhammad as an intercessor before God while presenting his arguments on behalf of the Muslims. This scene was devoid of the divine throne and God sitting on it, and did not require sophisticated explanations to expel any likening of God to His creation. Unsurprisingly, this mild and certainly more convenient version was attributed to reliable persona throughout its transmission process. The flawless chain of transmitters (*isnād*, pl. *asānīd*) attached to the mild version and its variants, and the fact that it was a 'massively transmitted *hadīth*' (*hadīth mutawātir*, a *hadīth* with multiple chains of transmission) facilitated the entry of this version into some of the more important (although not canonical) Hadith compilations. The anthropomorphic version, on the other hand, was problematic also because of its chain of transmitters. Thus, it was not labelled as an authentic and reliable text (*sahīh*). Accordingly, the anthropomorphic version found its way into marginal Hadith compilations. In one of these marginal compilations, the author, the Hanbalite muhaddith Abu Bakr al-Ajurri (d. 971), decided to reconcile the anthropomorphic and the mild versions. In his *Kitāb al-Sharī'a*, a book highly venerated by the Hanbalites, al-Ajurri dedicated an entire chapter to 'an honourable station'. In the brief introduction to this chapter, al-Ajurri explained that the 'honourable station' that God granted His Prophet would be both his role as an intercessor for all of God's creatures and the noble virtue (*fadīla*) attributed to him of sitting on the throne. Before quoting the anthropomorphic

version, al-Ajurri quoted the ruling of the luminaries of Hanbalism according to which the ḥadīth attributed to Mujahid (the anthropomorphic one) should be accepted in the Islamic canon instead of being refuted.

From Abu Bakr al-Ajurri's statement, this particular anthropomorphic ḥadīth served as a hallmark of Hanbalism, but still struggled for its place in the traditionalistic discourse. We suggest that this ḥadīth achieved this dual stature even before the second half of the tenth century, when Abu Bakr al-Najjad started his investigations in order to establish the authenticity of the anthropomorphic version. This struggle apparently accompanied this ḥadīth from its inception. Prior to the emergence of the Hanbalites as a distinct group in the Baghdadian public sphere, this ḥadīth was the demarcation line between middle-of-the-road traditionalism and extreme traditionalism: the ultra-traditionalists (later to be identified with Hanbalism) who embraced this ḥadīth, believed that Muhammad's sitting on the throne next to God was one of his many noble virtues (*fadila*, pl. *fadā'il*). The traditionalists who rejected this ḥadīth claimed that it promoted a dualist worldview (*thanawiyya*), as Muhammad's depiction in it led to the understanding that he would assume a ruling position next to God, and even as God's equal. The ultra-traditionalists declared that their fellow traditionalists were infidels for not having accepted the veracity of this ḥadīth. Thus, for example, the Baghdadian muḥaddith Yahya Abu Bakr (d. 889 at the age of ninety-five) taught this ḥadīth to his disciples and added: 'Whoever rejects this ḥadīth, resists God. Whoever denies the noble virtue of the Prophet, is an infidel.' The rationalists (the *Mu'tazilites*), by the way, did not show any interest at all in this controversy, because they rejected almost the entire corpus (*mukhālafat al-sunna*) of *ahādith al-sifāt*, namely the traditions which depicted God in an anthropomorphic language. The debate about the anthropomorphic version of the ḥadīth attributed to Mujahid was therefore an entirely internal matter of the traditionalists.

The ninth-century ultra-traditionalists who defended this ḥadīth and studied it, toiled a great deal to prove the antiquity of the text. Thus, a marginal muḥaddith by the name of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Daqiqi (d. 876) declared: 'I heard this

ḥadīth for the last fifty years, and I never heard anyone rejecting it. Only the heretics and the Jahmites deny its veracity.' The traditionalists also decorated the ḥadīth with further details during their study sessions. The Hanbalite Abu 'l-Hasan ibn al-'Attar (d. 881) reminisced about such a study session, conducted by the muḥaddith Muhammad ibn Mus'ab al-'Abid al-Da'a' (d. 843) from Baghdad:

Once I heard Muhammad ibn Mus'ab al-'Abid recount this ḥadīth which is attributed to Mujahid, namely '[God] will make [Muhammad] sit down with Him on His throne'. After transmitting this ḥadīth, Muhammad ibn Mus'ab al-'Abid added: 'So all the creatures will see Muhammad's position at His Lord, and the respect that His Lord has for him. Thereafter, Muhammad will retire to his chambers, gardens and wives in Paradise, so God will remain alone in His ruling of the world.'

The Hanbalites had a taste for *ahādith* embellished with pictorial scenes. This is why they warmly embraced Muhammad ibn Mus'ab's freestyle explanations and additions to the anthropomorphic version. Repeated by his disciples, Muhammad ibn Mus'ab's embellishments were admitted into the Hanbalite canon, but rejected by the overall traditionalist canon.

Alongside their vigorous efforts to promote this ḥadīth attributed to Mujahid, who was merely a *tābi'i*, the Hanbalites searched for additional ancient versions of this text. Thus, they found evidence that a similar version circulated in the eighth century. This version was considered more valuable than the ḥadīth attributed to Mujahid, because it was attributed to the *sahābi* 'Abd Allah ibn Salam Abu 'l-Harith al-Isra'ili (d. 663–4). This *sahābi* was a Medinese Jew who converted to Islam two years before the Prophet died, and became an overflowing source of Judaeo-Christian traditions. 'Abd Allah ibn Salam became one of the Prophet's closest friends and the first Muslim who was promised Paradise in his lifetime. In the second half of the eighth century, 'Abd Allah ibn Salam's name was connected to a ḥadīth which circulated in Basra and was quite similar to the anthropomorphic version attributed to Mujahid. According to this ḥadīth, 'Abd Allah ibn Salam said: 'On the Day of

Resurrection, your Prophet will be summoned [to God], and will be asked to sit in front of God on his throne.' A prominent muhaddith from Basra, Abu Mas'ud Sa'id ibn Iyas al-Jurayri (d. 761–2), transmitted this hadith. One of Abu Mas'ud al-Jurayri's disciples asked: 'Oh Abu Mas'ud, does this mean that by being on the throne, the Prophet will be actually with God?' Abu Mas'ud was annoyed by this question, and replied: 'Woe unto you! This is the most precious hadith for me in the entire world.' The Hanbalites of Baghdad perceived this anecdote about al-Jurayri as a reinforcement of their position in the debate about Muhammad's sitting on the divine throne. More importantly, they regarded the hadith attributed to 'Abd Allah ibn Salam as precious, because it established the antiquity of the concept of Muhammad's sitting on the divine throne. However, as mentioned earlier, the textual evidence that the Hanbalites presented about the authenticity of the anthropomorphic version made no impression on the majority of the traditionalists. They preferred the mild version which had no anthropomorphism in it. The Hanbalites, however, promoted the anthropomorphic version which they cherished in different channels to a degree that this text became an icon of Hanbalism.

There were other ahādīth, similar to the hadith attributed to Mujahid that were considered texts of dubious origin. These texts were compiled by the Baghdadian muhaddith Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Ali al-Khayyat (d. 1052); however, his Hadith compilation about the divine attributes is no longer extant. One of the rare versions in al-Khayyat's compilation (quoted by a later source) was attributed to 'A'isha (d. 678), the beloved wife of Muhammad. According to this version of the hadith, 'A'isha testified: 'I once asked the Messenger of God about the honourable station, and he replied: "My Lord promised me that I would sit on the throne."' Another interesting version is attributed to the sahābī 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar (d. 693). According to his avowal, Ibn 'Umar's interpretation of Q. 17:79 relied on the Prophet himself. Ibn 'Umar thus explained that the verse meant that God would make the Prophet sit with Him on the throne.

The great canoniser of Ahmad ibn Hanbal's teachings, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Bakr al-

Marwazi (or al-Marrudhi, d. 888), was responsible for the transformation of the anthropomorphic version of the hadith on the 'honourable station' from a marginal hadith to an iconic text. Al-Marwazi and his fellow Hanbalites were concerned by voices within the community of the muhaddithūn which expressed their serious doubts about the veracity of the anthropomorphic version and forthrightly preferred the mild version. Al-Marwazi and his colleagues were especially concerned by a certain muhaddith who issued a letter denouncing the anthropomorphic version. The name of this muhaddith was never clarified; the Hanbalite scholars merely referred to him as 'al-Tirmidhi', thus emphasising his Persian origin (al-Tirmidh is located in today's southern part of Uzbekistan). 'Al-Tirmidhi' made his views against the anthropomorphic version known to the entire community of Hanbalite muhaddithūn in response to their vigorous efforts to promote this hadith. One of these Hanbalites, Yahya Abu Bakr (whom we mentioned earlier), received a letter from 'al-Tirmidhi' claiming that 'whoever transmits the hadith attributed to Mujahid is a Jahmite (Mu'tazilite) and a dualist'. Yahya Abu Bakr immediately sent the letter to Abu Bakr al-Marwazi, the most senior disciple of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. The letter containing the shockingly heretical words of 'al-Tirmidhi' immediately brought to al-Marwazi's memory a conversation that he had had with Ahmad ibn Hanbal years before the incident. According to al-Marwazi's avowal, he asked Ahmad ibn Hanbal what would happen to someone who rejected one of the anthropomorphic traditions (al-ahādīth fi 'l-sifāt). Ahmad ibn Hanbal's forthright reply was 'avoid him' (yujfā). We note that Ahmad ibn Hanbal did not address the hadith attributed to Mujahid in this brief conversation, probably because this hadith was not known to him.

The meaning of Ahmad ibn Hanbal's reply was not to ignore this person, but to excommunicate him. Brushing up this long-forgotten reply by Ahmad ibn Hanbal drove al-Marwazi to an immediate act: he composed a book dedicated entirely to Muhammad's special virtue of sitting on the divine throne. According to later sources, al-Marwazi's book, which unfortunately no longer exists, contained all the possible variants of the hadith

attributed to Mujahid as well as a list of the scholars who vouched for the veracity of all these variants. Parts of this book are preserved in *Kitāb al-Sunna*, authored by al-Marwazi's disciple Ahmad ibn Muhammad Abu Bakr al-Khallal (d. 923), himself an important Hanbalite theologian and jurist. Judging from the available fragments of al-Marwazi's book, it contained dozens of declarations by Hanbalite muhaddithūn who were active in the second half of the ninth century, in defence of the anthropomorphic version. These declarations also condemned 'al-Tirmidhi', describing him as a brilliant man who produced words of heresy. The Hanbalite muhaddithūn forbade any association with 'al-Tirmidhi' and called for a ban of his Hadith classes. There is no doubt then, that 'al-Tirmidhi' was in fact one of the muhaddithūn and not a fully fledged Mu'tazilite. We will reserve the inquiry about 'al-Tirmidhi's' identity for another time.

Al-Marwazi promoted the anthropomorphic version attributed to Mujahid by another effective way: whenever he recited this hadīth, he used to stand up and then sit down. This gesture illustrated that Muhammad's sitting on the throne was an actual sitting. The Damascene Hadith scholar and historian Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi (d. 1348), who recounted this rare anecdote (we have not located it in any other source), remarked that al-Marwazi indeed exaggerated his demonstration of support of this hadīth. Al-Marwazi's gesture was meant for the masses: the performance of gestures was the most powerful device that the muhaddithūn used to excite their audience. More powerful than any word, al-Marwazi's gesture conveyed the message of the anthropomorphic version effectively.

Abu Bakr al-Khallal, al-Marwazi's disciple, continued his master's activism and also strove to keep the anthropomorphic version present in the public sphere. In 904, Abu Bakr al-Khallal, who spent several years in Tarsus (in today's southern central Turkey), learned that the followers of 'al-Tirmidhi' (ashāb al-Tirmidhī) were expelled from Baghdad in circumstances that unfortunately we have no knowledge about. These followers settled in Tarsus and started publicising their views against the anthropomorphic version while denying Muhammad's virtue of sitting on the throne. Al-

Khallal wrote to his fellow Hanbalites in Baghdad and asked them to issue a well-reasoned opinion about this hadīth. The leaders of the Hanbalites in Baghdad sent al-Khallal a lengthy essay, which is located in his *Kitāb al-Sunna*.³⁵ According to his avowal, al-Khallal conducted several public readings of the text throughout his long stay in Tarsus. His audience, no doubt supporters of Hanbalism, received the text with sheer joy.

By the end of the ninth century, and certainly due to the activism of Abu Bakr al-Marwazi and Abu Bakr al-Khallal, the Hanbalites came to the point of declaring the anthropomorphic version as consensually accepted by the entire community of traditionalists. This declaration was wishful thinking, but as the dominant group in Baghdad they saw themselves entitled to coerce others to accept their opinion. We found that the Hanbalite muhaddith Muhammad ibn Ishaq Abu Bakr al-Saghani (d. 903) declared that the traditionalistic consensus worldwide accepted the veracity of the hadīth attributed to Mujahid. The Hanbalites were happy with al-Saghani's judgement, because he was known for his numerous travels and close connections with the leading scholars of the prominent centres of learning throughout the Muslim world. If al-Saghani unequivocally declared that the hadīth was accepted worldwide, no doubt he knew what he was saying. Al-Saghani's judgement of this hadith was therefore accepted by the Hanbalites and other ultra-traditionalists as the absolute truth. While the Hanbalites, whose unabashed traditionalism was uncompromising, embraced this hadith and defended it vehemently, other 'mild' traditionalists rejected it. Thus, Abu 'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari (d. 935–6), the eponymous founder of the Ash'arite school who served as a spokesman for middle-of-the-road traditionalism, mentioned the anthropomorphic version as a work of forgery.

The Hanbalite scholarship in defence of the anthropomorphic version included enthusiastic declarations supporting this hadith and crowning it as authentic and valuable. Some Hanbalites went further and declared that this hadith reflected the absolute truth, and should it be refuted, they would immediately divorce their wives. The more reserved Hanbalites searched for Ahmad ibn Hanbal's opinion on this hadith. We found evidence of his

supposed opinion in *Ibtāl al-Ta'wilāt*, a thematic Hadith compilation authored by the Hanbalite theologian and qadi Abu Ya'la ibn al-Farra' (d. 1066; he was also the father of the biographer Ibn Abi Ya'la). Abu Ya'la dedicated a lengthy chapter in his book to the efforts of the Hanbalite muhaddithūn to validate the hadith attributed to Mujahid. Thus, the Hanbalites claimed that Ahmad ibn Hanbal himself ordered his disciples to transmit the anthropomorphic version attributed to Mujahid in the exact wording as it was received. The Hanbalites further claimed that Ahmad ibn Hanbal believed that the anthropomorphic version should have been attributed to Mujahid's teacher, the saḥābi Ibn 'Abbas. These two claims do not correspond with the fact that the hadith attributed to Mujahid was not included in the Musnad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, the canonical Hadith compilation of the Hanbalites. Furthermore, Ahmad ibn Hanbal is not mentioned in the list of some thirty early Hanbalite scholars who professed their support for the anthropomorphic version attributed to Mujahid. These names were assembled by Abu Bakr al-Marwazi himself. It is reasonable to assume that if al-Marwazi thought that Ahmad ibn Hanbal had supported this hadith, or merely acknowledged its existence, he would have mentioned Ahmad ibn Hanbal at the top of the list.

The debate about the anthropomorphic version did not remain a theoretical issue. The hadith became a major component in the political agenda of the Hanbalites. In the year 922 (this is an approximate chronology, as the historical sources do not provide specific details about the following occurrence), a group of Hanbalites attacked the illustrious historian and Quran exegete Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (d. 923) in Baghdad. Al-Tabari, as one of the sources claimed, refused to accept the anthropomorphic version attributed to Mujahid and had the audacity to reject this hadith in public.

In his great exegesis of the Quran, al-Tabari implanted subtle references to his rejection of the hadith attributed to Mujahid: he first established that 'the majority of the scholars' (akthar ahl al-'ilm) believed that the 'honourable station' was Muhammad's intercession for the people on the Day of Resurrection, by quoting a dozen ahādith to prove his point. In the next phase, al-Tabari

remarked that 'others' (ākharūn) claimed that the 'honourable station' meant that God promised the Prophet that He would make the Prophet sit on the throne, next to God. Thereafter, al-Tabari quoted ten anthropomorphic variants of the hadith attributed to Mujahid. As a rule, al-Tabari did not hesitate throughout his work of exegesis to accept certain ahādith as authentic and reject others. Nonetheless, he was extremely cautious in the case of the hadith attributed to Mujahid: Al-Tabari declared that there is no way to refute the authenticity of the hadith attributed to Mujahid, neither by locating some textual evidence (khabar) nor by applying rational reasoning (nazar). This saying is far from the enthusiastic declarations of the Hanbalites support for this hadith's veracity. We note that the Hanbalites declared that the sceptics who did not accept this hadith were heretics. However, in the severe circumstances in which al-Tabari lived in Baghdad (he was forced to stay at home, while visitors were prevented from visiting him), al-Tabari seemed to have no other choice but to issue his lukewarm support of this hadith's authenticity.

In 929, strife arose between the Hanbalite supporters of Abu Bakr al-Marwazi and 'a group of commoners' (tā'ifa min 'l-'āmma) in Baghdad. This strife, which soon escalated into riots (fitna) was ignited because of an argument about Q. 17:79, and 'an honourable station'. Relying on earlier sources, the Damascene historian Ibn Kathir (d. 1373) reported on these riots in his monumental chronicle *al-Bidāya wa'l-Nihāya*. Ibn Kathir's report is quite odd, because in it the 'commoners' claimed that 'an honourable station' was 'the great intercession', while the Hanbalites held their traditional position about Muhammad's sitting on the throne. According to Ibn Kathir, the riots resulted in the deaths of an unspecified number of rioters. Ibn Kathir adds his opinion that according to *Sahih al-Bukhārī*, the canonical Hadith compilation, 'an honourable station' was indeed the great intercession. It seems that by determining that there was only one possible interpretation of 'an honourable station', and that this interpretation was not the one favoured by the Hanbalites, Ibn Kathir (who was considered an indirect disciple of the Hanbalite Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya) expressed his reservation about the behaviour of the tenth-

century Hanbalites and their choice of texts to venerate. Other authors of the Mamluk period, like the Shafi'ite Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (d. 1449), who in fact was inclined towards Ash'arite theology, accepted the hadith attributed to Mujahid. Ibn Hajar even harshly condemned a later rationalistic scholar who refuted this hadith. The admission of the anthropomorphic version to the traditionalistic canon was therefore fully accomplished in the fifteenth century.

The case of the hadith attributed to Mujahid illustrates one of the major disputes in Islamic theology from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries: the problem of anthropomorphism (*tashbih*). More than any other issue in Islamic theology, anthropomorphism stood at the heart of many theological debates, and was mostly discussed within the circles of traditionalist Islam. The way a traditionalistic scholar interpreted the anthropomorphic descriptions of God in the Quran, and even more so in the Hadith (for instance, God's hand, God's laughter or God's sitting on the heavenly throne), often reflected his political and social stature, as well as his theological affinity. We need to clarify that the Arabic term *tashbih* is not equivalent to 'anthropomorphism'. In fact, the term *tashbih* is wider than merely attributing human traits (both physical and behavioural) to God. In addition, the discussions about *tashbih* included careful deliberations on spatiality, directionality (especially aboveness) and confinement. Any feature that implied God's resemblance to any created body (either animate or inanimate) was included in the discussions on *tashbih*, although we often see the use of the term *tajsim*, corporealism, inserted in the theological discussions. In the absence of an equivalent term for *tashbih* in English, and because 'anthropomorphism' is the term selected for *tashbih* in western scholarship, both *tashbih* and 'anthropomorphism' are interchangeably used in this book.

This book examines the corpus of *ahādīth al-sifāt* or *āthār al-sifāt* (literally, the traditions or reports about the divine attributes) and its role in shaping the traditionalistic definition of anthropomorphism. These traditions depict God in anthropomorphic and corporealistic language. Widely used by Hadith scholars, both terms refer to anthropomorphism in the widest sense of the word:

these traditions describe God's place in the universe, His bodily organs, the dialogue that He conducts with humans and His actions. The descriptions of God in *ahādīth al-sifāt* which are articulated in a simple language are meant to transmit a specific image of God, which is sometimes surprisingly detailed. *Ahādīth al-sifāt* form a rich source of information about the development of anthropomorphic concepts, their transmission and their proliferation. However, only a limited amount of research has investigated *ahādīth al-sifāt* and conceptualised them. This book examines closely these literary texts from phenomenological, literary, linguistic and historical perspectives.

This book, as a whole, offers a close, contextualised and interdisciplinary reading of Hadith compilations, theological treatises and historical sources. In addition, this book offers an evaluation and understanding of the traditionalistic endeavours in defining anthropomorphism during the most crucial and formative period of Islamic thought. The book is divided into two parts: the first part (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) presents an in-depth literary analysis of the textual and non-textual elements of *ahādīth al-sifāt*. The second part (Chapters 4 and 5) focuses on the internal controversies in the major traditionalistic learning centres of the Islamic world regarding the understanding and interpretation of these anthropomorphic traditions. In Chapter 1, we present the methodology of literary analysis that we applied throughout this book through a close reading of three proto-types of *ahādīth al-sifāt*. As the methodology of literary analysis has never been applied to *ahādīth al-sifāt* before, this chapter aims to present the insights that can be reached by applying this methodology. We detect the typical features of *ahādīth al-sifāt* and reveal hidden meanings in the texts while considering two styles of narration: *mimesis* and *diegesis*, or showing (performing) and telling (recounting). Chapter 2 offers a combined literary-historical approach to two versions of *hadith al-ru'ya*, that is, the hadith on the beatific vision. This chapter further considers the role of the narrator in shaping the narrative, identifies the geographical origin of this hadith, and considers its role in the events of the *mihna*, one of the major events in the history of

Islamic traditionalism. Chapter 3 spotlights the gestures (ishāra, pl. ishārāt) performed by the muhaddithūn in the process of transmitting ahādith al-sifāt. Gestures were a significant feature in the process of Hadith transmission in general. In the case of ahādith al-sifāt, the use of gestures entailed doctrinal and theological implications, and was in itself a matter of dispute. Chapter 4 examines the challenges that ahādith al-sifāt posed to the traditionalists, and the way these challenges were met through the implementation of the bi-lā kayfa formula. This formula either meant 'without asking further questions', 'without paraphrasing text' or 'without attributing physical characteristics' to God, depending on the scholar's level of traditionalism. The lion's share of Chapter 4 presents the problematic aspects of ahādith al-sifāt in the traditionalistic discourse through the case study of what is undoubtedly the most extreme text in the repertoire of ahādith al-sifāt, namely hadith haqw al-rahmān, 'the hadith about the loin of the Merciful'. Chapter 5 examines the ubiquitous presence of ahādith al-sifāt in the public sphere by focusing on four milestones in the theological debates on the anthropomorphic texts in the Hadith. The focus of this book is on Islamic traditionalism and ahādith al-sifāt: the ultratraditionalists (the Hanbalites and their forerunners) and middle-of-the-road traditionalists (the Ash'arites and their forerunners). Other groups that contributed to the debates on anthropomorphism are mentioned in the book only in the context of their debates with the traditionalists. These groups are the Mu'tazilites, the Ibadites, the Shi'ites, the Zaydites, the Kharijites, the Zahirites, the Kullabites and the Karramites. Even without dedicating separate sections in this book to these groups, there remained several topics that touch upon anthropomorphism and Islamic traditionalism which we were forced to exclude from the present discussion. Thus, we reduced our deliberations on the various theories of the divine attributes and hermeneutics, and referred only to the concepts which are intrinsic to ahādith al-sifāt. Likewise, the convoluted Mu'tazilite-Ash'arite controversy on the origins of language and the deliberations on the dichotomy of haqiqa (the actual meaning of a word) and majāz (metaphor) that prevailed in the Ash'arite

and Taymiyyan discourse were reduced to the absolute necessary minimum. These topics, in addition to the nuanced approach of the Hanbalite scholars Abu Ya'la and Ibn al-Jawzi to a'ādith al-,ifāt, remain for another opportunity. All the translations from the Arabic sources in this book are the product of this author, apart from a few texts where we duly refer to the translations we used. Throughout this book, we systematically used N. J. Dawood's translation of the [Quran, The Koran with a Parallel Arabic Text](#), 1st edition 1956 (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), which is a personal favourite. <>

[Observing Islam in Spain: Contemporary Politics and Social Dynamics](#) edited by Ana I. Planet Contreras [Muslim Minorities, Brill, 978-90-04-36498-1]

[Observing Islam in Spain](#) pools multidisciplinary research experiences on Islam, providing original and explanatory findings on the social processes that have developed in recent decades around the so-called new presence of Islam in Spain.

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Excerpt:

The Muslim Minority in Contemporary Spain

Excerpt: When the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz published [Islam Observed](#) in 1968, it opened a debate about the relationship between religion and culture that continues today. In his book, a benchmark text since it first appeared, he compares Islam observed in two contexts – Morocco and Indonesia – showing that although the practice of Islam may be slightly different in these two geographically and culturally removed societies, the practices are clearly based on the same pattern of symbols. However, despite sharing these symbols, the Islam practiced in the two contexts has resulted in disparate social ways of being. While in Morocco the practice of Islam was associated with moralism, activism and intense individuality, in Indonesia, on the contrary, Islam emphasized asceticism and inwardness, and was thus observed by the anthropologist. Following Geertz, then, the question guiding this book is: what is Islam like in Europe? Or, rather: what are Muslim individuals in Europe like?

Answering this question is not a simple task. Firstly, it is not easy to analyse cultural contexts in a Europe that is as complex as it is today. Secondly, the question of religion continues to polarize debate on the 'old continent'. Although the wars of religion of the early modern period of history may now seem far behind, perhaps they are not so far away after all.

At the risk of simplifying, in the Spanish case at least, two particular issues lie at the basis of this topic. The first is that, paradoxically, well into the twenty-first century, the Spanish population is still considered culturally Catholic, at a time when religion is losing its ability to structure society. The second relates to the fact that observing Islam requires observing individuals who are part of a religious minority that is frequently invisibilized or, rather, hidden in the category of migrant and all too often presented as a closed community, outside the rest of society. Lately, of course what some perceive as, the permanent risk of radicalization is an added factor.

In academic terms, the study of Islam in contemporary Spain is a relatively recent area of specialization. Traditionally, Islam has been studied by historians as part of the history of Spain, and it

is only recently that it has begun to attract the attention of experts from a variety of disciplines. Research done on Islam in Spain, once in debt to the work carried out in France, has moved on – to a perhaps excessive extent – to the formulated conceptualizations of the Anglo-Saxon context, which are forced at times to apply to the 'Spanish case'. The chapters in this book are based on research projects presented during a seminar hosted by the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid at the university's La Cristalera headquarters in the town of Miraflores de la Sierra in the summer of 2015. The seminar was the site of a vigorous debate that reconsidered, described and critically analysed the research done in Spain on Islam and Muslim populations. The individual chapters present the main results of research into topics that have, from the outset, been configured as the 'gatekeeping concepts' of Islam or 'prestige zones' regarding studies of the Arab and Islamic world. The chapters break to some extent with tradition, offering new perspectives on classic topics and issues in the study of Islam in Europe. They also challenge the traditional forms of constructing these questions with, of course, the epistemological discussion at the core.

In the different chapters in this book, the Muslims living in Spain are not observed a priori as either immigrants seeking to integrate (Muslims of foreign extraction and their generations of descendants) or as Spaniards embracing a faith (converts). Although a significant number of the Muslims in Spain arrived from other countries, nationality laws and demographic and political processes make it difficult to continue to maintain this separate category. This is expressly discussed in both the first chapter and in Oscar Salguero's study of Melilla, which presents an interesting section of the country's Muslim community from the historical perspective provided by that city. Likewise, the analysis of the legal framework does not focus on laws on foreigners or migration policies, but on religious freedom and the protection of the fundamental rights enshrined in Article 16 of the Spanish Constitution of 1978.

Neither is the aim of the book to present a snapshot of Spanish Muslims, their spaces of worship or the infrastructures they use in their religious practice. Instead, the institutionalization

process is analysed in all its complexity. This involves both the legal process of recognizing individual and group rights and a social process that is not devoid of difficulties. The studies show that this entails a process of accommodation at various levels that is no longer perceived when it is viewed from the sole perspective of Islamophobia. In this respect, two chapters focus on the controversial issue of the place of women in Islam, seen by the mainstream as an obstacle to citizenship for Muslim women. The question of re-Islamization is revisited in the light of a study done with men and women, in which social class was shown to be particularly important for the women. Different possibilities for political participation in Spain by women who express themselves as Muslim and, who, in their dual capacity as both women and Muslims, participate in projects not on an individual basis, but as leaders of associations and working inside political parties with different ideologies are also presented.

The book is structured into seven chapters. In the first, written by project editor Ana I. Planet, Islam in Spain is explored over a long period of time. As an essential feature of the Spanish past in the form of al-Andalus and, consequently, the subject of study for numerous historians, it has now become the focus of social science analyses and a part of social debates. A centuries-long dispute exists in Spain about the country's Arab and Islamic roots. The debate is framed by social and political moments in Spanish history that must be understood in order to appreciate the cultural, political and social processes that have marked the country. At the end of the twentieth century, labour migration from North Africa, especially Morocco, brought renewed attention to the question. While debates and analyses focus on the alleged unintegrability of some immigrant groups, from a political policy point of view, the legal framework regarding religious freedom as it affects minority religions and the management of religious pluralism continues to improve. At the same time, spaces for participation have multiplied, including participation in elections, political parties and various associations, some of which are working to combat the increase in Islamophobia.

In the second chapter, José María Contreras provides an in-depth analysis of the legal status of

Islam in Spain to determine how far the exercise of religious freedom extends for Muslims. In Spain today there are around 1,200,000 Muslims, approximately 2.6% of the Spanish population. Moreover, this is a critical point in time, when what has been an 'Islam of foreigners' seems to be evolving into an Islam made up of people who live and are going to have to live as both citizens born in Spain (i.e. Spaniards) and as Muslims alongside those Spaniards who have freely made the choice to convert to Islam. As a result, Muslims at this time are experiencing a moment of flux, but also a situation of normalization, stability, visibilization and institutionalization. These new circumstances have been accompanied by new needs related to spaces or places of worship, cemeteries, religious personnel, religious leaders and the like.

However the spaces of Islam in Spain in historical times were not only related to the centuries of Arab/Berber domination of the Iberian Peninsula. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, organized Islam has existed since the nineteenth century in the city of Melilla. This city, located in North Africa but an integral part of the Spanish state (like Ceuta on the Strait of Gibraltar), is a complex one. Thanks to its geographic location and history, it provides a site to study interactions between religious communities, places of worship and the worshippers themselves in the public space of Melilla during the twentieth century and up to the present day. The chapter by Óscar Salguero draws on the reflexive and critical practice that underlies social research in general and anthropology in particular, applying a spatial and urbanistic perspective to the current composition of Islam in Melilla and to the sometimes controversial influence of state control and the security apparatus on local daily life.

In Chapter 4, a team of authors (Marta Alonso, Khalid Ghali, Alberto López, Jordi Moreras and Ariadna Solé) looks at the transformations that have taken place in the 'invisible' ritual practices of Muslim communities in Catalonia as an example of (relatively) successful accommodation to the European religious field. These rituals are shown to elicit very little controversy in a context of increasing pressure with regard to Islamic religious practice in Europe. The chapter shows that, despite the validity of the ritual practices, this pressure is directly related both to growing discretion

surrounding the rituals – to the point of limiting the practice at times to the private sphere – and to a progressive compliance with legal requirements inspired to some extent by a secular sensibility that proscribes the execution and exhibition of acts involving bloodshed in the public space. These restrictions and controversies have particularly affected the ceremonies associated with Ashura and, of course, the Eid al-Adha sacrifice, two rituals that have aroused particular suspicion in recent years.

Chapter 5 focuses on young Muslims in Spain. Using the existing literature on this question in other European contexts as their point of reference, Virtudes Téllez and Salvatore Madonia discuss the Spanish context, in which their visibilization is quite low, and the public debate, where their only representation in recent years has resulted from an interest in radicalization. Two successive ethnographic experiences are drawn on to understand the evolution of the associative process of young Muslims in the Spanish context and identify their sociocultural and political dynamics, analysing whether they are reactive or active regarding contemporary social processes and thus questioning reductionist culturalist and/or security focuses.

In Chapter 6, Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares analyse the result of a research project (2011–15) on the relationship between gender and Islam in Madrid. They examine the presence of Islam in male-female relationships based on an analysis of the discourse in four discussion groups, all supported by extensive prior ethnographic experience. One of the project's objectives was to identify the processes of re-Islamization in Spain, on par with what the literature has shown for the rest of Europe. According to the research carried by the authors, it cannot be said that a similar situation is developing in Madrid. The chapter shows that, while the idea of living Islamically is identified as a model for Muslims, what truly determines relationships between Islam and gender are social positions. For Muslims in privileged positions, Islam becomes a social resource for both men and women. However, further down the social scale, while Muslim men also use Islam as capital in domestic and social bargaining, the same cannot be said of the women in this group. For them, Islam

does not have this value and is identified, among other things, as part of the structure of domination in which they are the weak element.

In the discussion of political Muslim women in Chapter 7, Aitana Guia challenges conventional views that primarily consider Muslim women victims of patriarchal interpretations of Islam and targets of anti-Muslim racist stereotypes. Many devout Spanish Muslim women are using a strategy of visibility and engagement in the public sphere as a way to protect their community and shape what it means to be a Muslim Spanish woman. The author shows that some devout Muslim women are choosing to actively participate in politics, religious organizations and women's groups in order to challenge Islamophobia and European perceptions of Muslim women as oppressed, promote women's rights and defend the religious rights of Spanish Muslims. For Guia, devout Muslim women have become key players in the struggles for women's rights and against anti-Muslim prejudice in Spain.

Clifford Geertz asserted that the practice of Islam in Morocco was associated with moralism, activism and intense individuality and in Indonesia, with asceticism and inwardness. And in Spain? As the editor, I hope that the works in this book help to construct a mental framework between the Islamic religion and Spanish culture – with all the essentialist content inherent in the use of the two terms today – that is more plural and varied and that, to a large extent, banishes the single framework of immigrant Islam or violent, radicalized Islam.

As the reader can see, young Spanish Muslims, to whom this book is dedicated, have a great deal of work ahead of them. However, despite the fact that these young people will guide the way forward for Islam in Spain, for now they continue to run up against a glass ceiling in their community. Religious associations and dialogue on religious issues continue to be controlled by members of older generations, and the incorporation of younger members of the community – much like the incorporation of women – has not been to anyone's satisfaction. However, the social activism of new organizations made up of young Muslims is transforming the public presence of Islam in Spanish society at great speed.

This task, however, is not only the responsibility of young Muslims. They live their lives in a social and political, local and national context that is clearly affected by both global dynamics and local policies. Meanwhile, the security dimension of some public policies must be considered within the general context surrounding individual actions. Reactions to this situation and questions about how this new element of tension will be handled ensure that the future development of a Spanish Islam will be marked by uncertainty, especially after the violent attacks that occurred in August 2017 in Catalonia. These studies can lead to understanding and observation that see beyond the terror.

Finally, this book is also dedicated to the new generations of researchers who are working on these crucial questions from the perspective of very diverse disciplines. They also find themselves limited by their own glass ceiling and by the material limitations that characterize working conditions for so many young scholars today.

Islam as Part of Spanish History: To be or Not to be?

In 1970 James Monroe made a detailed analysis of studies of Islam and Arabs in Spain, going back to the sixteenth century to present the history of the study of Islam and Arab culture in the country as one long scholastic tradition that gave preference to the Arab facet of the dyad over the Islamic. While works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries focused on linguistic questions regarding Arabic, its permanence and the aberrations in its usage, eighteenth – and nineteenth-century studies concentrated on the political history of al-Andalus, leaving little space for reflections on Islam.

For a long time, the history of the Muslim presence in al-Andalus was presented in the historiography as the ‘history of the destruction of Spain’. A book published in Valencia in 1618 entitled *Chronicle of the Spanish Moors* – written by Fray Jayme Bleda, a Dominican with ties to the Inquisition – is one clear example of this. Bleda writes about the historical vicissitudes between the eighth and sixteenth centuries as ‘holy wars’ between the ‘Christians of Spain’ and the ‘Moors’ to ‘restore’ a lost Spain. Reproduced over and over again, this type of historical account led to a true ‘expulsion’ of Arabs and Islam from Spanish historiography and history. In the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment opened the

country up to new insights. Spain at this time witnessed a timid historical rehabilitation of the country’s complex past and its geographic and political relations with its closest neighbours in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. During the reign of Carlos iii, concurrent with the initiation of a policy of openness towards the states and regencies in North Africa, cultural interest in Arab and Muslim culture began to develop and shed its negative anti-Spanish image. While limited to members of the Church, Spanish history began to be seen from another perspective. In 1795 Francisco Masdeu, a Jesuit exiled from Spain, wrote his *Critical History of Spain and Spanish Culture*, which recognized the important role played by Arabs and Jews in the transmission of knowledge and learning during the Andalusí era, a time when Europe was largely in a state of ignorance.

However, it would not be until the nineteenth century that an intellectual and political debate about Islam and Arab culture in Spanish history developed. Then – and to a lesser extent now – intellectuals, members of the military and politicians debated about their era, bringing back arguments from days gone by in an eternal re-reading of Spain’s Arab past. Spanish historians were divided between those who wished to incorporate the long period of the Muslim presence into the country’s history and those who rejected that incorporation. From his position in the former group, Bernabé López García rescued the Arabist J.A. Conde and his wish to write Spanish history from the point of view of other protagonists, eluding the ‘fate of old historical memoirs by men, which have always been passed on to posterity, either enveloped in obscure fables or in suspicious relationships of interest and partiality’. After Conde, Pascual de Gayangos, Francisco Fernández y González and Francisco Codera, all key Spanish Arabists, influenced a historical current that highlighted the great cultural development of al-Andalus at a time when ‘ignorance’ and ‘barbarism’ extended across Europe.

Despite the efforts of these Arabists to incorporate Arabs and Muslims into Spanish history, however, for nineteenth-century Spaniards, they were something strange and distant. During the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859–60, for instance, they

were once again depicted as enemies. And, despite the efforts of some thinkers like Joaquín Costa, this enmity continued during the first decades of the twentieth century due to the colonial wars associated with the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco. Justifiably, the great Spanish historian José María Jover has said that the historical antagonism between the Spaniard and the Moro is 'the most intensely socialized idea in the Spanish historical consciousness'. All of these questions have affected the construction and appropriation of Islamic heritage in Spain.

The short-lived Second Republic, the Civil War (1936–1939) and the participation of indigenous troops recruited in Morocco by the victorious General Francisco Franco in that war all had a decisive impact on this question. The numerous Muslim cemeteries cobbled together across the peninsula to meet the needs of Moroccan combatants, the organization of the first religious communities and the construction – for the first time in centuries – of new mosques (largely in the North African cities of Melilla and Ceuta, as Óscar Salguero discusses in his chapter) were the precursors to the modern presence of Islam, an integral part of the Spanish cultural and human landscape in the twenty-first century. The controversial participation of Moroccan indigenous troops in the Civil War only added fuel to a fire fed by fear, exclusion and questioning. Even today active conflicts exist over the symbolic sphere and the occupation of public space for individual or group practices (see the chapter by Marta Alonso et al.). Territorial conflicts have continued as well, with the most recent being the temporary occupation of little Perejil Island off the coast of Ceuta in the summer of 2002. This atmosphere of prolonged hostility has unquestionably influenced the construction of popular images and discourses and artistic expressions.

Immigration and Identity Debates: Moroccans and Muslims

Immigration constituted one of the most important factors for change in Spain during the last twenty years of the twentieth century. Spain's transformation in the 1990s from a country of emigrants to a destination for international immigration brought important social changes. A

symptom of the socioeconomic transformations in the country, especially after it joined the European Community in 1986 (the crowning moment of its reincorporation into Europe after the military dictatorship), this phenomenon also produced changes in the collective mentality, which had to accommodate itself to what Antonio Izquierdo has termed 'unexpected immigration'. The heretofore monocoloured Spanish society, the result of decades of international isolation, was forced to create a culture of coexistence in record time, shocking traditional mentalities in a number of ways. Of all of these shocks, the newly visible Islam has, perhaps, been the most apparent.

The first example of the existence of political and historical considerations in the management of migration flows was the enactment of the first Immigration Act in 1985, before Spain joined the EEC. In its preamble, this law establishes a set of groups considered 'preferential' with regard to settling in Spain, with arguments based on cultural and historical proximity: Latin Americans, Sephardic Jews, inhabitants of Gibraltar, natives of Equatorial Guinea, etc. However, inhabitants of other colonies like North Morocco, Western Sahara and, with some exceptions, Ceuta and Melilla, were excluded. It so happened that all of these groups were Muslim, although it cannot be reasonably argued that there was a legislative will to discriminate based on religion at that time. Rather there was a desire to 'resist geography' to prevent substantial immigration from neighbouring Morocco, Western Sahara and, indeed, to impede the 'Moroccanization' of the two Spanish cities in North Africa. Events in Melilla in 1986 and 1987 – as explained by Óscar Salguero in this book – highlighted the miscalculation in this law, both because of the moments of tension in the two cities and because of the precedent set by the first Immigrant Act for those who came after, by establishing different levels of foreignness with differing requirements for access to Spanish nationality according to the country of origin.

Since that first Immigrant Act, this 'ethnic filter' has become part of Spanish public opinion, which much more fully supports taking in Latin Americans over Maghreb immigrants, according to surveys carried out by the Centre for Sociological Research (CIs). The early construction of these arguments also

featured other voices, such as Giovanni Sartori, whose 2001 open reflections on Islam were widely disseminated in the Spanish press. Despite Sartori's clearly ethnocentric statement – 'Islam represents the furthest extreme from Europe because of its theocratic view of the world. Their beliefs are in opposition to a pluralist system. Integration of their faithful is very difficult' – Spain, with its Islamic past, granted him the prestigious Prince of Asturias Award for Social Sciences in 2005. However, this 'filter' argument was also used by the Ministry of Defence to justify the recruitment of foreign soldiers from countries that 'have had or have special ties to Spain' and by a government delegate for immigration, who stated that 'in addition to a common language and culture, practice of the Catholic religion is an element that facilitates the integration of foreigners in Spain', to cite just a few examples.

Thus, in a short period of time and without the most minimally plural debate with voices from all sides, public opinion has placed North African immigrants in a niche of unintegrability because of their status as Muslims. The rejection of these groups and sectors of the population is not limited to media discourse; it can also be seen in electoral platforms and the maintenance of different criteria for foreignness. This manifests itself in a broad spectrum of attitudes of xenophobic rejection that tends to reject immigrants from Maghreb countries, especially Morocco, a country that contributes a healthy percentage of immigrants from what has commonly come to be called 'the south'.

The 'return of the Moriscos' – an expression coined by López García in 1993 – occurred in stages, beginning in Catalonia in the 1970s and coinciding with the first closure of the EEC borders. Some of them wanted to reach Germany, France or Holland but ended up staying in Catalonia, coming to form part of a region engaged in a full cultural, linguistic and political awakening. This situation created a specific settlement space where later social and political dynamics would have their own distinctive character. Moroccans replaced other domestic migrants, the Xarnegos [a pejorative Catalan term for immigrant Spaniards in Catalonia] from Andalusia, Murcia and Extremadura on the lowest rung of the work ladder. These first-generation immigrant pioneers were fundamentally low-skilled

labourers and field workers, but also included some entrepreneurs, trade unionists and political immigrants. The 1990s witnessed document regularization, family reunifications and the formation of new families. Generally speaking, the settlement process was peaceful, gradual and only visible in specific neighbourhoods in big cities. The situation in the countryside was less secure. Opinion polls revealed a higher negative perception of this group, although this was not expressed in manifestly discriminatory opinions.

However, at the end of the 1990s, an open discourse developed, supported largely by intellectuals with ties to the ideology of the conservative party in government, but also backed by some intellectuals from the left. Foreign workers from the southern Mediterranean and Asia who had settled in the country during this decade became the focus of a new social debate about 'Muslim immigrants', culturized as such. These were the protagonists or agents of an 'immigrant Islam' that would come to complete the earlier social landscape formed by an 'autochthonous Islam' fed by new converts to Islam and Muslims born in Melilla and Ceuta.

The Dynamics of Islam in Spain: From Immigration to the Management of Religious Freedom

Although the presence of Islam in Spain today can, then, be explained above all in terms of immigration and to a lesser extent conversion and is discussed as the result of these processes, this presentation does not truly explain the social and political developments that occurred during these years. Moreover, these processes are not included as they should be in the new discourses of threat and radicalization so widely disseminated by the mass media. The numerous changes taking place inside the Muslim community, both regarding relationships with other groups and the administration and in terms of interpersonal relationships, require a more detailed consideration. This needs to be done using terms specific to the community and by empirically analysing apparent processes of re-Islamization or the possibilities of political expression when gender is at play – as Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares and Aitana Guia explore in their chapters in this book – or by focusing on the content of religious

practices and debates in identity definition – as explained in detail by Salvatore Madonia and Virtudes Téllez in their discussion of young Muslims in Madrid – or by analysing conflicts over public space in neighbourhoods and the associative sphere – as in the study of the Catalan case by Marta Alonso et al.

With the passage of time, it becomes easier to observe a generational and demographic change in the Muslim population in Spain. Given the absence of official data on people's beliefs or religious practices, which cannot be collected under Spanish law, the only possible resource comes from unofficial estimates. According to data collected by the Observatorio Andalusi, an independent non-profit organisation founded in 2003 (but in fact associated with one of the largest federations of Muslim communities, the Union of Islamic Communities in Spain), it has been calculated that 41% of Muslims are Spanish either by birth or because they have been granted Spanish nationality. This means that the basic description of Spanish Muslims as immigrants or converted Spaniards needs to be qualified and updated. In 2015 it was calculated that 4% of the Spanish population was Muslim. Of all the areas of the country, however, particular attention must be paid, even today, to the North African cities of Ceuta and Melilla, due to their particular social and political dynamics (as the chapter by Óscar Salguero demonstrates).

Although the situation may be unsatisfactory from the point of view of appearances, from a legal point of view, the process has been quite different. Islam in Spain has been recognized as a religion with *notorio arraigo* (the legal status of being well known and 'deeply rooted' in Spain) since 1989, prior to the legal recognition of Islam and the regulation of its practice. This framework, one of the most advanced in Western Europe, is still not completely developed, as José María Contreras explains in great detail in his chapter. Alongside this legal development and recognition, a partnership model to work with the Muslim population has been organized around associations and places of worship, with some success as a channel to voice demands and needs. As set forth by law, this unquestionably acts as a much-needed collaborator when it comes to setting the national

and regional public policy agenda, but its role continues to be limited, particularly with regard to other social and political actors, as Aitana Guia discusses in her contribution to this book.

The process of including Islam in the Spanish legal system began in the 1990s when migration began to increase, as noted above, and is yet another example of the difficult relationship between church and state in the country. More than merely being complex in legal terms, this has produced a paradoxical situation because it functions on various planes and the legal impact is often quite different. As the following pages show, the legal framework for religious freedom in Spain has had a strong impact on the organization of the Muslim associative network into federations and associations – following the model developed by the majority Catholic church –, a lesser impact in practical terms on the recognition of rights and an impact that is somewhat difficult to analyse today in terms of 'social recognition' or the evaluation of Islam in social terms.

In the 1978 constitution adopted after the end of the Franco dictatorship, Spain was defined as a non-denominational state with a mandate to cooperate with all religious faiths. This meant, in essence, that the state was considered blind in terms of religion but also obligated to protect the religious practice of its inhabitants through cooperation with religious actors. The practical Catholic monopoly meant that the cooperation mandate with the religious faiths was implemented in different ways. The Catholic Church once again signed a concordat with the Vatican, while the task was more complex with the 'minority' religions. In addition to the persecution of minorities, there existed what could be called a lack of a 'tradition of partnership' with the public authorities. In the case of Islam, when democracy arrived, there were a few dozen Muslim associations working around the country to maintain places of worship, with the best organization in Melilla and Ceuta, protected by the weak legislation regarding freedom of religion then in effect. It was not until ten years after the adoption of the constitution that, in a second phase of democratic consolidation and under the mandate of a socialist government, the state began to shape the cooperation mandate.

To that end, the government began to promote a system to organize Islam based on the only familiar religious organizational model to date, the Catholic Church. This effort was an important steppingstone in the process of 'normativizing' Islam in Spain (it also applied to evangelical Christianity and Judaism) and would be decisive in the later history of the institutionalization of Islam in Spain. The context was strange: the end of the monopoly of Franco's National Catholicism when Spaniards' public positions regarding faith and practice were multiplying. The debates of the time about the state-religion relationship and the plurality of religions revealed tensions between the 'secularizers' and those who wanted Spain to explore a potential paradigm of religious pluralism.

In July 1989 the Spanish Ministry of Justice, the entity responsible for protecting fundamental rights and, therefore, for religious freedom, recognized the notorio arraigo of Islam in Spain. The recognition granted by the state stated that 'Islam is one of the spiritual beliefs that has shaped the historic personality of Spain'. The state also endeavoured to assign one specific counterpart to accompany the administration in the task of creating regulations and managing other aspects of religious freedom. This was not a simple undertaking bearing in mind the heterogeneity of the Muslims in Spain, which did not always manifest itself in questions of faith, but in the consideration of the presence of religion in a secular state. There were common interests, but also disagreements between Spanish converts living in small communities in highly symbolic, ancient Andalusian cities like Granada, Seville and Cordoba (and to a lesser extent Madrid and Barcelona) and Muslims of Arab origin who had settled in the country to study, do business or work, which quickly became apparent. Two months after the status of notorio arraigo was granted, the Spanish Federation of Islamic Religious Entities (FEEKI) was founded in Madrid. FEEKI initiated the conversations with the Spanish administration to negotiate the Cooperation Agreements between the state and Muslim communities in Spain. However, FEEKI was not able to establish itself as the sole counterpart, when one of the associations, the Muslim Association of Spain, produced an offshoot in April 1991: the Union of Islamic Communities of Spain (UCIDE). One

year later, the very distinct FEEKI and UCIDE managed to federate, creating the Islamic Commission of Spain (CIE), the organization that would sign the Cooperation Agreements with the state on 28 April 1992.

The purpose of the recently created Islamic Commission was twofold, a fact stated in its foundational statutes, which were partially modified in 2015. On the one hand, its political purpose was to serve as the sole counterpart with the state in terms of negotiating, signing and monitoring the Cooperation Agreements. On the other hand, its religious or doctrinal purpose was to facilitate the practice of Islam in Spain in accordance with the precepts of the Quran and the Sunnah. In its pursuit of the first goal, the CIE took in religious associations as they registered in the Ministry of Justice's Registry of Religious Entities. However, just as the commission's purpose was twofold, its representation as sole counterpart had a dual nature. Then, as now, the two federations were unequal in size, both in number of members and in geographic reach, and each had very different internal methods and strategies.

This phase of the process concluded in 1992 with the signing of the Cooperation Agreements (whose legal bases are analysed *infra* by Contreras) between the Spanish state and the Islamic Commission of Spain. However, the work did not end there and the twofold nature of the CIE was not a trivial issue. The events surrounding the first debate with the educational authorities over the contents of Islamic education in 1994–95 serve as an example. During these months, the disparity of attitudes and expectations of Muslims in Spain became evident. The curriculum proposed by one of the two federations – FEEKI, led at the time by Spanish converts – was designed to be open, accessible and attractive to non-Muslim students and thus ensure that Islamic education did not just include the rites and principles of the religion, but was based on the discussion of historical and philosophical aspects. The other federation – UCIDE, whose leaders were primarily Palestinian and Syrian Muslims – wanted Islam to be presented in schools as a historical fact but, above all, from a religious perspective. The final result was a broad, illustrative and adaptable curriculum, which was not taught until ten years later and even then only in a

small number of schools (and whose contents were updated in 2016).

The clash over education reveals the enormous responsibility put into the hands of the Islamic Commission of Spain. Far from having an administrative or organizational role as some people believe, thanks to the state's statutory ignorance regarding all things religious, this organization was handed the job of establishing norms for religion and setting the limits of its practice in the country. This is a complex task, theoretically guided by the text in the Cooperation Agreements signed by all, but hampered by the existence of explicit tensions between the leaders of the associations that comprise the CIE with regard to how to best understand Islam. These discrepancies about the best negotiation strategies with the public authorities, on the one hand, and about how to frame and organize the growing Muslim community in the country (which was exponentially enhanced during the 1990s and 2000s with immigrants from Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal and Algeria, among others) cannot be understood on an organizational level alone. While it is certainly an organizational task, it also involves institutionalizing and 'anchoring' Islam in Spanish society. In the hands of this for a long time bicephalic, sometimes conflict-ridden commission lies the delicate task of recognizing the religious aims of each group or new association to comply with the law that stipulates that any association that seeks to benefit from the Cooperation Agreements must have a certificate of religious purpose issued by the CIE. This document that was not, for example, issued to the Ahmadiyya Mission in Spain, despite the fact that the group has been in the country since 1982.

The reasons for the apparent paralysis of the sole counterpart/institutionalization model are many. Some correspond to the dynamics of the Muslim community and its process of organization and institutionalization, others to the difficulties that arise when new questions are incorporated into the public administration agenda that are not in the Cooperation Agreements (e.g. the education of imams, the social role of mosques and radicalization processes among young Muslims) and still others to the Spanish political dynamic itself and the management of relations between the

central government and regional governments. Responsibility for many of the questions in the Cooperation Agreements has been transferred by the state to provincial administrations. The result is that representation and petitions materialize on various levels, multiplying the number of both public and Muslim community actors. The agenda grows, the demands grow and negotiation capacities become stressed, with no easy way to create a mechanism to coordinate the decisions adopted at local level.

While the organizational model of the early 2000s was shown to be dysfunctional, as recognized on many occasions by the parties involved, at this time the centralized leadership of the CIE is being explicitly questioned. In 2011, 464 of the 1,123 Muslim entities recognized by the Ministry of Justice did not participate with the CIE. In that same year, a new Islamic Council of Spain was registered with 850 associations. The creation of this council can be explained not only by the impossibility of reforming the CIE's internal procedures and statutes, but by the appearance of new working methods and new strategic alliances in the community. As noted above, political authorities in the form of the Ministry of Justice have sought to correct the bicephalic nature of the Islamic Commission by proposing that the group change its *modus operandi* in 2015. The proposal was rejected by both federations, which asserted their independence from the public authorities and continued their efforts to make the CIE a functioning enterprise.

Political Participation on the Fringe

Unlike other parts of Europe, where the concentration of Muslim voters in some electoral districts and municipalities has been subject to different levels of analysis, the question of the political participation of Spanish Muslims continues to be somewhat overlooked. Taking as given the fact that associations and communities remain apolitical for obvious reasons related to the possibilities for dialogue and negotiation and that there is a lack of interest among political parties when it comes to the potential 'Muslim vote' (with the exception of a few specific contexts), the question of the political participation of Spanish Muslims still merits some consideration.

The real situation surrounding the political participation of Muslims in Spain is certainly complex. As migrants, at this time their right to elect and be elected is limited by immigrant law in the context of elections to Parliament and by a lack of reciprocal agreements with the countries of origin with regard to voting in local elections. This results in limited participation, which in turn produces limited citizenship. In this respect, other studies have shown that as residents living abroad – e.g. Moroccans living in Europe – they cannot participate politically in their countries of origin either. Clearly, this does not facilitate political definition and expression, while Islam, with its aspect of religious identity, almost offers a way of being political.

Muslim voting patterns have, however, been studied in two specific contexts: the North African cities of Melilla and Ceuta. These two cities, which share permeable land borders with Morocco, have been the setting for migration flows throughout history, only becoming limited when Spain signed the Schengen Treaty in 1991. The enactment of the Immigration Act in 1985 greatly disturbed life in both cities. Thanks to this law, which was passed in the months before Spain joined the European Economic Community, the inhabitants of Moroccan origin ceased to be residents and became foreigners overnight, now requiring regularization of their status as stipulated in the new legislation. In addition to the increased economic opportunities that resulted from the changes to the legal statutes in these territories (Planet 2002), one of the consequences of the events that followed the passage of the law was access to Spanish nationality for part of the Muslim population. They also emerged as objects – and later subjects – of electoral platforms and strategies devised by political parties to the point that a specific political option, the Coalition for Melilla, was created for them in that city. The treatment of these ‘new Spaniards’ as voters and candidates in the different electoral processes was one of the key planks of the political platforms and projects in the two cities during the 1990s.

From this moment, the pursuit of the ‘Muslim vote’ has been constant. From their initial role as new voters attracting special attention from the stronger parties (which recognized an important pool of

voters who would, indeed, be a determining force in the 1993, 1995 and 1999 campaigns), these voters became important catalysts in the political field. They have pursued strategies ranging from integration into national parties – resulting in, to give just one example, the presence of a Melilla native of Riffian origin representing the communist-leaning United Left party in the European Parliament – to initiating themselves in the process of creating ‘ethnic’ parties by focusing their efforts on obtaining the votes of the Muslim community and drafting platforms to improve living conditions for this group, whose spatial and job segregation in these cities continues to pose a challenge even today.

In Melilla, the legislative elections of 1989 were contested and repeated because of irregularities in some electoral colleges. The results reflected the population’s dissatisfaction with the policies being implemented from Madrid by the Socialist Party (PSOE) governments and led to the rise of the conservative right-wing People’s Party (PP) in the city. The PP remained the governing party until the 1995 municipal-autonomous elections, the first ones held after Melilla became an autonomous city and a step that marked the end of territorial reform in democratic Spain.⁴ In the 1993 legislative elections, for the first time in the history of the city (and the entire country), a Muslim candidate appeared on the electoral list, running for senate (this constituency has two senate seats) as a representative of the PSOE. This news, which was reported in some national newspapers, elicited numerous reactions, although public criticism of the candidacy was only heard on the night of the vote count, when the Muslim candidate pulled ahead of a candidate from the other majority party. According to the PSOE, the candidacy was part of a general trend of incorporating Muslims into the party, while the other parties argued that it was an electoral strategy to attract the Muslim vote. The result of the election was unexpected. The votes for the two open senate positions were cast somewhat unusually. In the final count, there was a difference of 700 votes between two candidates, both from the PSOE. 700 voters concentrated in districts 5 and 6 – with a predominantly Muslim electorate at that time – decided to combine two voting options on the same ballot. During the fieldwork that I did

in the city two months after the election, the respondents gave various explanations

for this (unfamiliarity with the electoral dynamics leading to errors when using the multiple choice ballot, differing popularity between the candidates, one of whom was a recognized politician and the other a young woman, discrimination against the female candidate or discrimination against the 'young, Muslim female' candidate), but it was clear that the female candidate and, consequently, the party were penalized. What made national news in the 1993 general elections changed radically two years later in the municipal-autonomous election. Two particular circumstances stood out in 1995: firstly, the sizeable difference between the votes cast for the two majority parties, with the PsoE losing positions; and secondly, the votes won by the local parties (whether nationalist or not), which increased significantly with respect to the previous local election (from 12.7% in 1991 to 29.5% in 1995). This development invalidated the model by which Melilla's representatives in the national Parliament were always from the same party as the national governing party. This trend became more markedly visible in the following municipal elections, when the two large national parties were defeated in part by local parties from the city that formed around a 'Muslim' ethnic background and in part by other local parties like the Independent Liberal Group (GIL), a party that is difficult to define either locally or nationally as it was a populist, personality-centred association backed by a group of businessmen with real estate interests on Spain's southern coast. In 1995 Muslim candidates ran in a large number of the participating political parties, as well as in a party made up exclusively of Muslims from the city: the Coalition for Melilla (CPM). This party was created a few months before the election with the explicit support of a group of Muslim merchants from Melilla who closely collaborated with the candidates during the campaign. The results of this election, in which the CPM won four councillor-delegate seats, represented a turning point in the history of incorporating Muslims from the city into political life.

The parties mainly made up of members from one of the ethnic-religious communities – 'the Muslims' –

saw their support grow over the course of the decade. In 1991 the ephemeral Spanish Berber Independent Party won 3% of the valid votes cast in the municipal elections; in 1995 the CPM won 15.6% of the votes; and in 1999 the votes for the CPM (20.4% of the total) and a political situation in which no party won a majority led to the appointment of the first Muslim mayor in Spain. The CPM candidate, who did not win in absolute terms, was the beneficiary of post-election alliances with groups as different as the GIL and PSOE. The result was an unstable government brought down a few months later by a vote of no confidence.

An analysis of the political field in Melilla – and in Ceuta – during these years shows, firstly, that a specific community of voters who share an ethnic-religious background did not form around ideological demands related to Islam. What worked in the first elections in the majority Muslim districts was a spatial contagion or 'neighbourhood' effect that explains the results of the election. This effect was due to the saturation of circuits of information in favour of one party or list in a particular area, something that becomes stronger the closer the ties between the individuals living there. The victory of the CPM in Melilla Muslim majority districts and areas may have resulted from this strengthening, given that during the campaign, the party clearly focused its efforts on winning this vote, for example using Tamazight in the election propaganda and holding specific conventions/festivities, completely unlike those organized by the other parties.

Secondly, while the religious question may not have been emphasized in the platforms and ideologies of the participating parties, it was implicit in references to the multicultural or multiethnic characteristics of the population in the election platforms or, in the case of the CPM, in the candidate lists. However, the presence of the religious question in the elections was not limited to parties that could be considered faith-based – which is not allowed by the electoral code – or to the appearance of certain candidates on the lists, but to the instrumentalization of the religious question during the campaign, while trying to attract voters who supported or opposed a specific religious option, thus developing ideological oppositions reinforced by apparently religious

arguments, even though they hid questions of, for instance, class.

In this respect, during the 1995 campaign, some non-Muslim citizens in the city denounced the use of slogans that could be perceived as confusing religion and politics and that called for Muslims to join together around this religious characteristic. 'A good Muslim should vote for a party made up of Muslims' was one slogan criticized by a local newspaper. The place was the Central Mosque of Melilla and the time the Friday evening prayers. The party in question later issued a communiqué denying this assertion and reiterating the non-confessional character of the party. Muslim citizens supporting other parties also reacted. Another example of this propaganda – 'If you don't want a Muslim mayor, vote' – appeared on some handwritten leaflets left in a small square in the city. The leaflets did not back any particular party, but urged participation as a way to counteract the growing presence of Muslims among the voting population. Finally, one other case concerned the Jews, another minority group in the city. Two days before the election, voting-age Jews in Melilla received pamphlets in the mail that included the message 'Forgive, but don't forget', a reference to the father of a PP candidate who had allegedly served in the Nazi army. The reaction from the Israelite Community of Melilla was immediate; a communiqué strongly criticized the use of the Holocaust for political purposes and reiterated the neutrality of the Jewish community in the city, saying it had no links to any political ideology and that its members were completely free to vote like any other citizen of Melilla and Spain.

Appraising Islam in Social Terms: To be or Not to be

A specific study carried out in 2007 by the Spanish National Research Council's Institute for Advanced Social Studies found four primary discourses among non-Muslim Spaniards: (a) a generally negative primal perception of Islam linked to fanaticism; (b) the centrality of the ethno-religious figure of the 'Moro' – Moroccan or North African – in the identification of Muslims; (c) incomprehension of the religiosity attributed to Muslims, even found in the discourses of respondents who said they had no personal contact with any Muslims; and (d) constant

doubts about the integration of Muslims expressed, in part, with regard to the subordinate position of Muslim women. Two elements seem to converge in these clearly negative perceptions. The first is the permanent relationship that continues to be established between Islam and immigration on the basis of insurmountable social and cultural otherness that would affect democratic advances, most particularly gender equality (seen as something that Spanish society has already achieved). The second element, found by more recent studies, is non-integration, based on the suspicion that fanaticism and the subsequent radicalization of these groups represent a threat to society.

Factors that could distort the process of incorporating the Muslim community in Spain include arguments that rest on the foreignness of Islam in Spain and take into consideration the permanent influence of third parties on the daily lives of Muslims in the country. And indeed, countries like Morocco have developed specific policies for their nationals living abroad. Another such factor is the debate over associations and communities, experienced with special sensitivity and commitment by groups of young people who meet in non-communal spaces for social and religious debate, as Madonia and Téllez discuss in their chapter in this book.

Today, Muslim countries continue to influence the process of institutionalizing Islam at the same time that the Spanish foreign policy agenda regarding Islam has grown. Some countries with a large number of citizens living in Spain have tried to influence the evolution of this process and play their diplomatic cards, although their focus is often on specific areas whose administration is unique and differs in intensity when compared to the rest of the country, such as Catalonia. Other countries with fewer nationals living in Spain (or practically none, as in the case of Saudi Arabia), have also tried to influence the Spanish government in its decision-making by investing in the Spanish economy, maintaining spaces of worship and programming cultural and educational activities from abroad, using networks like the Islamic League.

In the specific case of Morocco, the religious question played no part in the Treaty of Friendship

signed between Spain and Morocco in 1991, which structures relations between the two countries. Neither was any position defined regarding migration beyond requiring that Moroccans wishing to enter Spain after 1991 obtain a visa. No guidelines are established for specific dialogue on the subject at state level, although some autonomous community administrative bodies – specifically the Government of Catalonia – have been developing policies on the topic since 2002. As part of an overall approach to managing a complex immigration situation involving Pakistan and North Africa – and within the framework of de facto powers – that region began a policy of collaborating with its religious communities against the backdrop of dynamics that do not exist in other parts of Spain. With the emergence of parties like the Platform for Catalonia, with its Islamophobic slant, the electoral situation in Catalonia is also an example of the visibility of these policies and the suspicions that arise in an electorate with some extremist segments.

In general, Moroccan religious policy regarding its emigrants living in Spain appears to focus on three symbolic and material areas. At the highest level are the activities implemented by the Council of Moroccan Ulema for Europe, which collaborates in the instruction of imams and their overseas missions (including women) and the organization of pilgrimages to holy sites. The second level includes direct support for a limited number of associations and mosques, with no specifications regarding direct financing for spaces of worship. The Hassan ii Foundation also provides support as part of its programme to foment religion in Moroccan communities abroad by sending imams during Ramadan.

Finally, there is the growing participation of Moroccans in dialogue and discussion, something that was 'quite negligible in the 1990s, [but] has become significant with regard to both state and regional bodies in recent years'. These dialogues increased after the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, during which time FEERI leaders who were Moroccan (or of Moroccan origin) were particularly visible. This participation, however, was not promoted directly by Morocco. Rather it was possible thanks to the maturing process that has

taken place among immigrants, who have clearly put down roots in Spain and have a commitment to their community at times based on ideological options at odds with the Moroccan system.

Islamophobia, Radicalization and Social Unrest

In recent years, Islamophobia has become a term commonly used by social scientists. In some instances, it is presented as a special form of racism, while at other times it is related to phenomena like anti-Semitism. Building on the definition of Islamophobia developed by the Runnymede Trust as 'an outlook or world-view involving an unfounded dread and dislike of Muslims, which results in practices of exclusion and discrimination', the term continues to be debated and defined. In this book, it is used to describe a set of practices, actions and opinions against Islam or against Muslims, based on an appraisal of the affected subjects.

As discussed in the introduction, Spain, unlike other European countries, has a vernacular Islamophobia derived from the historical accumulation of prejudices with respect to Arab, Moroccan and Islamic culture and identity. Because of the different circumstances characterizing Spain's history as a neighbour of Morocco, some of these prejudices have become commonplace as seen by the colloquial use of the pejorative term, 'Moro'. This longstanding and widely held prejudice clearly corresponds to the Judeophobia found in Spain and other societies.

The recognition of Islamophobia as a reality interfering in relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims has had different moments in Spain. Since the end of the 1990s, various reports from NGOs (like the Movement against Intolerance and sos Racisme) have warned about the existence of racism, particularly against Maghrebis, while the public administrations frame the events as isolated phenomena, the result of coexistence conflicts in neighbourhoods with a high number of immigrants. After the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, there were fears of an increase in Islamophobia – which was becoming widespread in other European countries at that time– in Spanish society. The government that came into power in the election held three days after the attacks chose to act in

two ways: on the one hand, it took steps to recognize Islamophobia as a threat, trying to raise awareness and implementing specific actions to combat discrimination and hate crimes, while on the other hand, it tried to evaluate the impact of Islamophobia on Muslim populations, conducting a series of opinion polls among 'Muslim immigrants' [sic] between 2006 and 2008. Although an important effort has been made in Spain to measure racism and intolerance, knowledge about Islamophobia and its manifestations as defined in this book has not received systematic attention in opinion polls.

However, the lack of continuity in these policies hindered any significant advances. Indeed, it was organized civil society under the leadership of some especially active Muslim association leaders that worked with antiracism NGOs to develop a consistent approach to denouncing Islamophobic acts when they occur and pressuring administrations. Since 2011 the Citizen Platform against Islamophobia – a plural, non-profit, independent citizens' association – has been working towards the fundamental goal of fighting Islamophobia, systematically tracking expressions of Islamophobic discrimination and accompanying and advising victims who wish to report hate crimes. In 2015, for example, the State Campaign against Islamophobia was launched in collaboration with the Movement against Intolerance and the Islamic Commission of Spain (CIE). The campaign was supported by more than 200 religious, cultural and social organizations and focused its demands on institutional issues, supporting the creation of a specific prosecutor's office for hate crimes and the discussion of an organic law for general protection against hate crimes. The group's other important demand involves education and the need to review how Islam is portrayed in textbooks in addition to promoting consciousness-raising on all levels.

As the Citizen Platform against Islamophobia has observed, the climate of distrust towards Muslims continues to be fed by the information published by the mass media, and, increasingly, social media, which does not only equate Islam with foreignness, but also with global terrorist violence, reinforcing the idea that it is impossible to find a place for Islam in Spain today. Media and political

discourses with a critical focus on Islam and Muslims are beginning to develop. During the first months of 2017, a consortium of different civil society institutions (the Al Fanar Foundation, Three Cultures of the Mediterranean Foundation and the Euro-Arab Foundation for Higher Studies), along with the official European Institute of the Mediterranean and Casa Árabe launched an initiative, the Observatory of Islamophobia in the Media, to develop an inclusive press and provide tools 'to facilitate the representation of a diverse society' in the media. The Observatory tracks and analyses articles and images published in a group of newspapers, with the intention of encouraging an ongoing debate about the different ways in which a discourse that rejects Islam and Muslims appears in the media in very different manifestations and with varying intensities.

However, a climate of suspicion seems to have taken root in Spanish society. In the wake of the Paris attacks in November 2015 – and even earlier – initiatives to prevent radicalization have been activated that take the burden of proof off the Muslim community (e.g. the website Stopradicalismos, which makes it easy for citizens to report their suspicions). Lacking any police figures that could possibly justify this measure, these platforms give substance to the idea of a permanent threat to Spanish society, with an attendant clear increase in distrust towards Muslims. Despite this climate, however, the existence of xenophobic parties in Spain continues to be a residual phenomenon, with the exception of Catalonia, where arguments about the impossibility of integrating Muslim immigrants have appeared in several electoral campaigns, and where actions have been taken against the construction of mosques.

In short, the presence of Islam in Spain at this historical moment may well be viewed as a social debate that in part reflects the tensions in the construction of the Spain nation that still exist today. It may also result from the growing variety of people of different origins, their beliefs and their political attitudes, while also reflecting global violence and tensions. <>

[Reframing the Alhambra: Architecture, Poetry, Textiles and Court Ceremonial](#) by Olga Bush

[Edinburgh Studies in Islamic Art, Edinburgh University Press, 9781474416504]

The Nasrid builders of the Alhambra - the best-preserved medieval Muslim palatial city - were so exacting that some of their work could not be fully explained until the invention of fractal geometry. Their design principles have been obscured, however, by the loss of all archival material. This book resolves that impasse by investigating the neglected, interdisciplinary contexts of medieval poetics and optics and through comparative study of Islamic court ceremonials. This reframing enables the reconstruction of the underlying, integrated aesthetic, focusing on the harmonious interrelationship between diverse artistic media - architecture, poetry and textiles - in the experience of the beholder, resulting in a new understanding of the Alhambra.

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In the Summer of 1832, the youngest son of Ferdinand VII of Spain (r. 1808 and 1813–33), the infante Francisco de Paula, and his wife Luisa Carlota, made a visit to Granada, and, following hasty efforts to rehabilitate some of the dilapidated precincts, they were lavishly celebrated in the palaces of the Alhambra on the SabÈka hill overlooking the city (Figure 1.1).¹ It was almost precisely 340 years since the Catholic Monarchs Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon (r. 1474–1516) had taken possession of the Alhambra on 1 January 1492 as a sign of the

final defeat of the Nasrids (r. 636–897/1237–1492), the last Muslim dynasty in Iberia. More immediately, it was nearly two decades since Napoleon had been forced to withdraw from Spain and Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne in 1813. For the French troops, the Alhambra had been little more than a barracks, and an explosion of their munitions had done great damage to the site, adding injury to the insult of the occupation. The festivities for Francisco de Paula and Luisa Carlota represented a reassertion of the centuries-old claims of royal patrimony, and a reaffirmation of the legitimacy of the Spanish dynasty and its political control over the whole of the national territory. And even now, in democratic Spain, each year on 1 January, the city of Granada continues to celebrate the toma, that is, the taking of the Alhambra, a site of memory of national identity, still defined in part against the shadow of the Islamic past of al-Andalus, or medieval Muslim Iberia.

In the same year, 1832, American writer Washington Irving (1783–1859) published *The Tales of the Alhambra* simultaneously in England, France and the United States. Irving had resided in the Alhambra in the spring of 1829 and he recorded both his impressions and his fantasies in his tales of a place that he found to be 'imbued with a feeling for the historical and poetical, so inseparably intertwined in the annals of romantic Spain'. The book is still on sale in the Alhambra and throughout Granada in editions in many languages, as an enduring expression of the Orientalising imagination. Taken together, the visit of the royal family and the publication of *The Tales* in 1832 – an embodiment of real sovereign power and its oblique reflection in romanticised fiction – mark the character of what might be called the modern Alhambra, a UNESCO World Heritage Site since 1984 that now attracts over 8,000 visitors daily.

Irving was not wrong in saying that the historical and poetical – and one may add the aesthetic and commercial – have been intertwined in the modern Alhambra. Among the many visiting artists who drew the palaces as early as the 1770s, the British architect Owen Jones (1809–74) is the pre-eminent figure at that crux. In contrast to the Orientalist artists of the Romantic period, who rendered

palatial ruins to evoke the aura of the exotic past, Jones executed scrupulous on-site studies of the architecture and its decoration in 1834 and again in 1837. His historical appreciation of the Alhambra was reflected through his widely disseminated publications of 1842–45 and 1856.6 On the other hand, Jones' experimentation with materials and modes for reproducing historical architecture and the practical application of his colour theory led to his design of the 'Alhambra Court' in the Crystal Palace in Sydenham, England in 1854, which made him a leading contributor to the fabrication of Alhambresque simulacra. The Alhambra became a major point of reference for Orientalist architecture in the United States, Europe – and even Egypt! – from palaces, hotels and banks to granaries and railway stations, movie theatres and synagogues.

The thrust of contemporary scholarship, dating back to the foundational work of Leopoldo Torres Balbás (1888–1960) during his tenure as preservation architect of the Alhambra from 1923 until 1936, has been to strip away the poetical, in Irving's sense – always a projection deeply inflected by European colonialism – and to restore a clearer view and better understanding of the historical Alhambra. In the briefest of outlines, this is what is known about its development. The first Muslim dynasty in Iberia, the Umayyads (r. 92–423/711–1031), had their seat of power in Córdoba, but built a fortress on the Sabika hill in Granada, as one of many defensive strongholds in their widespread dominions. The Umayyad fortress was known as al-qal'a al-hamra' or the red castle (al-Hamra' or the Red) already in the third/ninth century, referring to the colour of the clay used in its constructions. After the breakup of the Umayyad caliphate into petty kingdoms during the muluk al-taw'if or taifa period (423–79/1031–86), the fortress was enlarged by the local Zirid dynasty (r. 403–83/1013–90). It was the Nasrids, however, who created the palatial city that came to occupy the entire crown of the Sabika hill, measuring 740 m × 220 m, an architectural complex whose majestic silhouette stands out against the backdrop of the mountains of the Sierra Nevada. First, they erected a new fortress (al-qasaba) on the foundations of the earlier fortifications at the west

end of the escarpment. The royal madina, or city, then extended eastward, comprising buildings for the court administration, palaces with courtyards, pools and gardens, a congregational mosque, oratories, baths, a royal cemetery and, at the east end of the hilltop, the industrial zone that encompassed the royal workshops for the production of luxury goods for the consumption of the court. Two main streets running in the east–west direction and secondary streets between them provided communications among the different parts of the Alhambra. A complex irrigation system supplied the water necessary for the daily functions of the city, including the cultivation of orchards. The palatial city was enclosed by a curtain wall with both upper and lower sentry walks that reached to the fortress on the west, forming a well-integrated defensive system. In fact, the Nasrid Alhambra was never taken by storm. The numerous, massive towers and gates overlook the steep slopes of the hill, the city of Granada and the surrounding landscape.

The Nasrid Alhambra developed gradually over the course of the two and a half centuries of the dynasty's reign, serving as the centre of its military and political power in the kingdom of Granada. The architectural projects initiated by the first sultans were modified or altogether replaced by their successors. The dating and attribution of patronage of some buildings, or particular precincts within them, remain an issue for ongoing research. Consensus supports the following summary of major extant constructions, often commonly identified by their post-Nasrid names: the Partal Palace dating to the reign of Muhammad III (r. 701–8/1302–9); the Palace of Comares, originating under Isma'il I (r. 713–25/1314–25) and subsequently enlarged and modified under Yūsuf I (r. 733–55/1333–54) and Muhammad V (r. 755–60/1354–9, 763–93/1362–91); the Palace of the Riyād, or Palace of the Garden, now called the Palace of the Lions, built by Muhammad V; the tower-palaces of the Qal'ahurra of Yūsuf I, popularly known as the Tower of the Captive, and the Qal'ahurra of Muhammad VII, now called the Tower of the Princesses, erected by Yūsuf I and Muhammad VII (r. 794–810/1392–1408), respectively. The Palace of Comares and the

Palace of the Lions are the most famous palaces in the Alhambra complex, owing to their size, state of preservation and continuous conservation efforts. Other constructions, such as the Palace of the Abencerrajes, the Palace of the ex-Convent of San Francisco, the Palace of Secano, the Palace of Yūsuf III and two residences situated west of it, are known today mainly through their archaeological vestiges.⁸ The present-day UNESCO site also includes the Palace of Generalife, known under the name *jīnān al-`arīf* (Garden of the Architect) when it was built during the reign of Muhammad II (r. 671–701/1273–1302) as a summer retreat on the Santa Elena hill, across a deep ravine from the Sabika hill and the Alhambra. The Generalife was altered under Muhammad III and then renovated by Ismā`īl I, during whose reign it came to be called *dār al-mamlaka al-sa`īda* (The Felicitous House of the Kingdom). Further up the Santa Elena hill, above the Generalife, there once stood the palaces of Alijares and *dār al-`Arūsa*, demolished in post-Nasrid times, with only scant remains visible today.

The foregoing survey represents the fruits of the work of a long and distinguished array of modern scholars, all of whom have confronted the same intractable dilemma. There are virtually no available archival documents concerning the design and construction of the Alhambra, nor the court life of the Nasrid administrative, religious and cultural centre. Whether such texts were carried off by the Nasrids when they left Granada and the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, or were destroyed over the centuries when the Alhambra, the Generalife and all other properties of the Nasrid royal family in Granada and elsewhere became part of the patrimony of the Catholic Monarchs and their successors, cannot be determined. The one vital exception is a first-hand account of a ceremonial in the Alhambra in 764/1362, at the outset of the second reign of Muhammad V; it has received important scholarly attention and will figure in the conclusion of this book. But the absence of other documents produced by the Nasrid court is an obstacle at every scholarly turn, and has oriented all research to date towards the extant material evidence of the architecture itself.

That orientation is beset with its own problems arising from the current state of the material evidence. The passage of more than five centuries has made for inevitable deterioration in the architecture, in large measure a result of neglect. The Alhambra never became a primary royal residence nor the capital city of the newly consolidated realms of Castile and Aragon (or later, of Spain). It remained, rather, a property in a far-off provincial city administered by governors appointed by the Royal Chancery for centuries. By the time of Washington Irving, the palaces were home to squatters – Irving himself among them – whom the Romantic painters habitually included in their depictions as an element of local colour for the sake of picturesque effect. The visit of Francisco de Paula and Luisa Carlota was a truly unusual sign of royal attention, but also, the over-painting of architectural elements for their reception was a perilous step in a history of faulty restoration.

Furthermore, it needs be recalled that starting in 1492 the Alhambra was occupied by a hostile, Christian power, intent on converting the site into a commemoration of its own triumph and a symbol of the defeat of Islam in Iberia – what Spanish historiography continues to view as the Reconquista and the inauguration of the modern nation. Hence, there was also deliberate destruction in the Nasrid Alhambra. The most notable example was the obliteration of a substantial portion of the royal madina to make room for the Renaissance palace built for Charles V (r. 1516–56). Although the project, begun in 1533, was abandoned unfinished in 1637, the Palace of Charles V is the largest standing structure in the Alhambra, and the prior Nasrid buildings and roadways on its site are buried beneath its gigantic footprint. At present, the very popularity of the Alhambra as a tourist destination discourages extensive excavations.

Despite the many instances of destruction, neglect and alteration of the buildings, the Alhambra presents what is perhaps the best-preserved medieval Muslim palatial city anywhere and, certainly, the outstanding example of Nasrid palatial and military architecture. The material evidence available for study is abundant and impressive. Measurements of standing structures have yielded important insights into the principles

of architectural design, and the decorative vocabulary has been documented. Archaeological investigations have clarified the chronology of how the urban fabric of the Alhambra developed. Expanded technical analyses have aided in the dating of particular structures, and in the conservation of buildings and architectural decoration. Comparative research in architectural history has established the typology of its buildings – their reception halls and courtyards with pools and vegetation – within the tradition of the medieval palatial architecture of the Muslim courts of al-Andalus and the Maghrib.

Yet in their strict focus on the material evidence, those various approaches, each a valuable effort to strip away the poetical in search of the historical, have largely reduced the Alhambra to a set of empty rooms. Even a cursory view of court life during the medieval and early modern periods anywhere, especially in Muslim polities, will suffice to indicate that palaces were the setting for the performance of elaborate ceremonials in which the social construction of power was framed by, but by no means limited to, architecture. It could not have been otherwise in the Nasrid Alhambra. Like the archival documents, the pertinent material evidence is absent – no luxury objects remain in situ – but it is no mere poetical fantasy to say that the architectural spaces of the Alhambra would have been fully furnished and full of life in Nasrid times. In fact, luxury furnishings attributed to the Nasrid production are now located only a few steps away from the empty palaces; divorced from their original setting, they are on display in the glass cases of the Museum of the Alhambra.

The poetical, as a name for that fullness, may be valuably entwined again with the historical, if not in the way that Irving understood the terms, by what, in other contexts, has been called a spatial turn. Initiated by cultural geographers, and later adopted and further developed in art history and the study of material culture, such work has approached architecture as a setting for social constructions, mediated by the objects it contains and the movement of people that unfolds within it. These scholars have come to speak of spatiality, rather than space, as a scene of reciprocal relations. Architecture informs lived experience and

at the same time it is informed by that experience, which is to say, by the reception and activities of the beholders, grounded in their social, cultural and historical context.

In the field of Islamic art and architectural history, the theoretical premises of such reciprocal interaction between architecture, objects and beholders have long since been developed by Oleg Grabar in his conceptualisation of the role of ornament as a crucial mediator of the aesthetic experience. Grabar developed his thesis in *The Mediation of Ornament* primarily through separate studies of three modes of decoration — writing, geometry and vegetal motifs. In the Alhambra, the three modes typically appear together in the same architectural space, and frequently overlap. As the present study will demonstrate, each mode, in turn, serves as a mediator for the others. This further elaboration of the interrelationships of ornament has two corollaries that orient the whole of the book ahead. First, a careful reading of the epigraphy, and especially the numerous poetic inscriptions so characteristic of the Alhambra, serves to emphasise that this interrelationship itself was a self-conscious key to design. In this book, special attention is given to poetic epigraphy as an explicit expression of aesthetic principles in the verses composed by the accomplished court poets and illustrious Nasrid viziers, Ibn al-Jayyāb (673–750/1274–1349), Ibn al-Kha'ib (713–77/1313–75) and Ibn Zamrak (734–96/1333–93). And, second, such integration is not limited to the three modes of architectural decoration, but rather extends to the reciprocal relations between architecture and the other artistic media that comprised the aesthetic experience of the Alhambra. A single book could hardly take up all of these aspects, so here the focus will be limited to three major components and their multidirectional mediations: architecture, poetic texts, and textiles – the first, always the centre of Alhambra studies; the second, much undervalued; and the third, textiles, almost always left entirely out of account.

The absence of archival documents, compounded by the absence of furnishings in situ, present this approach with much the same obstacles as all others. This book seeks to resolve this difficulty through comparative discussions of better-

documented ceremonial life at other medieval courts and analysis of pertinent luxury objects ascribed to Nasrid workshops among the holdings of the Museum of the Alhambra and other collections worldwide. In this latter regard, it is worth stating here at the outset that adducing those examples is not intended as an argument that would locate a particular object in a specific space in the Alhambra. But the extant objects – disseminated as gifts and commercial exports by the Nasrids or appropriated by their Christian conquerors – illustrate the aesthetic principles underlying the coherent interrelationships between different media, which I will refer to as inter-medial design. The study of furnishings suggests a different model of the Alhambra, that is, of a multimedia built environment.

One further methodological issue needs be articulated clearly in broad strokes. Irving's error, characteristic of the nineteenth century, was not the effort to reimagine the Alhambra as a living environment, but rather the imposition of the cultural predilections of his own times onto its architectural spaces. It is above all the anachronistic Romantic Alhambra – which is also the colonial Orientalist Alhambra – that modern scholarship has sought to sweep away in its pursuit of history. Unfortunately, the names and biographies of Nasrid architects and artisans are unknown today, and, likewise, no information is available on the transmission of theoretical or practical knowledge, such as craftsmen's manuals, in the Nasrid royal workshops. Yet it is still possible to historicise the poetical by turning to the intellectual currents of the medieval Muslim world that are known to have reached al-Andalus and would therefore have helped to shape the aesthetic principles of the designers of the Alhambra and the aesthetic experience of the beholder in Nasrid times. The areas of interest are boundless; this book focuses on three main topics: optics, poetics and court ceremonial. These topics open a broad multidisciplinary approach that engages developments in the fields of conservation, literary criticism and psychology of visual perception, in addition to art history, in order to provide a variegated and flexible theoretical framework. The spatial turn moves discussion in the direction of cultural studies.

The organisation of the book might be outlined in two different sets of terms. First, as the subtitle reads, the opening chapter concentrates on architecture alone, poetic inscriptions are added to the analysis of architecture in Chapters 2 and 3, and textile furnishings in Chapter 4. The fifth and final chapter pursues the analysis of the one extant account of a Nasrid ceremonial in the Alhambra, mentioned above, which integrated all three media. Alternatively, the book follows the path of the optical theory discussed in Chapter 1 that formulates vision as a process leading from perception to cognition across the necessary bridge of the imagination. In this light, Chapter 1 emphasises perception and the concluding chapter cognition. Among the stages of vision, it is imagination that has received the least attention in the study of the Alhambra, and so the middle chapters are all devoted to elaborating on its workings as they are documented in the poetic inscriptions. Rather than offering an overview of all the buildings in the Alhambra, the discussion proceeds through studies of specific architectural spaces, selected because they have received relatively little attention or because they are sites of unresolved controversies and enigmas.

Chapter 1 centres on the uses of colour in the design of the Alhambra and on the visual effect that colour combinations would have made on the Nasrid beholder. Today the architecture of the Alhambra appears mostly devoid of colour. As a result, scholarship has concentrated on the material evidence of the geometry that underlies the elevation of buildings as well as their decoration. The recent work of conservators, however, demonstrates that the interior spaces of the Alhambra in Nasrid times were vibrantly coloured from floor to ceiling and in all of their diverse materials: stucco, wood, marble, glass and ceramics. This focus offers the occasion to work back through nineteenth-century restoration, particularly in the controversial space of the baths of the Palace of Comares, to the historical Alhambra and to re-establish the balance between colour and geometry in the original design. This renewed understanding is grounded in the widely disseminated optical theory of the medieval Muslim scientist Ibn al-Haytham (c. 354–432/965–1040). His optical principles concerning perception help to

explain the aesthetics of the Alhambra, and he lays out the fundamental trajectory from visual perception through imagination to cognition that informs the book as a whole. An examination of the muqarnas vault in the Hall of the Abencerrajes in the Palace of the Lions and the dadoes of ceramic tile mosaics in the Palace of Comares serves to illustrate the optical relationship between a static geometry and the kinetic effects of colour in accordance with the work of Ibn al-Haytham. That relationship is supported by the experimental findings of the contemporary psychology of visual perception. It will have ongoing repercussions in the subsequent chapters as the relationship is enacted by the beholder in the interplay of movement and arrest, and also in the combination of the permanent and the transitory in the construction of ceremonial space.

Chapter 2 opens the discussion of poetic epigraphy, concentrating on the relatively little-studied Sala de la Barca, a threshold space that precedes the audience hall in the Palace of Comares. It is necessary to begin by setting the poetic inscriptions within the broader decorative programme, including its other epigraphic modes, namely, Qur'anic and formulaic inscriptions. Questioning the understanding of inscribed poetry as literal descriptions of the architecture, José Miguel Puerta Vilchez has contributed greatly to its interpretation from the perspective of semiotics. The present study further contests the earlier inclination towards mimetic reading. Poetry is distinctive amongst the epigraphic modes in its emphatic and self-conscious use of figurative language, which both exemplifies and also often reflects upon the transformative force of the imagination.

Following a historical outline of the use of poetry in inscriptions on architecture and luxury objects within a comparative Mediterranean context, this chapter concentrates on a frequent, but unremarked, poetic figure: the trope of prosopopoeia, which creates the fiction that an otherwise inanimate object is speaking in the first-person voice. The understanding of the imaginative function of prosopopoeia is aided by contemporary literary theory, and is introduced here through the analysis of a paradigmatic example inscribed on one of the 'Alhambra vases'. The choice of this ceramic object

also adds a further dimension to the inter-medial approach of the book. The use of the first-person voice in the poetic inscriptions in the Sala de la Barca, and many other precincts, allows the architecture to speak, figuratively, for itself, and to address the beholder directly. In this manner, the inscribed verses served explicitly as a guide to the beholder's experience. Here, the effect is to arrest the ceremonial movement through the space of the Palace of Comares and to urge a contemplative pause in which the imagination comes to heighten an awareness and understanding of power in the audience hall.

Chapter 3 broadens the scope of the relevant poetic figures, taking as a point of departure an explicit reference in the poetic epigraphy in the Qalaturra of Yisuf I to some of the most important tropes in the tradition of medieval Arabic *badi'* poetics. What one gathers from these tropes as they are employed in the poetic inscriptions is the emphasis on interrelationship, conceived in varied forms. This small tower-palace is little known to the general public, since it is usually closed to visitors, and its architecture and decoration have also received little scholarly attention, hence the need to begin with an examination of its architectural features and the history of its partial destruction and restoration. As in the preceding chapter, the architectural analysis follows the movement of the Nasrid beholder, which here is from the exterior into the interior. The main hall is the chief site of the decoration: it illustrates the characteristic layering of decorative modes (vegetal, geometric and epigraphic) upon a single grid, and also a separate and extensive programme of poetic inscriptions. Composed by Ibn al-Jayyāb, the four main interlinked poems have been largely dismissed by scholars as redundant with regard to their content, offering nothing more than a straightforward mimetic representation of the decoration. This chapter argues otherwise, holding that the self-reflexive enumeration and deployment of typical *badi'* tropes articulates the complex relationship between the integrated decorative elements, as well as the overall structure and function of the hybrid tower-palace.

Chapter 4 pursues the aesthetic principle of overlapping interrelationships between

architecture, poetic texts and textiles. A historical overview of the tradition of inscribing verses on Islamic luxury textiles leads to a neglected point of intersection in the cultural production of al-Andalus. A specific type of Nasrid textile and also a certain, ingenious Andalusi poetic genre were both designated by the same term, *muwashsha'*. More than a lexical peculiarity, the shared term indicates that this type of striped cloth and this type of dialogic poetry – and more generally, textiles and poetic texts – were recognised in Andalusī culture to have common constitutive features and a shared aesthetic value. A group of striped luxury textiles are here identified as *muwashsha'āt* (pl. of *muwashsha'*), and a related group of textiles, referred to by scholars as the 'Alhambra silks', is then compared with the decoration of the Façade of Comares in the Cuarto Dorado of the Palace of Comares.

While decorative motifs shared by textiles and stucco decoration have been identified, the importance of stylistic affinities across different media has not been thoroughly examined. Ibn al-Haytham's articulation of the value of harmony in the perception of beauty provides the grounds to look beyond visual resemblances. If, as he argues, the harmony between elements is more important than the beauty of the elements in themselves, then his optics lays the foundations for an integrated approach to the design of an architectural space. In this light, transitory furnishings, like textiles, contribute to the harmonious coherence of the spatial design of the permanent architectural structures. The movement of bodies through space is another aspect of this analysis, leading to the proposal of the concept of 'textile architecture' to discuss the use of textiles to serve the architectural functions of temporarily obstructing sight lines or controlling movement. The peculiar configuration of the Cuarto Dorado, with its monumental façade looming over a small patio, may be illuminated by consideration of that role of textile furnishings.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the study of the only extant text of a Nasrid beholder's experience of the Alhambra: the first-hand account of the celebration of the *mawlid al-nabi*, the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, on 12 Rabī' II 764 (30 December

1362), authored by Ibn al-Khatīb. The text is well known and has served scholars in the tasks of architectural history – the historical reconstruction and even restoration of spaces, and their dating – though some of these issues remain in doubt. Discussion of earlier and contemporary celebrations of the *mawlid al-nabi* in the Muslim East and North Africa provides helpful historical comparisons, bringing to the fore the role of processions in court ceremonials. The interplay between mobility and stasis so crucial to the aesthetic experience of the Alhambra, as seen in the preceding chapters, is embodied in the *mawlid* ceremony by the juxtaposition of the transitional space and transitory structure of an enormous royal tent – the grandest form of luxury textiles and the clearest example of textile architecture – and the permanent buildings. The same issues recur in the poems recited as part of the celebration, which, much as is the case of poetic inscriptions, give voice both to the aesthetic principles of the ceremony and to the expression of power. Thus, Ibn al-Khatīb's text offers a contemporary testimony of the self-conscious integration of architecture, poetry and textiles in the construction of ceremonial space in the Alhambra.

In sum, proceeding through a series of case studies, the present book seeks to bring attention to undervalued historical resources – modes of knowledge (optics and poetics), alternative forms of documentation (inscriptions), and dispersed luxury objects (ceramics, textiles) – that might enable us to re-imagine the architectural spaces of the Alhambra as the living environment of Nasrid times. It is my further hope that the theoretical framework and the corresponding methods of inquiry will also prove suggestive for the study of other architectural monuments from the medieval Muslim world and beyond. <>

[Tomb – Memory – Space: Concepts of Representation in Premodern Christian and Islamic Art](#) edited by Francine Giese, Anna Pawlak and Markus Thome [De Gruyter, 9783110515893]
Language: German, English

From an intercultural perspective, this book focuses on aesthetic strategies and forms of representation in premodern Christian and Islamic sepulchral art. Seeing the tomb as an interface for eschatological,

political, and artistic debate, the contributions analyze the diversity of memorial space configurations.

The subjects range from the complex interaction between architecture and tomb topography through to questions relating to the funereal expression of power and identity, and to practices of ritual realization in the context of individual and collective memory.

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Marks? Urbanism, Landscapes and Funerary Architecture in the Indian Sultanates

Ariane Koller: Die letzte Feier der Monarchia Universalis Abdankung, Tod und Begräbnis Kaiser Karls V.

Picture Credits I Bildnachweise
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Excerpt: Markus Thome, Anna Pawlak and Francine Giese: Memorial Space Configurations

A kneeling figure seen from behind provides the viewer with an aid to identification and gives access to a largely undefined image space. Together with its equal counterpart, the figure not only acts as a stabilising element of the composition, but on several levels also defines an aesthetic boundary. The bodies, wrapped in wide cloaks, visually support a tomb of which the spectator can only perceive its front face and the apparently free-floating cover plate with a gisant on top. To the right of the worshipper, the tomb's entire cubature is merely alluded to by fine lines in perspectival foreshortening. Together with the drawing's non finito this geometrically precise

arrangement of contours stimulates viewers to complete both the object and its surrounding space in their imagination. With this unusual work from around 1845, the Spanish artist Cecilio Pizarro y Librado (1818-1886)⁵ focuses on a complex dialectic between presenting and referencing inherent in the concept of the depicted monument: the tomb of Don Alvaro de Luna (1388/90-1453), the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, which was commissioned in 1489. With their imaginary vividness, the life-size knights of the Order, kneeling on stone cushions, involve visitors of the Cathedral of Toledo in a ritual act that transforms the tomb, the architecture of the Capilla de Santiago with its furnishings and the liturgical acts carried out therein into one single semantic unit.

The aesthetic homogeneity of the ensemble, which has remained mostly unchanged to this day, is quite surprising in view of the violent political conflicts that led to a prolonged period of its creation.⁶ Alvaro de Luna, the influential Constable of Castile and favourite of King Juan II (r. 1406-1454), built this monumental chapel in the 1430s. It is connected to the ambulatory and possesses a central star vault constructed over an octagonal tambour. However, a first tomb with a bronze statue had been destroyed before Luna's prosecution for high treason and subsequent execution in Valladolid in 1453.⁵ The family's intensive efforts to restore the nobleman's public image - his corpse was transferred to Toledo as early as the 1460s - culminated after the death of his widow Juana Pimentel y Enríquez (c. 1404-1488) in November 1488. Occasionally modifying the original plans, just a few weeks later the couple's daughter, Maria de Luna y Pimentel (c. 1432-1502) commissioned both a multi-panelled altar screen and elaborate tombs for her parents.⁶ Given the background of these historical events, the monuments not only represent the conceptual core of the spatial structure, but also serve as aesthetic substitutes for the funeral ceremonies that had not been carried out properly after Luna's execution.

The accentuated performativity of mourning rites evoked through the art works corresponds programmatically to the representation of the Lamentation of Christ above the altar mensa. To the left and right of the Passion scene with the central

motif of the Pietà, Alvaro de Luna and Juana Pimentel are depicted in eternal adoration. To some extent, they act as the living counterparts of their gisants forming the centrepieces of the chapel. The complexity of this interplay between different media not only is evident in the sculptured and painted figures of the deceased, but also in the interactions between other elements of the memorial space. This includes, for example, the numerous repetitions of the family's coat of arms on the tombs, the retable, as well as on the walls, the vault, and within the tracery. The unusual postures of the angels on the front face of both tombs, whose elbows seem to be pushing the cover plates upwards, turn them into physical carriers and metaphorical supports of microarchitecture, thereby consciously duplicating the formal language of the constructed space. This complex reference system, which reaches down even to the smallest details of the furnishings, causes an interlocking of temporal and spatial levels. The actions recorded in stone give the fictitious exequia a haptic and visual permanence that underlines the eschatological dimension of the artwork. The gestures of the corner figures, which alternate between the actions of laying the tombs down and lifting them up, transform the sculptures into mourners, tomb guards and eyewitnesses of the coming resurrection of the dead all in one. The figures hence demonstrate clearly the compression of transitory moments in the service of memoria. In the 19th-century drawing by Pizarro y Librado, not only the selection of the motive and perspective, but also its non-finite reproduction mode, highlight and intensify this semantic quality of the statues.

A watercolour by Swiss painter and architect Theodor Zeerleder (1820-1868) from the same era testifies to the intense artistic and cultural interest of European travellers and artists, who discovered the rich Islamic heritage dedicated to the commemoration of holy sites, important religious and political figures, as well as private founders. Zeerleder's 1848 painting shows the ostentatious funerary complex of Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay (r. 1468-1496), which was built between 1472 and 1474 in the Northern Cemetery of Cairo. With its imposing dome, the tall minaret and the bichromatic ashlar walls, it stands out of the urban fabric as a landmark that attests the long

tradition of monumental funerary architecture in Egypt. Likewise, it is an instructive document of the outstanding significance of tombs and holy shrines in the Islamic world. The building can be regarded a paradigm of one of the most important and widespread types of Islamic architecture. Although numerous hadiths voice a general aversion towards the construction of commemorative mausoleums, the 9th-century Abbasid Qubbat al-Sulaibiya in Samarra stands at the beginning of a process that goes far beyond art historiography: here, local traditions, religious beliefs and practices, as well as socio-political considerations were implicitly connected to the construction of tombs and shrines." As either freestanding centralised structures, detached towers or multi-functional funerary complexes located in urban and suburban centres or in isolated landscapes, tombs represent important contributions to the architectural heritage, the religious and spiritual life within the Dar al-Islam. Likewise, they are documents of a receptiveness for non-Islamic traditions and visual languages that unfolded a strong architectural, stylistic and functional impact on funerary architecture, as some of the subsequently discussed examples demonstrate.

Using illustrative case studies, the present volume focuses on aesthetic strategies and forms of representation in Christian and Islamic art during premodern times from an intercultural perspective. The starting point are current research approaches that transcend traditional notions of the formation and genealogy of funerary monuments by also taking into account aspects of the specific localisation and concrete spatial situation on site» This research focus is immediately linked to the historic phenomenon that funerary monuments were always embedded in ritual and ceremonial practices, so that artworks became active players within architectural structures, rural or urban areas. A subject, that has been researched intensively in recent years." Not least, the numerous studies published since the 1980s on the relationship between memoria and representation did provide a decisive basis for the new perspective of the topic envisaged here. Starting from an understanding of tombs as interfaces between eschatological, political and artistic discourses, the contributions analyse the complexities of 'memorial

space configurations from the 10th to the 17th century. With this operative term, we want to address spatial and intermedial reference systems, from individual gravestones to whole buildings that have their own epistemological orders within certain topographical networks.

Within the complex of topics outlined here, the gathered articles can be categorised according to three subject areas: Topography and Representation, Power and Identity, and Rite and Memory. The authors of the first section examine the complex interrelations between burial sites and representation of power. Richard Piran McClary's study of the specific location of five Persianate funerary monuments built between the tenth and thirteenth centuries in a territory spanning from Central Asia to Anatolia not only demonstrates the perpetuation of Zoroastrian traditions in this region, but also helps to understand the wider geomorphological context of the buildings. Tombs and their potential for stimulating urban expansion beyond pre-existing city limits are the subject of Patricia Blessing's article. Examining three funerary complexes from Konya built extra muros in the second half of the 13th century, she stresses their importance for the development of liminal zones between urban and rural spaces. Subsequently, Markus Hörsch and Christina Vossler-Wolf analyse two Cistercian monasteries and show how their function as burial places changed over centuries. Using the example of Heilsbronn, Hörsch demonstrates how the integration and gradual relocation of the tombs of the Hohenzollern family and their subsequent furnishing with images led to a re-coding of the sacral space. At the centre of Vossler-Wolf's contribution, on the other hand, stands the tension between the standardisation efforts of the Cistercians and historic funeral practices, with a special regard to spatial negotiations of social distinctions.

The second section deals with the representation of power and formations of identity based on programmatic foundations, as well as practices of spatial, architectural, and formal appropriation. As Susanna Blaser-Meier's study on the tombs of French queens shows, their incorporation into the newly established burial site in St. Denis under Louis IX signified a decisive step towards the creation of

a dynastic necropolis. Doris Behrens-Abouseif draws our attention to the funerary complex of Mamluk Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (r. 1279-1290), completed in August 1285 after a construction time of only thirteen months. Similar to previously discussed examples, the monument was not only built to commemorate its founder, but also as a visualisation of Mamluk identity by means of its location and the specifics of its architectural and formal organisation, including the appropriation of Christian floorplans, such as the basilica, and of artistic techniques such as glass mosaics and opus sectile. A display of secular and religious power was similarly predominant in Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay's funerary complex mentioned further above, which is the subject of Sami de Giosa's contribution. Built some two hundred years after Qalawun's epochal complex, Qaytbay's mausoleum tells us a similar story, although in this case the ties to the Christian world were even stronger. The two crosses engraved on a stone-slab found in the open-air passage between the madrasa and the founder's tomb clearly highlight the intensity of this transcultural relationship. Practices of spatial and formal appropriation can also be found at the far western end of the Islamic world, in al-Andalus, where the remarkable absence of Islamic funerary architecture is balanced by the great amount of Christian burial chapels in monasteries and cathedrals. As Francine Giese exemplifies in her contribution, in many cases Islamic artisans were involved in the execution of these funerary monuments. Combining an architectural layout following Christian funeral traditions with a decorative and epigraphic program strongly influenced by contemporary Islamic vocabulary, the Royal Chapel of the Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba, installed by Castilian king Enrique II of Trastámara (r. 1369-1379) and completed in 1371, accounts for a striking example of the transcultural reality of medieval Iberia and its entangled identity. Claudia Jentzsch's article deals with a specific form of self-regulation in the Florentine funeral culture of the 15th century and the associated spatial planning. The use of round floor slabs with the coats of arms of noble families (*chiusini*) in Santo Spirito illustrates the aspiration to an aesthetic standardisation that reflected the political system and thus allowed simple burial sites

to become constitutive elements of church buildings, which could be understood as symbols of the Republic's common good. Starting with the theory of the Two Bodies based on Ernst Kantorowicz's detailed studies, Anna Pawlak's contribution analyses the significant double presentation of William of Orange (1533-1584) in his mausoleum at the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. The differentiated modes of representation, the varying materiality and the programmatic positioning of the two commemorative figures explicitly refer to the political role of the Prince of Orange as the Dutch Republic's *pater patriae*, which at that time was undergoing a process of consolidation.

Finally, the third section is devoted to the functions of objects in the context of differentiated performative acts. It hence focuses on forms of ritual-ceremonial visualisation in the service of a continuously changing individual and collective remembrance. As Barbara Franzé shows, the dominant X-shape of the fragmented floor mosaic in the sanctuary of the abbey church of St. Bertin in Saint-Omer symbolises the alphabet rite of church consecration and thus identifies the aristocrat buried underneath his own image as a symbolic 'pillar' that connects both the earthly and the immaterial ecclesia. Markus Thome stresses a similar interweaving of spatial and temporal levels in church spaces, with a focus on the semantic shifts within the ensemble of wall-mounted monuments for the archbishops of Mainz from the 14th to the 16th century. Thanks to a complex system of references in the cathedral's central nave, the commemorated individuals become an integral part of a community that connects the individual hope for salvation with the public collective memory, a link that becomes especially significant through the liturgy. Stefan Burger's article on the funeral of Bishop Thilo von Trotha (1466-1514) in Merseburg Cathedral concentrates on the interplay of various media as well. As a central memorial site, the northern transept received a key position within a concept of remembrance including the extension of the nave to a voluminous church hall. With regard to questions of memoria, Bürger furthermore shows that the builders resorted to older traditions and how the coexistence of episcopate and worldly power was expressed through the architecture. In her contribution, Antje Fehrmann specifically

investigates those practices that make a tomb part of a semiotic reference system of interacting persons and objects. Discussing the monuments for the medieval English kings and queens as examples, she focuses on the processes that turn tombs and their spatial references into carriers and objects of symbolic communication. With her analysis of funerary architecture on the Indian Subcontinent, Sara Mondini takes us back to the Islamic world. During the 14th and 15th centuries, an unparalleled spread of mausoleums took place, which was most likely motivated by a consolidated Sufi presence within the region. The examples taken from the Delhi (1206-1526), Bahmani (1347-1527) and Deccan (1527-1686) Sultanates highlight the multiple meanings and major significance of funerary complexes and dargahs dedicated to Sufi saints for the political, religious and spiritual life of these realms. The monuments furthermore had a crucial impact on the development of the urban landscapes of various Indo-Islamic capitals between the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 16th century. Finally, Ariane Koller's article discusses the complex representational strategies that served for readjusting and stabilising Habsburg rule after the unexpected abdication (1555/56) and death of Emperor Charles V (1558). The pompa funebris in Brussels for the monarch, who was buried in Spain, combined innumerable objects of applied arts and living bodies as dignitaries with given architectural spaces on several levels in order to express the dignitas with all sensory dimensions, that is, in terms of acoustic, visual and haptic experiences. This last celebration of the monarchia universalis necessitated the temporary transformation of Brussels into a living topography of mourning. Once again, here the relevance, but also the complexity of memorial space configurations becomes very tangible - a problem that not only questions canonical boundaries of genre, but also the traditional notion of Christian and Islamic cultural areas as hermetically sealed entities. <>

[The Siblys of London: A Family on the Esoteric Fringes of Georgian England](#) by Susan Mitchell Sommers [Oxford Studies in Western Esotericism, Oxford University Press, 9780190687328]

Ebenezer Sibly was a quack doctor, plagiarist, and masonic ritualist in late eighteenth-century London; his brother Manoah was a respectable accountant and a pastor who ministered to his congregation without pay for fifty years. The inventor of Dr. Sibly's Reanimating Solar Tincture, which claimed to restore the newly dead to life, Ebenezer himself died before he turned fifty and stayed that way despite being surrounded by bottles of the stuff. Asked to execute his will, which urged the continued manufacture of Solar Tincture, and left legacies for multiple and concurrent wives as well as an illegitimate son whose name the deceased could not recall, Manoah found his brother's record of financial and moral indiscretions so upsetting that he immediately resigned his executorship.

Ebenezer's death brought a premature conclusion to a colorfully chaotic life, lived on the fringes of various interwoven esoteric subcultures. Drawing on such sources as ratebooks and pollbooks, personal letters and published sermons, burial registers and horoscopes, Susan Mitchell Sommers has woven together an engaging microhistory that offers useful revisions to scholarly accounts of Ebenezer and Manoah, while placing the entire Sibly family firmly in the esoteric byways of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. [The Siblys of London](#) provides fascinating insight into the lives of a family who lived just outside our usual historical range of vision.

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Excerpt:

In the aftermath of the 1790 parliamentary election, Ebenezer Sibly (1750-99), known in Ipswich as a freemason and political agent, was burned in effigy.¹ This was a remarkable occurrence, even amid the rough-and-tumble of eighteenth-century campaigns. Thus it caught my eye, thirty years ago, while I was conducting doctoral research into the local politics of eighteenth-century Suffolk. While poring over poll books and struggling to master the technicalities of nominal record linkage, I stumbled across A Serious Address to Members of the House of Commons and Gentlemen Residing in the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex. The anonymous pamphlet chronicles the extraordinary 1790-91 appearance in Ipswich of "Father Noah" Sibly, who set up a masonic-style lodge and initiated as many electors as possible, using the lodge as a vehicle to ensure John Hadley D'Oyly's election as Member of Parliament (MP). I did not then know much about eighteenth-century freemasonry, but something about the situation seemed profoundly odd. I soon found Sibly was not following the ostensible masonic rules, and his Royal Ark Masons were not "regular" masons at all—a story explored in a later chapter of this study, effigy-burning included.

Parsing Sibly's political machinations in Ipswich was a challenge, but the more I searched, the more enigmatic the rest of his life appeared as well—he and his family, especially brother Manoah (1757-1840), make cameo appearances in popular and scholarly studies of many of the esoteric fringes of contemporary London—including freemasonry, alchemy, astrology, animal magnetism, astrological medicine, quackery, radical politics, practical magic, and Swedenborgianism. In the intervening years, my historiographic lens has shifted from a religiously informed political history of the provincial mid-dling classes (inspired by R. K. Webb and J. H. Plumb, both professors of my own advisor, the late Richard W. Davis), to biographical microhistories of middling Londoners.² In my Suffolk study, aside from Sibly, I was most beguiled by the political shenanigans of the weaver-electors of Sudbury. In anticipation of the parliamentary election of 1761, supporters of MP Thomas

Fonnereau staged a demonstration to ward off a challenge. They assembled at the House of one of their Party, from whence they proceeded with a Coffin, attended by a number of Mourners with black Staffs, Hatbands, & c. intending (as they said) to bury the Opposition Man, notwithstanding no other Gentleman had at that time offered himself as a candidate. They were met on the Market-Hill by a large Body of Free Burgesses, who resenting the attempts that had been made to deprive them of their Rights and Privileges, took the Coffin from them, and after stripping the mourners of their Funeral-pomp, obliged them to return to their respective Homes.

Their "rights and privileges" involved politically-related bribes and treats, and could amount to a considerable sum. Following this incident, some three hundred (out of an estimated eight hundred) freemen entered into an agreement to support any worthy gentleman who would offer himself as a candidate. This amounted to advertising for bidders for the borough, prompting Horace Walpole to remark, "[W]e have been as victorious as the Romans and are as corrupt." Thus, I find I have consistently been drawn to the liminal, and the methodology I employ in both my political studies and biographies emphasizes the significance of these illuminating vignettes.

The sometimes forensic technique used in the current study is motivated, not by a vain hope of recreating lives and milieux "as they really were," but by the conviction that with the tools, techniques, and sources now available, we no longer have to settle for erroneous, impressionistic assertions about even relatively modest folk who led historically significant or illustrative lives. An apt example is the brief entry on Ebenezer Sibly by Patrick Curry for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Though engaging, the article relies on derivative and flawed secondary sources, and as a result is rife with biographical errors. More seriously, Curry is led to draw unsound conclusions about Sibly's careers in astrology and medicine. As a result, he perpetuates a hagiographic representation of Sibly as "a formidable polymath in medicine, natural philosophy, and occultism," while missing the opportunity to examine more factually intriguing aspects of his life, such as his career as a quack

doctor and masonic impresario. We cannot pretend to make reliable evaluative generalizations about movements and populations if we cannot first establish the basic biographical facts of our exemplars.

Much has changed since Curry's Sibly research of the 1980s. My investigation of the Siblys has happily coincided with a proliferation of electronic resources, providing unprecedented access to both primary and secondary materials, though I am most interested in elusive primary references that illumine the dark corners of the Siblys' London. I have found a constellation of interrelated types of electronic resources particularly valuable: catalogs of institutional collections, open-access indexes of various sorts, genealogical databases, and searchable text repositories—though both of the latter are often hidden behind paywalls. The existence and usability of these resources means it has never been so easy or rewarding to research the middling classes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain as it is today. This is possibly true for their contemporaries in other parts of the West as well, but my work on the Sibly family focuses on London and Londoners, and for them the array of relevant resources is staggering.

Reliance on electronic resources, while far from exclusive, has permitted progress on "Sibiana" when time in the archives has not been possible. Thus stalwarts such as the UK National Archives, the Wellcome Library, the British Museum, and the British Library have supplied welcome electronic as well as traditional archival support. In addition to detailed catalogs, these institutions have developed online repositories of graphic images, searchable texts, interpretive guides, and essential bibliographic information. At one remove from institutional catalogs, resources such as Copac, WorldCat, and ArchiveGrid have also been critical, especially since the current study is organized around the Siblys' changing relationships with books, manuscripts, and print culture.

Specialized online indexes and text repositories offer another innovative source of otherwise elusive evidence. In telling the Siblys' stories, the family of databases sponsored by The Digital Humanities Institute Sheffield (formerly HRI Online Publications), has been of inestimable value—

beginning with Old Bailey Online, and extending to Connected Histories and Locating London's Past. Similarly, the online portals for the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, The London Gazette, and the Clergy of the Church of England Database, have been useful in tracing the curious "professional" lives of the Siblys and their friends. Another electronic way of knowing the Siblys not available to previous researchers, academic or otherwise, has been created by the spectacular opening of masonic repositories. The Library and Museum of Freemasonry of the United Grand Lodge of England has led the way, sponsoring or cosponsoring Masonic Periodicals Online, Lane's Masonic Records 1717-1894, and the Grand Lodge Membership Registers, 1751-1921, available through the genealogical service Ancestry. Ebenezer Sibly was an eclectic freemason, as were many of his associates, and these various resources have enabled me to uncover and clarify their affiliations and activities, tracing important "brotherhood" networks, as detailed in later chapters of this study.

Once archivists and historians looked down their noses at genealogists. No longer. Since the 1980s, a surge in the craft of genealogy has brought tremendous effort and investment to establishing a constantly evolving battery of resources that are a boon to family researchers and academics alike. In North America, this has been driven in large part by the particularities of doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and their free website, Familysearch, was a pioneer in microfilming and digitizing an array of sources, particularly for Britain and Western Europe. Another invaluable service is provided by Ancestry, which includes digital images of a range of resources necessary to this study: apprenticeship records, masonic memberships, wills, tax records and ratebooks, in addition to the expected baptism, marriage and death registers." In Britain, Findmypast partners with both Familysearch and a number of national institutions, including the British Library, National Archives, and the Society of Genealogists. I will stop now, lest my readers think they should abandon traditional archives and libraries, which is far from my intent—but let me emphasize that these resources continue to grow

and become more reliable, and scholars are understandably enthusiastic.

Though I want to highlight the opportunities presented by the digital humanities, the preceding discussion has barely touched on where the Siblys "are" in the secondary literature of the eighteenth century. Simply put, they are on the furthest of fringes of studies that themselves often deal with marginal or marginalized aspects of Georgian England, such as William Wink's *Lives of Illustrious Shoemakers*, which presents the brothers as cobblers who made good, or Richard Sha's "Medicalizing the Romantic Libido," which discusses Ebenezer in the context of antimasturbation literature. Of all the family, only Ebenezer remains sufficiently well known to have a popular reputation. Just what that is depends on what one happens to be reading, but most current scholars argue something along these lines: Ebenezer was a practicing astrologer and regular physician who made an earnest attempt to reconcile late Renaissance esotericism with the newest discoveries in contemporary Newtonian science, and in the process amassed a remarkable library of ancient works that was passed on to inspire the nineteenth-century occult revival. History is less attentive to Manoah, who, after working as a bookseller and shorthand taker, secured a position at the Bank of England and became a Swedenborgian minister. Aside from a sketchy ODNB article by Peter Lineham, in which he is dismissed as "a rather inward-looking pedant," Manoah makes only brief and laudatory appearances in New Church histories.

This book is arranged chronologically, following the occupational and spiritual transformations of the Sibly men (including their father, Edmund, and brother, Job), documented principally through their relationships to the books they read, sold, published, transcribed, and wrote. Ebenezer's adult life forms the basic framework for the study, and it was divided into several distinct phases, after each of which he moved on to a sometimes dramatically different venue and occupation—and often a new relationship to books. We will follow him as he moves from making shoes in the 1760s and 1770s, to becoming a bookseller and storefront astrologer, and then publishing *An Illustration of the Celestial*

Science of Astrology, often described as the most important compendium of astrology, magic, and related arcana published in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1784, Ebenezer experienced his "esoteric turn" and began to publish and practice astrology at the same time he became a freemason—an important avocation he followed for the rest of his life. In 1788, he tried his hand at being a professional esotericist, but London was not enthusiastic. During the 1790 parliamentary election, Ebenezer worked briefly as a political agent in Suffolk. This episode was primarily a business arrangement so far as Sibly was concerned, and afterward he returned to London to build a medical career, publishing a new edition of Culpeper's *Herbal*, acquiring a medical degree, taking out a patent on his proprietary formula, Dr Sibly's *Reanimating Solar Tincture*, and publishing books on astrological medicine to encourage sales. In his last years, Ebenezer, who died before he turned fifty, became interested in alchemy and began a collection of related texts.

Unsurprisingly, given his restless reinventions, Ebenezer appears most often in secondary literature, and he is also the Sibly for whom the most "fractured" story emerges. The fissures separating aspects of his biography open along disciplinary, spiritual, and scholarly fault lines, ranging from the ODNB article I just cited, to a website on how to become a vampire by taking Dr Sibly's *Reanimating Solar Tincture*. Ebenezer's occupational compartmentalization is symptomatic of his impatient ambition—he applied himself with intensity, but only until he found something more likely to serve his purpose—but his frequent change of focus is not reflected in either popular or academic literature, and it turns out to be a major obstacle to understanding his place in Western esotericism. The occult, as it was called in Sibly's time, long shunned by Western academics, stirred to life most significantly for this study in Ellic Howe's 1967 [Astrology: A Recent History](#). Howe's treatment of Sibly lacks biographical context, and he notably passes on without comment the inflated professional claims Ebenezer made for himself. More recent authors are surprisingly even less skeptical and fall into an error identified by Paul Monod in his impressive study of Sibly's century, [Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of](#)

Enlightenment. Monod observes that "scholars of esoteric religion have a tendency to interpret whatever they are studying with the greatest seriousness, so that hucksters or charlatans turn into philosophers." This is also true of students of other esoteric, and even exoteric systems, as reporting on the Siblys' careers demonstrates. After Howe, the first prominent academic to consider Ebenezer was Allen Debus, and while he expresses some doubts as to Sibly's credentials, he argues Sibly was a "practicing physician of the Enlightenment" who defended formal medical education, which is exactly what Ebenezer wanted his customers to believe. It is with Wouter Hanegraaff's important [Esotericism and the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture](#) that we see Ebenezer for the first time in a comprehensively esoteric context, presented intriguingly as a collector and compiler of late Renaissance occult into a "compendium of rejected knowledge," rather than as an esoteric practitioner per se. Hanegraaff also describes him rather imprecisely as a physician who was involved in Swedenborgianism. Neither of which are entirely correct—Ebenezer was a quack who sold venereal nostrums, and it was his brother Manoaah who was a member of the Swedenborgian New Church. These points are not so fine that they should be glossed over.

To further complicate the picture, roughly three-quarters of the secondary works consulted for this study that reference Ebenezer discuss only one aspect of his career, virtually to the exclusion of any other facets, as though they had simply not happened. He is best remembered as an astrologer and secondarily as an esotericist, with roughly half of the sources focusing solely on his real or alleged contributions (literary or otherwise) to astrology, magic, the Kabbalah, alchemy, and scrying (divination using crystals). Another third of the sources focus on Ebenezer's identity as a physician (with overlap in the area of astrological medicine). If we accept as genuine the key role played by An Illustration in cultivating a new reading public for traditional astrology, as I will argue we should, questions of Ebenezer Sibly's intent, acumen, intellectual engagement, and character are still very much open. These are considerations of surprising weight, and a fuller

account of his biography goes a long way toward addressing those points.

Thus a one-dimensional reading of either Manoaah or Ebenezer, such as is found elsewhere, is misleading. Manoaah largely fades away, becoming much less the agent of change than I argue he truly was. Ebenezer, on the other hand, is likely to be taken as a gifted magus, scholar, philosopher, or physician—none of which he ever was, nor, I argue, did he make the attempt to become one. Masonic scholar Michael Baigent, writing in the *Astrological Journal* about Ebenezer's controversial "Nativity of America," claims Sibly "was always very careful with his astrological data and it would have been completely out of character for him to have invented it." And yet Martin Gansten argues in his analysis of Sibly's "Horoscope of an unknown lady" that Ebenezer's figures are wildly inaccurate. Paul Monod considers Ebenezer's esoteric activities and concludes, "Sibly may have been an enthusiastic self-promoter who made unbelievable claims, but he was not a con man." This judgment would have come as a surprise to the electors of Ipswich, or to Sibly's Bristol customers who purchased forged lottery tickets at his shop. Or one can argue, as does Debus, that Ebenezer was "a physician who was well read in the scientific and medical literature of his own day," and who "thought of himself as a member of the medical establishment." Yet, the officials at King's College, Aberdeen, where he purchased his MD, acknowledged he was a quack. The challenge, then, is to put the various facets of the man back together, to reconstruct as much of his life as possible, to better understand his life and motivations, but as important, to help us understand the context of his times, and how the Siblys were formed by them, informing them in turn.

I argue, then, that a careful examination of contemporary records presents a different story than is suggested by the secondary literature. The character and careers of both men "flatten out" in retelling—the effect of this is that Ebenezer is repeatedly portrayed as something more than he was: more earnest, more honest, more engaged, more engaging. Manoaah, on the other hand, is made to seem less interesting and experimental than I argue he actually was. With primary evidence added in, Ebenezer can be recognized as

a man more motivated by financial gain than learning, and perfectly willing to cut corners—by plagiarism, forgery, even bigamy—when it furthers his goals. Manoaah, on the other hand, is also transformed by this technique. He is little known outside of Swedenborgian circles, even to the extent that Manoaah's astrological publications of the late 1780s are frequently attributed to Ebenezer. When Manoaah does appear in the secondary literature, it is almost always in the context of his long New Church ministry, and in the character of that "venerable and exemplary minister of our church, the Rev. Manoaah Sibly." Primary sources show him as a professional shorthand writer, keeping company with the radicals of the London Corresponding Society, "borrowing" an astrological translation for financial gain, at length securing a lucrative and prestigious position at the Bank of England, and ultimately turning his back on one religion to help found another. Thus I argue on his behalf that Manoaah lived a more dynamic, radical, and politically risky life than secondary sources recount—and is revealed as a more plausible model than Ebenezer for how ambitious, middling contemporaries might undertake personal reinvention while achieving social respectability. Welcome to both their stories—and those of their families and friends, on the esoteric fringes of Georgian London.

Ebenezer Sibly was, beyond any shadow of a doubt, dead. His absence must have come as a relief to Charles Wilson Saffell (1747-1816), the most recent of Sibly's string of business partners, coexecutor of his will, and author of the probate inventory that illustrates much of the following story. Sibly had his talents, but lacked a knack for the daily grind of business. Without Sibly, Saffell could build up their enterprise unencumbered by Ebenezer's impracticalities. Unfortunately, Sibly's death also posed an obstacle to the health of the business. Ebenezer Sibly, MD, was the inventor and patent-holder of Dr Sibly's Reanimating Solar Tincture or Pabulum of Life—a panacea advertised for its many applications, including restoring the newly dead to life if applied promptly and according to the doctor's specifications. It would be difficult to explain, then, that the doctor himself

died before he turned fifty, surrounded by dozens of bottles of the stuff and sheaves of the instructional pamphlets he distributed with the medicine. The only solution, Saffell reasoned, was not to let the public know Sibly was dead.

If Ebenezer Sibly's death left Saffell with a dilemma, it was the dramatic backdrop for distressing personal revelations for his brother and coexecutor of his estate, Manoaah. Manoaah Sibly had been Ebenezer's companion in their early days—discovering astrology and moving into bookselling together. But they had drifted apart in the early 1790s, when the astrology that once drew them together became incompatible with Manoaah's status as a respectable New Church minister and Bank of England official.' When Manoaah was asked to execute his brother's will, which, along with urging the executors to somehow find the funds to continue manufacture of Solar Tincture, also left legacies for multiple and concurrent wives as well as an illegitimate son whose name Ebenezer could not quite recall, Manoaah was probably genuinely shocked. Manoaah, perhaps the man most responsible for shepherding the recently established New Church from the radical sectarian fringe into solid bourgeois respectability, found his brother's record of financial and moral indiscretions so upsetting, and the burden of pursuing the patent medicine business so onerous and morally questionable, that he presented the will and codicils for probate, swore to their authenticity, and immediately resigned his executorship.

Ebenezer's death in 1799 brought a premature conclusion to a colorfully chaotic life, one lived on the fringes of various fascinating and interconnected esoteric subcultures meandering through late eighteenth-century London. Sibly was not the only interesting member of his family, and as they appear in retrospect to have been a tightly knit and entertaining clan, this biography of Ebenezer necessarily deals with the rest as well. The primary difficulty in tracing the histories of father Edmund Sibly and his progeny is their relative insignificance. They began and largely lived their lives in profoundly ordinary circumstances. Edmund was a shoemaker and cordwainer. He was literate, but his successive

wives made their marks in the marriage registers. They were Calvinist or Particular Baptists, and so did not baptize their children as infants, leaving us to guess about their respective birthdates. None of the men had much, if any, formal education. The Siblys left no correspondence of which to speak. Ebenezer and Manoah only left one holograph letter each, and both letters are typical. Ebenezer's is about a court case in which he was expecting to be sued, and Manoah's appropriately concerns publication of one of Emanuel Swedenborg's manuscripts.¹ Although, as this suggests, Ebenezer was nearly brought to law from time to time, the family generally managed to stay out of trouble, eliminating most legal records from the historian's repertoire of sources.

However, the Siblys were intelligent and ambitious for more than birth had destined them. Londoners, they were sensitive to the pulse of the city and followed its trends. William St. Clair argues the House of Lords' 1774 decision definitively overturning the practice of perpetual copyright had an electrifying effect on London print culture. Whatever the impetus for the dynamic growth of publishing and ancillary trades in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Siblys responded. By the late 1770s, Edmund and his three sons, Ebenezer, Manoah, and Job, saw the blossoming of publishing and bookselling taking place around them and en masse abandoned shoemaking for the world of books. They spent the next several decades first reading and selling books, and then writing and publishing them as well. Each of the Sibly men developed his own particular interests—from the seventeenth-century herbal physician Nicholas Culpeper to the nearly contemporary Emanuel Swedenborg, and from alchemy and magic to Quaker sermons—the Siblys pursued their specialties with diligence. Manoah, who lived until 1840, continued translating and publishing into old age.

Thus it is primarily by their books, and their engagement with the printed word, that we can trace Ebenezer Sibly and his family through the byways of Georgian London. Aside from the entertainment this family provides, their interests positioned them to become historically significant for modern students of early manifestations of

romanticism in England. There were better-known quack doctors than Ebenezer, as George Rousseau's work on John Hill and that of Roy Porter on James Graham the sexologist demonstrate. There were Swedenborgians with more of a flair for self-aggrandizement, as is exemplified in Robert Hindmarsh's apologia, *Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church*.¹ The most unique of the Siblys may have been the youngest brother, Job, who was only perhaps unintentionally a thorn in the side of prominent Quakers, as he piously (and with a sly wink), took down their sermons in shorthand for unauthorized publication and sale. But if we consider the Sibly family collectively, their myriad personal connections and professional activities provide us with a privileged and perhaps singular insight into how various esoteric trends in late eighteenth-century fascination and belief affected the lives of people who lived just outside our usual range of vision. The Siblys were neither rich nor famous, nor were they desperate criminals, and thus it is their ordinariness that makes them such valuable filters through which to view the era in which they lived.

It is tempting and largely appropriate to term the Siblys and much of their milieu "romantic," but in their context, what does that mean? Certainly the timeframe of the current work, 1770-1840, fits broadly within our understanding of the romantic era, though arguably historic and intellectual trends within various London subcultures were less dependent on clearly defined chronological periods than they were on spiritual, artistic, and intellectual developments. In the case of the Siblys, the romantic urge first manifested itself as a distinct spiritual restlessness. As Raymond Brown explains, by mid-century, many Particular Baptists lamented the "abstruse high Calvinism" and "arid debate" of the sermons they endured, and were increasingly tempted away by the warmly enthusiastic preaching of John and Charles Wesley, and their colleague George Whitfield. By the early 1770s, the Sibly men joined many of their brethren and took spiritual flight, looking to be "strangely warmed" by their own version of the inner light. Manoah left the most explicit account of his faith journey, but both his brothers and father followed suit. As they moved away from their Particular Baptist upbringing, the Siblys reached out to books

for spiritual guidance and for new livelihoods. Manoah, who along with his wife, Sarah Lack Sibly (1755-1829) and eldest daughter, Sarah (later Sarah Allum, 1781-1846) operated a bookstore from 1779 until at least 1817, was reported to have "bought books chiefly that he might read them, and when he had made them his own by a diligent perusal, he sold them that he might buy others; but he gradually became a regular bookseller and stationer." This process was surely familiar to his father and brothers as well.

We can also see the Siblys' publishing niches develop as mirrors of their individual affinities, for each man selected a subtly different route. Edmund published and sold Methodist works, including a hymnal for the Countess of astrological medicine to puffs for his Solar and Lunar Tinctures, but Ebenezer also laboriously copied out a potentially important collection of early modern alchemical manuscripts. Thus the Siblys experienced their romanticisms in profoundly personal ways, living it through their books and spiritual allegiances, as well as in other ways we will examine in greater detail later in this study. <>

[Medicine, Magic and Art in Early Modern Norway: Conceptualizing Knowledge](#) by Ane Ohrvik
[Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic, Palgrave Macmillan, 9781137467416]

The history of European witchcraft and magic continues to fascinate and challenge students and scholars. There is certainly no shortage of books on the subject. Several general surveys of the witch trials and numerous regional and micro studies have been published for an English-speaking readership. While the quality of publications on witchcraft has been high, some regions and topics have received less attention over the years. The aim of this series is to help illuminate these lesser known or little studied aspects of the history of witchcraft and magic. It will also encourage the development of a broader corpus of work in other related areas of magic and the supernatural, such as angels, devils, spirits, ghosts, folk healing and divination. To help further our understanding and interest in this wider history of beliefs and practices, the series will include research that looks beyond the usual focus on Western Europe and

that also explores their relevance and influence from the medieval to the modern period.

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Finding Knowledge

In the mid-nineteenth century F. C. Mülertz was minister in Moland in Telemark County. At this time the villagers were complaining of a man living in Moland who was notorious for his sorcery and for owning a Black Book. The minister decided to ease the villagers' torment and put an end to the sorcerer's practice. One day, while the Black Book owner was away from home, Mülertz instructed two assistants to collect the book from his house. From that day on, the Black Book entitled Cyprian correct Free Arts published and printed in Wittenberg Anno 1509 remained in Mülertz' keeping until his death. At some point Mülertz must even have regarded the book as his—not as a confiscated object in his custody—as he added 'Belongs to F. C. Mülertz' to its inner cover.

This study is about that Black Book and about the many other books that were written in Norway during the early modern period, which were given similar titles and were part of similar practices. Their makers came from different social and cultural backgrounds and occupied very different positions, from parish ministers, military personnel, farmers, medicinal practitioners to travellers. They all shared a desire to compile and write down pieces of knowledge they found useful, resulting in individually tailored compilations reflecting each writer's interests and needs. The books were entitled Black Book (Svartebogen) and Cyprian (Cyprianus).

These writings were given a structure and form. Remedies and recipes were structured by paragraph heading, number and chapter and sometimes presented in a lucid table of contents at the beginning or end of the book. Head titles,

introductions and statements of authorship were often placed at the beginning of the book, presenting the knowledge that followed. Furthermore, the text was organised in a concrete, material form—a book—held together by an exclusive leather binding with decorative imprints or by plain soft paper covers and thread sewn through the spine. In this way, the knowledge encompassed by the books was given a concrete, material expression. How these books express themselves and are conceptualised as books of knowledge in material form and with introductory statements, constitutes the main question of this study. Based on a collection of Norwegian Black Books dated to 1650-1850 the aim is to examine how knowledge is presented.

The presentation of knowledge in the Black Books takes different forms. The books are not merely a reflection of the knowledge held by individuals in early modern Norway, and of how this knowledge was compiled and written down. They also reflect how individual writers chose to present this knowledge as material objects and texts—as books to be read. I study how these books express, articulate and conceptualise knowledge, that is, how they express themselves as texts. At the same time, I study the books from a comparative cultural and historical perspective with a view to understanding and placing them in time and space.

The articulation of knowledge in the Black Books is viewed as an authorisation strategy to empower and sanction the knowledge. Material features such as binding, format and size contribute to the authorisation process by reflecting different conceptions of knowledge. Introductory statements such as titles, prefaces and tables of contents further articulate knowledge by identifying, describing and structuring the content of the books, thus pointing towards specific interpretations of knowledge. All these elements are scrutinised in this study not with the aim of studying the formulas and recipes constituting the main body of text, but rather the authorisation of this knowledge, conceptualised through the material form and introductory textual statements preceding it. The material and textual starting point represents a threshold between the content of the books and the cultural network of knowledge practices of which

the books are a part. This viewpoint enables me to focus on the articulation of these knowledge traditions and on how this connection is executed both materially and textually.

Knowledge is situated and carries references. The situating of knowledge in the Black Books is viewed through material and textual expressions pointing to past and present experiences and practices. This study illuminates these references, determines what they entail and analyses their form, meaning and function in the books. One concrete expression of this situating process is their material and literary form as books, which places the Black Books in the history of books. It is my firm conviction that the literary relationship is crucial to understanding why Norwegian Black Books appear as they do, their authorisation strategies and how knowledge is presented.

Manuscripts, Books and Black Books

The terms manuscript, book and Black Book will all be used as references to my material. I acknowledge that their meanings differ and could be seen as contradictory, so I will briefly explain how the terms are understood and used here.

A manuscript is defined by the handwritten text it contains. My material is thus classified as manuscripts, since they only comprise of handwritten texts, which differ from texts that have been produced using a printing press. While a manuscript can represent anything from a single piece of paper to a collection of many, a book is defined by its cohesive nature, comprising a set or collection of sheets, either blank or inscribed in some way, fastened together to hinge the sheets at one side.

Within the field of book history research, definitions of what constitutes a book are often narrower. They often presuppose a certain dissemination of the book, which is mostly related to whether it is printed or not. Additionally, the number of authors and subjects of a text may influence its definition. Such demarcations would make it difficult to define my material as books. However, I find such understandings of what constitutes a book both anachronistic and meaningless with regard to the present corpus. They were made as books by their makers,

conceived of as books by their users and, perhaps most importantly, referred to and called books by their owners. Consequently, when addressing this material either as books or Black Books I am simply applying the historical term.

The term Black Book, however, indicates a demarcation according to other principles than purely the material, a fact that is confirmed when we examine definitions of this term in the fields of folklore and cultural history. Some definitions point to subject matter, for example 'a book of sorcery which contains magical formulas and recipes' or a book which 'contains formulas and descriptions of magical rituals'. Others also underline the handwritten nature of Black Books by describing the books as 'a collection of written advice on sorcery, supernatural arts, and verses' and as 'handwritten compilations of advice and magical cures'. Common to all these definitions is the description of Black Books as books containing knowledge and, consequently, as sources of knowledge.

What these definitions also have in common is an attempt to define Black Books as a literary genre by way of content and form. One could criticise the heavy weight put on magic in these definitions, especially since the analysis involves an interpretation of the content, not merely a description of it. My understanding of the term Black Book corresponds to a certain extent to the definitions presented, yet stresses a perception of Black Books as a collection of texts containing medical and practical advice, recipes and prayers in addition to sorcery and supernatural arts.

I take as my starting point the notion that the content of the Black Books was far from unique when viewed in the context of European book history. When considering printed books in the early modern period we can say that Black Books draw primarily on three literary genres. The first is the technical handbook promoting a knowledge of arts and crafts, first represented by the Italian *secreti* books in the early sixteenth century, followed by the German *Kunstbüchlein* some years later. These technical handbooks reached Denmark-Norway in the mid-seventeenth century in the form of translated publications (from German) commonly called *kunstabøger* (art books). The second genre is

the grimoire, magic books promoting knowledge on how to foretell the future, conjure, protect one's property and livestock, and treat a great variety of illnesses in humans and animals. The grimoires were printed in huge numbers during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe, and while both grimoires and *kunstabøger* are books of arts and crafts, only the latter were actually printed in the Nordic outskirts. The third genre linked to the Black Books is obviously the medical handbooks written by physicians in vernacular languages and offered in increasing numbers on the book market from the sixteenth century onwards. As part of my focus on the articulation of knowledge, I examine how these genres and knowledge traditions are articulated and reflected in the Black Books.

Black Books and Magic

And it is as a source to a dark and tragic chapter of our Nation's history I publish this collection with a content that in many instances may seem repulsive and annoying in moral respects. But just as a natural scientist does not refrain from describing a beastly animal or a noxious bacterium, I have not regarded myself as entitled to put aside what I have discovered of material whose content was evil, immoral, and ungodly in its most offensive forms. Nobody can change the crudeness of reality. What has been widespread among folk is not merely in a scientific but also in a moral sense best brought forward into daylight. And so far has our folk reached in spiritual development that I need not fear that anyone will use the formulas in this collection for practical performance of the black arts.

With these words the church historian and bishop Anton C. Bang (1840-1913) ends his introduction to *Norske hexeformularer og magiske opskrifter* (Norwegian witch formulas and magic recipes) published in 1901-1902, a book that is still the most comprehensive compilation ever made of Norwegian Black Book texts. The formulas and charms found in Black Books and similar sources are categorised according to Bang's own system, presented according to thematic content, personification, type of magical performance and so on. His chief interest, and the interest of all studies of magical texts and practices during this

period, was the charms, prayers and recipes contained in the books.

Bang's main focus throughout his research career was church history. One aspect of this historical writing was the study of popular religiosity, especially the remnants of Roman Catholic faith and beliefs and of Old Norse religion and mythology, and his Black Book compilation must be viewed in this light.⁶ Bang's religious perspective and motivations as bishop and primary representative of the Lutheran church are reflected in his readings of the Black Books, where the 'evil, immoral, ungodly' were best dealt within the open for moral reasons. That is also why his presentation of the Black Books, found in a book published a decade before the compilation, appears under the heading 'Contributions to the history of superstition in Norway'.⁷ Bang considered his Black Book studies part of his long-lasting work on 'mythological studies' and 'investigations regarding the Norwegian people's spiritual condition'.⁸ Bang did not fulfill his initial goal of providing a survey of the diffusion of formulas in Norway and determining their original source—as would have been well in tune with contemporary perspectives and interests—but he gives a brief review of the early traces of literary witch formulas in Norway. This literary perspective is even more explicit in his earlier work, where he places the Black Book within a European magic book tradition. Though brief and without offering details of such literature, Bang pinpoints a simple, yet important feature of the Norwegian Black Books to which this study also relates: the fact that they are part of a European literary universe.

Bang may be seen as the forerunner of a Nordic interest in the systematic collection and publication of popular magic, especially in the light of oral and written material on early modern magical practice in the Nordic countries. During the following fifty years or so Denmark, Finland and Sweden were all provided with corresponding compilations focussing on evolution, popular magical beliefs and practices, and their relation to religion and folk medicine. Ferdinand Ohrt, the author of *Danmarks Trylleformularer* (Danish magic charms), published in 1917, is quite jocular, though

ambiguous, when he explains who could benefit from reading his work:

it is directed to those who are interested in seeing the stubbornness of old superstition through shifting times.—If the book—which is hardly unlikely, yet not entirely impossible—should fall into the hands of a reader who still, in the twentieth century would think of using it for superstitious purposes, then the reader should know that the Latin lines to the left in the beginning of the book are a powerful and dangerous spell which by being there will turn any such use of the formulas to the detriment of the practitioner. Hopefully, the trust in people's spiritual development, which Bang stresses at the end of his foreword to the Norwegian formulas, is also appropriate in Denmark.

What is evident from both Bang's and Ohrt's writings is that they see their endeavours as somewhat of an enlightenment project. Despite Ohrt's jocular tone, the fact remains, for both authors, that superstitious beliefs are still out there. But by identifying the origin of these beliefs however, they can be put to rest.

Overall, magic-religious perspectives have since characterised Nordic and international research on this material within both medieval and early modern contexts." Recent years have seen a revitalisation of charm studies. While studies on charms, charming and charmers assist in defining the earliest works within this research field, recent contributions investigating topics such as typology, structure, transmission, meaning and function from both national and European comparative perspectives testify to a revival in this field.

The study of charms represents an important historical, disciplinary and empirical link to this present investigation of Norwegian Black Books as situated within folklore studies and cultural history. My research focus relates this study to book history and the history of knowledge, two fields which have developed substantially during the last decades and are recognised for their interdisciplinary, multi-theoretical and multi-methodological research perspectives. While the study of charms serves as an important empirical context for my study, book history and the history

of knowledge constitute my primary theoretical and methodological inspiration and are thus discussed below.

Black Books and Book History

'How do we recognize a book when we see it', Margaret Ezell asks and continues, 'are there books that we don't see?' In her article 'Invisible Books' Ezell raises fundamental questions about how and what we conceive of books, and how we expect them to 'behave' in terms of structure, form and visual characteristics. She explores how a collection of seventeenth-century domestic manuscript books written by women can be viewed as part of book history and treated as such by book historians, adding sources that are more 'fluid and dynamic in nature' rather than viewing books as 'fixed, linear, or stable'. The questions Ezell poses are crucial to our definition of a book, both in material and textual terms, and in terms of the scholarly field of book history and what has traditionally been regarded and treated as 'proper books' after the advent of print. I fully agree with Ezell that book history should include a wider range of material. As she quite prudently points out, for more than five hundred years "print" and "book" seem to exist as interchangeable nouns." Robert L. Patten's question 'When is a book not a book?' serves to illustrate a perhaps even narrower definition of a book by studying the printed genre of serials. His main aim is to show why serials from the eighteenth century onwards have not been regarded as books due to properties such as multiple authors, interaction with the readership during production, mix of literary genres and a dynamic approach to readers—all facets which have not been conceived of as corresponding with traditional notions of 'what a book is'.

In research Norwegian Black Books have yet to be regarded as part of Norwegian book history. A central argument in my study is that the Black Books were made as books by their makers, conceived of and treated as books by their users and thus must be viewed as part of early modern Norwegian and European book history. One may argue that I challenge one of the most fundamental notions of the book in the field of book history research; that proper books are those which are multiplied and distributed or in other ways made public, whereas,

initially at least, Black Books were not 'public' writings. I am not. Instead, I agree with Margaret Ezell and argue for a more dynamic perspective of books, which recognises the diverse forms and approaches applied in the making of books and the meanings given to them. As such, studying Black Books as book history can offer new perspectives on the diversity and complexity of book production in the early modern period.

Book history research has attracted increasing scholarly interest during the last few decades. Perspectives on the history of reading and readers, books as material objects and their production, bibliographic features, their dissemination, their cultural, social, political and economic impact, studies on the development of the book, relations between orality and literacy and between text and authorship are only some of the issues addressed in these volumes by scholars from a number of subject fields within the humanities.⁵ I address several of these issues here by examining how knowledge is authorised by the books as material objects and by statements of authorship.

Research on the multifaceted nature of print and scribal culture during the early modern period has also emerged in Norway and Denmark in the last decades. Three studies in particular should be mentioned and, needless to say, I will draw heavily on their findings in this study. Jostein Fet studies the literate culture of book consumption and reading preferences in addition to the production of texts among peasants in a western region of Norway between 1600 and 1850; while Henrik Horstbøll examines the culture of popular print between 1500 and 1840 in Denmark; and Charlotte Appel investigates literacy and the uses of printed books in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Denmark. They all add to a scarcely filled field of Danish-Norwegian book history, a field to which I hope this study may also contribute.

Even though 'classic' disciplines like bibliography and social history have seen studies well situated within what we recognise today as book history, the field as such is regarded as relatively new, having emerged only in the last few decades. Drawing on Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, this recent period of book history studies can be seen as inspired by two simple premises: 'The first is that

books make history', and the second that 'books are made by history'. Studies such as Elizabeth Eisenstein's *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, which argues that printing had a significant effect on the three major cultural movements of the Italian Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation and the scientific revolution, advocate the first premise. Conversely, in *The Nature of the Book* Adrian Johns questions the authority Eisenstein assigns to the printing press, pointing out that credibility was by no means given naturally, but had to be forged. Along the same premises, or in-between, scholars such as Lucien Febvre, Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton have offered substantial contributions to this field.

While the impact of print in the early modern period has attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent decades, the continuous production of manuscripts after the invention of the printing press has attracted less interest. Harold Love's book *The Culture and Commerce of Texts* from 1993 constitutes an important exception, providing insights into the scribal publications of seventeenth-century England, the agents and 'scribal communities'. Furthermore, the 2004 collection of essays edited by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham gives us valuable input on script and print and on views of these media in the period 1300-1700. How print and script were regarded by their contemporaries, what functions they served and how the texts were produced and communicated are important questions to address in relation to the Black Books. The number of handwritten Black Books preserved in Norway raises the immediate question of why their writers seem to have preferred script as their mode of communication centuries after the printing press was established in Denmark-Norway. This will be discussed in Chap. 2.

Returning to my starting point, Margaret Ezell's question 'How do we recognize a book when we see it?' will in many respects follow me throughout this study.²⁶ The Black Books received both a material and a textual 'wrapping' pointing towards the genre of printed books, not towards a secluded 'messy manuscript' production, which may have been expected. Reflecting on Ezell's question

when studying the paratextual apparatus of the Black Books will, I believe, bring me closer to an answer.

A History of Knowledge

A basic premise in this study is that the books articulate knowledge. This study involves finding this knowledge by investigating how knowledge is conceived in the books. As such, the study does not mainly address the knowledge offered in the books, but instead how the books refer to knowledge. A fair assumption would be that the type of knowledge contained in the books corresponds to conceptions of what knowledge books hold in general and to what is promoted in the paratextual elements. This is, as we will learn through the course of this book, not necessarily the case, as this inquiry highlights early modern Norwegian conceptions about knowledge from a range of perspectives: how knowledge was defined; who owned the knowledge; which knowledge was desirable to have; and how knowledge was organised.

Simply put, the academic field of the history of knowledge can be said to involve the study of how knowledge, ideas and beliefs are created and function in society. In recent decades the history of knowledge has been a fast-growing interdisciplinary field primarily merging the fields of book history and the history of science. When book history developed from economic studies of the production and circulation of books to a cultural, historical perspective on reading, writing and the transmission of knowledge, this enabled to a greater degree the study of knowledge interpretation, production and circulation. At the same time, the history of science has been increasingly challenged in its traditional perspective on Western intellectual production of science and the need for global studies, including non-Western cultures. Additionally, the increasing interest in popular cultures and practices by way of, for instance, artisan knowledge and the diverse groups of medical practitioners occupying the history of medicine, has called for a more inclusive concept than that offered by the 'history of science'. Thus, the relationship between different forms of knowledge is a central perspective in this new field.

The declaration that 'each society has its regime of truth' has made Michel Foucault one of the central promoters for the study of what he describes as the 'orders of knowledge' in society. According to Foucault, the accepted forms of knowledge create power, which he finds embedded in discourses. Orders of knowledge may include systems or ways of organising knowledge within a certain culture, and thus institutions such as schools, universities, laboratories, archives and museums are places where such systems can be studied. However, the new field of history of knowledge seeks to study the width of systems and ways of organising knowledge. Therefore it is as important to examine artisan knowledge, knowing how to do certain things, as the ideas and beliefs about those procedures. The history of knowledge acknowledges the variations of knowledge and systems within a culture. As such, we can agree with Peter Burke when he suggests that 'it might be argued that there is no history of knowledge. There are only histories, in the plural, of knowledges, also in the plural'. Knowledge can be abstract and specific, explicit and implicit, learned and popular, gendered, local and universal—to mention just a few of the distinctions that can be made. While later chapters will show how knowledge in the Black Books is communicated and by which distinctions of knowledge these books are recognised, it may be useful here to create a picture of what kind of knowledge the books actually promote. It is one thing to talk about knowledge, practising it is an entirely different endeavour.

How do you treat gout? What is the procedure for making ink? How do you get a woman to love you? What components are needed to produce the colour yellow? How do you protect your livestock against witchcraft? How do you treat toothache? How do you get lucky in cards? How do you put out a fire? How can you help a woman in labour? How can you identify a thief? How do you treat jaundice? How do you treat a bewitched cow? These are only some of the questions to which the compilations provide answers by way of prayers, recipes, charms, formulas, conjurations and remedies. The following is a typical example of a prayer which had to be read over the sick:

Rheumatism prayer
 Jesus stepped ashore
 Met rheumatism on sand
 What do you want asked Jesus Suck blood
 and broken bone. Jesus said: I shall
 address you You shall address you
 Harm no man.
 These words to be read in tar or liquor,
 whereupon to spit three times and rub it on
 the sick spot.—He who carries 'rheumatism
 cure' on him may not speak to any person.
 If he must speak to any person, he must
 first set down the 'cure'.

The identification of ailments, the methods involved in the healing act, instructions concerning the ritual script, what form of practice the treatment involved and the introduction of supernatural healing agents are but some of the elements introduced in this text. While other entries may be shorter or more elaborate they all provide the information required to perform the procedure in question. As such, the very nature of the knowledge presented in the books is highly practical and meant to be acted on when situations called for it.

Paratextual Readings

Two sets of concepts will accompany each other throughout my analysis, the first being paratexts and the second close reading. The term paratext is used as a theoretical framework for my close reading of Black Book texts. While a paratextual perspective determines my empirical scope, establishes premises for my study and provides me with a conceptual apparatus, the close reading method provides the tools used in my interpretation of the paratexts.

The first book to make the term paratext an object of critical use and systematic examination was the 1987 book *Seuils* by Gérard Genette, which appeared ten years later in an English translation with the title *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. According to Genette, paratexts are 'what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public'. The elements that facilitate the text in this process are those verbal or other elements which surround and extend the text, not only to present it, but to make present the text. Paratextual elements make up the outskirts of the book and point both inwards towards the content of the book (peritext) and

outwards towards similar texts from which it gets its references and positions (epitext). Thus, peritext and epitext combined constitute those paratextual elements that make a text a book, such as titles, author name, preface, introduction, author interviews, diaries and letters. According to Genette, paratexts constitute an 'undefined zone' between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge, or, as Philippe Lejeune put it, 'a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text'.

As such, paratexts are 'an array of liminal forms', as Helen Smith and Louise Wilson point out. A crucial point in Genette's study of paratexts, and a point equally stressed in my study, is that paratexts should be read as transactional, as they play a key function in controlling our reading of a text:

a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of transaction: a privileged place of a pragmatics and strategy, of an influence and interpretations carried out in connection with exegeses of religious texts. In modern uses the term generally refers to the vigilant, sustained interpretation of short texts. Close reading is, thus, the act of reading texts attentively. Physically one can imagine bending over the text in question, letting the eyes fixate on words and characters, so that words and signs can form meanings and correlations that enable an interpretation of the text. In this way, close reading challenges the reader in two basic tasks that usually follow one another. First, the reader studies the text by observing those facts and details of particular interest. Either the totality of the text or specific parts of it—or both—may be in focus, and the reader may be looking for everything from linguistic elements, semantic aspects and structural elements to cultural references. The next task involves an interpretation of the observations made and presenting them in a conclusion. In this process it is important to ask questions such as how and why about the initial observations. This prevents facts and details from being mere

descriptions in the conclusion, and creates an interpretation of the text's content. My close reading of the Black Books paid particular attention to the paratextual elements of the author's name, titles, prefaces and/or introductions. When close reading these paratexts I observed linguistic, semantic, structural and cultural elements, all of which contribute to a better understanding and interpretation of the texts.

I also advocate for what I call—for want of a better phrase and risking abusing a linguistic term—a material close reading. Genette's notion of paratexts is primarily based on a textual perspective where the occurrence and presentation of certain textual elements constitute his threshold. This is not to say, though, that Genette disregards the importance of material features of books and their potential influence and paratextual value in the reception and interpretation of the books. The first chapter in *Paratexts* is devoted to such forms. Still, his emphasis is largely on texts. I argue for an extended notion of the concept of paratext that focusses more attention on material features. Elements surrounding the text, such as binding, covers and traces of use, should be equally part of the reading and interpretation process. I believe the sum of a book's elements—from the material and visual to the textual—forms the best basis for an understanding of what the book communicates. A basic premise here is that form-----or materiality—produces meaning. Therefore, I fully agree with Tore Rem when he argues that:

The focus on the materiality is not merely a supplement, but a necessary and extensive dimension of the interpretation of text which simultaneously has consequences for how we understand the different parts of the communication process. In our specific treatment of texts, an awareness of its material dimensions can provide an understanding of the relationship text-context which is not exclusion, which does not require a removal from the text, rather it enriches our understanding of the relations in which the text is included. [...] the materiality must be a part of the interpretation if we wish to do justice to the complex processes which give texts historical particularity, and if we wish to

explain how texts undergo historical change.

Meaning is produced both in the manufacture of form, when the book is made, and in its meeting with the reader or observer of the book. Just as paratextual products, such as the author name or the preface, surround the text, according to Genette, 'and extend it, precisely in order to present it' and help to 'ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption in the form of a book', I believe material features work in similar ways. I consider the Black Books' material features mere extensions of his view, equally helping to present the books. To use Roger Chartier's words, the 'materiality of the book is inseparable from that of the text'

Furthermore, embedded in material objects are the visual and tactile senses of usage, of detrition and sustainability, which communicate the history of the object in time, place and cultural and social contexts. Consequently, I examine the material and visual features, such as binding, cover, format, stylistic features and framing of text, in the Black Books to understand what these elements communicate and how they contribute to the presentation of knowledge.

It is worth mentioning here that my approach to materiality is in the most literal sense of the word. As Bettina Wagner points out, it may seem 'slightly anachronistic' to focus on books as material objects, when books from previous centuries to a large extent have become virtual rather than material objects by way of the online databases now available." Since my study, to some degree, has coincided with the Norwegian digitisation project Digital Black Books, a considerable number of Norwegian Black Books are now in the process of being made available and searchable online. Although I have had access to the digital versions throughout my study, it has been imperative for me not to lose sight of the material, visual and tactile aspects of the books out of 'convenience'. Therefore, I have repeatedly consulted the material books to the extent that this has been possible.

The notion that the book as object and material form carries meaning, and in some cases even works as the primary forces in the reception of a book, is a surprising new field in literary studies. In

subfields such as analytical bibliography material forms and their meanings have engaged bibliographers for some time, even though the great breakthrough in this field is connected with Donald F. McKenzie's *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* from 1984, where he stresses how material form is crucial to determining the meaning of texts. Just thirteen years later the book was declared a classic by Roger Chartier, who explores the advantages of employing McKenzie's perspective:

against the abstraction of the text, it shows that the status and interpretation of a work depend on material considerations; against the 'death of the author,' it stresses the author's role, at the side of the bookseller-printer, in defining the form given to the work; against the absence of the reader, it recalls that meaning of a text is always produced in a historical setting and depends on the differing and plural readings that assign meaning to it.

The field of book history currently shows a growing interest in the materiality of texts, which proves its essential place within book studies.

A final remark on Genette must be made here. His treatment of paratextual elements is based on the literary and print conventions that mediate between publishing and text and the complex relationship between author, publisher and audience. Naturally, manuscripts like the Black Books are not part of the same production process as printed text, involving whatever potential influence or work the publisher, a patron or other actors may have contributed to its publication. Furthermore, they are withheld from the eventual mass distribution of printed text and are instead more private in nature, at least initially. Despite what we may conceive of as 'private writings', the books contain a rich paratextual apparatus. I believe this points towards a perception of these textual elements as important, possibly even crucial, to the understanding of the books and what they were held to be or intended to be.

As my analysis will show, the Black Books reflect contemporary paratextual elements common to printed books. Furthermore, the manufacture of Black Books, from material to textual features, more than indicates a motivation among their

makers to make the manuscripts look like books or rather, to make books. My analysis shows how material qualities were applied to the books and how the attribution of authorship was carefully conducted. Furthermore, I demonstrate how the knowledge presented in the paratextual elements points to established literary genres and to certain conventionalised reading strategies common to the general literary field at the time. All elements are part of the makers' strategies for authorising the books, reflecting a wish for the books to be conceived of as proper literary works.

Selection and Presentation of Material

The present selection of Norwegian Black Books contains works which I regard as suitable for my investigation since they contain material and textual features that enable me to answer my main research questions. The majority of the Black Books selected for this study belong to the manuscript collections at the National Library of Norway in Oslo (NB) and the Norwegian Folklore Archives (NFS) at the University of Oslo, archive institutions which hold the two most extensive collections of Black Books in Norway. The greater part of these manuscripts were added to the archives during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, compiled and arranged as a part of studies conducted by Professor Anton Christen Bang and Professor Moltke Moe among a total of fifty-one Norwegian manuscripts.

The manuscripts facilitating European comparison mainly belong to the collection of historical material at the Wellcome Library (WL) in London. As a vast and internationally oriented collection, this library is a useful provider of corresponding manuscripts suitable for comparison and this study has used a collection of manuscripts of French, Italian, German and English origin. Additionally, I have drawn on one English manuscript from the Newberry Library in Chicago, USA

The principles governing the present selection of material are based on research questions concerning both generic, textual and material features of the manuscripts. In addition to the thematic and formal identification of the Black Books, criteria such as accessibility to material features, dating and scale of the manuscripts have been decisive. As a minimum, the manuscripts

included in this study had to consist of no less than six leaves, of which at least half of the pages should be written and fastened together in an organised, unified way. The selection mainly includes manuscripts that provide a paratextual apparatus, and which fall within the period of my inquiry, namely the early modern period.

In a Norwegian context the early modern period is commonly regarded as the time from the implementation of the Lutheran Reformation in Denmark-Norway in 1537 until around 1800. As a consequence of this demarcation, the two oldest Black Books, both dated to the late fifteenth century, have been left out. The manuscripts included in the corpus are dated to the period 1650-1850, a period from which most Black Books originate. Since accessibility, both visually and materially, to Black Books has been the overall principle of my selection of material, it does not ensure a geographic, historic or social spread of the sources.

While I consider and use books and texts from the entire corpus, one book is examined in detail and serves as a case throughout my analysis. Titled Cyprianus Konstbog, this book was not chosen for its typicality in the corpus, but rather for its particularity and richness of material features and textual elements. By studying its wealth and complexity in paratextual elements I believe my analysis not only improves our understanding of this book in particular, but possibly challenges our notion of Black Books in general. It is precisely its particularity which facilitates new reflections, interpretations and insights. This argument is inspired by the division of example and case presented by Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Ravel. While example will always be an example of something and serve as a reference to some generality, a case, they point out, represents a challenge to existing theories and dominant norms, thus serving as a great opportunity for their development.

Black Book texts stand at the centre of my analysis. In transcribing them I have strived at accuracy, including the reproduction of obvious errors in spelling and grammar, even though this may obstruct the understanding of the text. It is my wish and intention that these texts shall have primacy as

the voices of past experiences and practices. If the text quoted is littered with grammatical or spelling errors this may serve to reveal the writer's social background, intellectual skills, and how and to what degree the person interpreted and understood what was written. Notions of the degree of literacy among the writers of Black Books are also important here. Even though literacy is not an objective of my study, the word by word account of the texts can give us an idea of the literary qualities of this material. For the same reason as Black Book texts are presented in the fullest possible manner, I have also chosen to show the visual aspects and indicate the material side of the Black Books by pointing to different features of the books with the intention of reducing the gap between the purely textual and material aspects of the books. Even though photographs are not sufficient as testimonies of the material qualities, I use pictures to illuminate the parallels and relationships between text and matter and argue for an interpretation of Black Books where the one cannot be understood without considering the other. <>

[Psychosis or Mystical Religious Experience? A New Paradigm Grounded in Psychology and Reformed Theology](#) by Susan L. DeHoff [Palgrave Macmillan, 9783319682600]

This book presents a novel model for distinguishing psychotic and mystical religious experiences. In order to explore how Presbyterian pastors differentiate such events, Susan L. DeHoff draws from Reformed theology, psychological theory, and robust qualitative research. Following a conversation among multidisciplinary voices, she presents a new paradigm considering the similarities, differences, and possible overlap of psychotic and mystical religious experiences.

Excerpt: This is an important book for all those who have been seduced into accepting the claim that often re-appears in the history of mysticism, namely that there are no Protestant mystics. Even more so, it is an important book for those who have been seduced into thinking that insofar as mysticism is an expression of psychopathology, the Protestants are better off for emerging out of a Catholic history, too long mired in mysticism. Such gross generalizations are not the framing that Susan

DeHoff uses in a sensitive book that explores the relationship between mysticism, psychopathology, and religion. She sketches out the contours of the problem by focusing upon how various approaches to psychology have explored mystical experiences in light of her own Protestant Reformed Theological religious tradition. Thus, rather than vacuous generalizations, Susan focuses upon very specific issues. Definitional issues are crucial as the Protestant mystical tradition even more than the Catholic has always been sensitive to the concern with the loss of individual identity associated with the feeling of mystical enlargement that William James noted could form alliances with many interpretative traditions, from claims to pantheism to heresies of claiming to be deified and one with God, or from more secular perspectives, a loss of self, indicative of descriptions found in textbooks on insanity. That Susan can approach such complicated historical, conceptual and empirical issues with clarity and precision is due to her concern with focusing on her own Reformed Theological tradition and how it has historically engaged mysticism and currently responds to those who report mystical experiences. The clarity of her focus and her in-depth use of empirical data make this book an important contribution to the continuing interest in mysticism both within and outside of religious traditions.

DeHoff's book carefully steers a dangerous path between the Scylla of psychological and psychiatric evaluations of those who report mystical experiences and the Charybdis of theological interpretations of mysticism recognized as genuine. We need not summarize her chapters for the book speaks clearly for itself. However, we can indicate here why her approach is so clarifying.

She clarifies that her focus on mysticism is not one of the loss of individuality either in a union with God or of a self divided and lost in madness. Her focus is upon unity with Christ in which individual identity is maintained. This is one of the essentials of the Reformed Theological tradition, rooted in Calvin, whose full theology is the theological foundation for Presbyterianism (and which Susan distinguishes from Calvinism). This distinction is well articulated in the book, but here is noted simply to indicate that DeHoff's book is partly a sensitive

presentation of an in-depth analysis of her 2011 qualitative research interviews of Presbyterian pastors. The sample of 20 consisted of semi-structured interviews focused primarily upon participants' descriptions of one or more experiences they interpreted as (1) religious mystical experiences; (2) indicative of a mental health problem; (3) too confusing to distinguish as either clearly (1) or (2). Her conceptually sensitive discussion of these responses serves as the basis to engage in what one scholar of the history of Catholic mysticism, Bernard McGinn, has bemoaned as an unrealized conversation between psychological and theological literatures. DeHoff's study can be read as one of the first true efforts to realize this conversation between psychologists and a specific theological tradition. However, in order to do this the contours of her study need to be addressed more specifically.

From the psychological side, DeHoff devotes two chapters to the survey of various psychological views of mysticism with a focus upon psychoanalysis (Chap. 3) and object relations, cognitive behavioral, transpersonal, and phenomenological theories ("Post Freudian" theories Chap. 4). Her focus is wise as these are the traditions that have most strongly addressed mystical experiences outside an explicitly theological framing. Her summaries of what amount to diverse, often incommensurate, views are fair and accurate. Her discussion of various approaches to psychology is especially useful in the context of what she has already established in Chap. 2, a clear theologically informed history of mysticism in the Protestant tradition, informed by the works of John Calvin (hence Calvinism) and Jonathan Edwards. Neither Calvin nor Edwards endorses a mystical union that can be seen as endorsing what for some is a pathological depersonalization of self or an equally pathological paranoid divination of self as God. Whether considering Calvin or Edwards (despite differences largely based on different understandings of emotionalism in relation to mystical experience), these architects of Reformed Theology endorse a mystical union with Christ in which self-identity is maintained (even enhanced!).

Having engaged mysticism in both specific theological terms and noting various psychological

views of mysticism outside of the specific Reformed Theological tradition, Susan proposes a model that suggests a way to realize conversations between theology and psychology rooted in her empirical study. In Chap. 6 she proposes an interdisciplinary discussion based upon points of congruence and incongruence between psychological and theological perspectives. This is the first step in a necessary interdisciplinary dialogue in which the psychological study of mysticism has too often subscribed to the methodological exclusion of any reference to transcendence in attempting what amounts to secular explanation of mystical experience, where if religion is involved at all, it is so only as an illusion. However, Susan's interest in religious mystical experiences within the Reformed Tradition reminds us that in this tradition (and in many others) to truly know oneself is to know God. The methodological exclusion of God from an effort to explore mysticism is unwarranted and allows no experience of God to come from God. Hence a non-reductive dialogue is needed where arrogance is replaced with humility in the effort to understand religious mystical experience that cannot be reduced to pathology insofar as it is a genuine experience of God.

DeHoff's book ends (Chap. 7) with what is really a prologue. She notes two overarching models in suggesting a needed new paradigm for integrating psychological (broadly conceived) and theological (specifically Reformed Theology) models for distinguishing genuine religious mystical experience from those that psychologists might rightly view as pathological. Admitting that many models could be proposed, Susan's is informed by her Reformed Theological beliefs. It includes three axiomatic assumptions: (1) human nature is necessarily described by a three-dimensional model of body, mind, and spirit; (2) mystical and psychotic experiences can be distinguished, one not being reducible to the other; (3) the distinction between psychotic and religious mystical experience is possible based upon the reality of the triune Christian God. This Reformed Theological paradigm can be contrasted with all other models that deny the reality of the Christian God and hence are essentially two-dimensional models accepting only body and mind. They deny a priori the genuine inclusion of transcendence in the

evaluation of mystical experience. Thus, DeHoff proposed paradigm allows for both a vertical (spirit) and horizontal (body-mind) dimension that psychological models tend to reduce to only a horizontal dimension. To phrase this difference in the clearest terms, religious mystical experience makes little sense if one tries to understand it within the confines of the methodological exclusion of the transcendence. Mystical experience that denies the reality of Christ has, from the perspective of the Reformed Tradition, no genuine basis for unity. Here even for those who reject the full Calvin theological system, instead embracing Calvinism, mystical experience of union with Christ provides the ontological justification for a union that is neither pathological nor a loss of individuality. The meaningfulness of this experience as genuinely mystical is provided by the faithful for which the full theology of the Presbyterian tradition (Calvinist) is the true and sure guide.

Whether one subscribes to Reformed Theology or not, DeHoff's call for a new paradigm that places psychology and theology in conversation with one another is to be applauded. The fleshing out of her paradigm in Chap. 7 suggests necessary "topics" for this conversation. These include such things as the relational and transient nature of this vertical (spiritual) nature as simply given. Furthermore, as conversation unfolds it must be in the context of the fact that religious mystical experience is meaningful, noetic, and real. It is meaningfully transformative and as such need not, nor can it, be confused with psychotic experiences in which not only is the loss of self at risk, but so is the loss of God.

Proposing a New Paradigm

This essay proposes a paradigm for distinguishing mystical religious experience from psychosis that integrates psychological theory and Reformed Theological belief. Following the presentation of assumptions that form the foundation of the paradigm, the need for a specific definition of mystical will be addressed, and its relation to mystical religious experience will be discussed. Connecting theories and beliefs discussed in previous chapters, the chapter culminates in the presentation of a proposed -paradigm.

Basic Assumptions

Three assumptions form the starting point for the proposed paradigm: (1) the three-dimensional model best describes human nature; (2) the Christian God is a reality; (3) mystical religious and psychotic experiences can be distinguished. These assumptions integrate psychological theory and Reformed Theological beliefs, although they do not incorporate all theories presented in Chaps. 3 and 4. Given the points of theoretical difference and incongruence discussed in Chap. 6, no paradigm can integrate all theoretical and theological viewpoints relative to psychosis and mystical experience and still be effective either in distinguishing or conflating these two experiences. It is acknowledged that other paradigms could be constructed, depending on the theoretical and theological elements chosen.

The first assumption, the choice of the three-dimensional model of human nature, which includes body, psyche, and spirit as a dimension separate from psyche, is made not only because it connects psychological theory with Reformed Theology but also because the nature of the subject experiences fits this model. In the proposed paradigm psychosis is associated with the dimension of psyche. Psychosis has been characterized as a fragmenting of the self, (also variously described as "dehumanizing" and "depersonal") associated with distortions of perception and thought. The hallucinations and delusions that are symptomatic of psychosis grow out of these characteristics and may well be attempts to make meaning of the psychotic experience, as some theorists argue. A disruption in emotion, with a marked tendency toward negative emotions, has also been associated with psychosis. In the context of psychosis specifically and in the context of mental health more broadly, activities of cognition (which includes meaning-making), emotion, and perception are linked to psyche. Cognitive functions of the psyche are understood to include (1) analyzing, (2) synthesizing, and (3) relating. Psychosis involves disruption in one or more of these activities and functions.

Mystical religious experience (MRE) is associated with the spirit dimension. MRE has been described as experience given by Something or Someone (in

the case of Reformed Theology, God) that is beyond or that transcends human life. It has been characterized as an integrating experience that unites not only the person with God but also the person within himself or herself. The voices and visions associated with MRE facilitate the encounter of finite human being with infinite divine being. There is a feeling of awe that accompanies the encounter along with an awareness of profound meaning that cannot be put into words. Transcending, receiving revelation, and uniting with God are activities of the spirit. Functions of the spirit dimension include (1) awareness of a reality totally other than human reality, (2) openness to vertical relationship, and (3) integration of the person. These characteristics are different from the activities and functions of the psyche dimension.

One might reasonably ask if the activities and functions ascribed to spirit could be conceptualized as activities and functions of the psyche. The reason this is not the model chosen for the proposed paradigm is that the two-dimensional model conflates dimensions having significant differences between their activities and functions. Psyche primarily deals with what is rational, the spirit with what is non-rational. An attempt on the part of rational cognition to receive non-rational revelation suggests a host of problems, not the least of which is how the rational dimension can be open to non-rational experience in a way that leads to integration. These seem to be competing, possibly conflicting, activities. The one attempts to make something rational out of the non-rational and the other disengages the rational in order to take in the non-rational. That is not to say, however, that these dimensions function exclusive of each other. They do not; they benefit each other. Spiritual experience needs to be processed through the psyche in order to find language with which to express not only the experience but more importantly the meaning. Spiritual experience needs the language, analyzing, synthesizing, and associating skills that are part of the rational thinking process. Mystical religious experience has healing benefits, but to realize those benefits fully, the embedded meaning needs to be translated into "street language" that psyche provides. Psyche needs revelation to understand what it cannot grasp through reasoning; not all insights can, or

even need to be, "figured out." Psyche, spirit, and body benefit from vertical and horizontal experience, which are not parallel but intersecting experiences.

The second assumption, the reality of the Christian God, connects with Reformed Theology. The paradigm has broader applicability, however, if the Supreme Being associated with other religious traditions is substituted for the Christian God when applying the paradigm to those traditions. Reformed Theology is based on belief in the reality of the Trinitarian God (God, Christ, Holy Spirit). A major tenet of the faith is that God created human beings for the purpose of relationship, both with each other and with God. God initiates the relationship with human beings, which means that vertical experience is inherent to what it means to be human. In Reformed Theology there is a presupposition that God and humans reach toward each other. To reach toward and be grasped by that toward which one reaches can be a powerful vertical experience. From an object relations standpoint, that means God is an external, Wholly Other, the encounter with whom can be as real as encounters with human beings. Because God is Wholly Other, however, the nature of that encounter is different. There is room for broadening therapeutic work in the arena of how the process of developing internal object representations of God makes use of mystical experiences of God.

Vertical experience is not unidirectional. Encounters with God usually have the feeling of an upward direction, but vertical includes a downward direction. The feeling of being separated from God, or the feeling that God is not a near-presence, reflects the downward direction. Downward direction can also be associated with a sense of losing connection to one's own spirit as the upward direction feels lost. For example, one may say that prayers no longer reach God or that God's presence cannot be found. This experience connects with object relations theory and the infant's experience of the nurturing parent's absence. Rather than a loss of the vertical axis, dark night of the soul experiences can reflect its opposite polar end.

The third assumption is that mystical religious experience and psychotic experience are different

types of experience and thus distinguishable. This assumption grows out of strong evidence provided by both disciplines.

While I am sympathetic to the need to remove the stigma from psychosis, the reality is that it needs to be removed from all experience that society calls "mental illness." Mystical experience, religious or otherwise, has not had a strong, positive valence since the advent of the scientific age, and the danger of conflating these two experiences is that mystical experience takes on the valence of psychosis, not the reverse. Perhaps more importantly, the conflation confounds exploration of the spiritual dimension of human ontology. We come to know more about who and what we are by the ways we experience ourselves and our environment, and to say that we experience the same dimension of our being whether our experience is psychotic or mystical truncates self-knowledge. This is not to deny that mystical religious and psychotic experiences can overlap. They certainly can and do; body, mind, and spirit function simultaneously, not successively. It is quite possible for a person to have a crisis in one or more dimensions simultaneously. It is also possible to have an unhealthy experience in one while having a healthy experience in another. Dimensions are interactive, each influencing and impacting the others to varying extents; their boundaries are penetrable, but they do have boundaries. In kitchen language, human ontology is not a turkey hash casserole. Mystical, or any other spiritual experience, does not need to originate in or take place in the dimension of psyche for psyche to impact and be impacted by the experience; but psyche is secondary when it is involved, not primary.

Theoretical Considerations

As has already been shown countless times, a need to define terms is the first order of business when discussing mystical experience. The term mystical has become so widely used that it is almost meaningless. If it is to be rescued, it needs to be given a specific meaning grounded in a theological position; it was first introduced to the Christian tradition as a type of theology, mystical theology. In keeping with Reformed Theology, the definition of mystical used in the proposed paradigm is

grounded in John Calvin's writings. This in no way implies that this is the only "true" definition of mystical. It is to say explicitly that the definition of mystical must be used within the context of a theological, or at least ideological, system. Otherwise the a priori task becomes that of distinguishing types of mystical experience and a redundant "dog chasing its tail" project begins, definition and type being inseparably bound.

Calvin connects mystical with "the secret things of God". He uses mystical in a very limited sense, talking about unio mystica, or mystical union with God/Christ. That union is in spirit only; there is no sharing of substance, nor is there a loss of individual identity. It involves revelation of knowledge of things having to do with the Spirit, not with natural things. Above all it is an experience enabled by the love of God for the person and the love of the person for God. This loving relationship is the basis of all other kinds of experiences of God and the basis of justification, salvation, faith, and morality. From Calvin we get a definition of mystical that limits what can be called a MRE: mystical religious experience is an experience of being united with God/Christ that imparts experiential [as opposed to intellectual] knowledge of God. Knowledge of the reality of God and the nature of the divine-human relationship are examples of the kind of knowledge that may be imparted. A date for the end of the world, God's plan to destroy one people and elevate another, and God communicating wrathful judgment on one or more persons for particular acts are not examples of knowledge that is imparted.

This definition begs the question of where oracles, visions, the felt presence of God/Christ, and healing miracles fit. They are direct experiences of God, just not mystical experiences. Within the Reformed tradition, and within culture generally, ideas about how people engage faith and experience God and the language used to talk about them need to be expanded. This calls for an actualization of what Streib and Hood call "experience-oriented (Mysticism) religion"; it calls for a realization that true religion is a matter of both intellect and experience, and that there are many kinds of religious experiences. Use of the

adjective religious means that the experience is consonant with a certain set of beliefs, but beliefs and experiences are integrated not segregated. An experience may fit with a tradition different from the believer's professed tradition, but it needs to fit with the beliefs of an organized theological system in order to find language and context for meaningful expression. Totally idiosyncratic experiences, especially those that lead to hurtful or destructive behavior, are not religious experiences. Other kinds of religious experiences in the Reformed tradition include (1) other unmediated, albeit non-mystical, experiences of God; (2) mediated experiences of God; and (3) assorted faith experiences that are more horizontal in nature.

Another theoretical need is to connect the concept of MRE being developed here with psychological theory. There is agreement across disciplines that the need for vertical experiences of that which transcends human nature is inherent in human ontology. The voluminous amount of material, both theoretical and theological, concerning transcendent experiences, particularly experiences of God, generated by reports of these experiences through the centuries testifies to the fact that such experiences are not rare; they are part of what it means to be human.

The MRE concept connects with Fairbairn's basic premise that the primary dynamic motivating human behavior is relational; human beings are created for relationship, to include people and God. That premise connects with Calvin's theology and the centrality of the relationship between person and God. Relationship is also basic to object relations theory. Internal representations of objects, people, and God are created by the psyche and influence relational experiences. Just as material gained from interpersonal and inter-object experiences and exposure to ideas and beliefs contribute to the psyche's internal representations, so material gained from mystical religious and other experiences of God along with exposure to ideas and beliefs contribute to the psyche's internal representation of God. Ulanov (2005) gives a clear presentation of how the creation of internal representations of God, using experiences of God as external to humans, mirrors

the formation of internal representations of parents. Internal representations have the capacity to change over time, based on additional experiences, further exploration, and processing of ideas and beliefs. That some of the conclusions we draw about those with whom we are in relationship can be distorted by personal emotions, and a tendency to emphasize self needs/wants/importance over those of others fits with Fairbairn's "good object/bad object" theory and with Calvin's and Edwards' understanding of sin. Edwards also applies that concept to the awareness that self need/want and emotionalism can create false experiences of God; not all reported experiences of God are authentically initiated and given by God. Psychological processes can initiate and create experiences that are not authentic God experiences.

The need to distinguish authentic from inauthentic mystical religious experiences connects with the need to distinguish them from psychosis. In addition to the Mystical Experience with Psychotic Features and Psychotic Experience with Mystical Features diagnostic categories there needs to be a category for Mystical Religious Experience Without Pathology. That there can be an overlap of experiences is agreed upon by most psychological theories, and many of the pastors in DeHoff's study indicated awareness that some experiences reported to them are not clear-cut. Nonetheless, among theologians and some psychologists some experiences are recognized as clearly mystical religious without any overlap of psychosis; Peter Marshall's experience presented in chapter one is an example. Clear distinctions between psychotic and mystical religious experiences were presented in Chaps. 3, 4, and 5, and these distinctions will be woven into the proposed paradigm.

Finally, there is the theoretical consideration of states of consciousness. This is an area on which there is no consensus, and yet it is a consideration that cannot be overlooked. A phenomenological approach leaves the impression that there are different states of consciousness in play. Whether it is a matter of a consciousness continuum, levels of consciousness, or disruptions of consciousness, many scholars and theoreticians note that something looks different with respect to a person's consciousness

when psychotic and/or mystical religious experiences enter the picture. I propose that how we look at this matter is connected to our understanding of human ontology. There is still so much about ourselves as the human race that we do not know and probably more that we do not understand. The way we understand consciousness needs to be contextualized in an understanding of ontology, whatever that understanding is, and explicitly stated.

At the significant risk of creating confusion rather than clarity, I am proposing yet another hypothesis about consciousness, one that fits with the three-dimensional model of human ontology used for the proposed paradigm. Hypothetically, each dimension has its own consciousness. This hypothesis would mean that the consciousness of spirit would lean toward vertical experiences and have openness to non-rational experience that the consciousness of psyche struggles to accept. Further, it means that the consciousness of psyche would lean more toward horizontal experiences and perhaps be more guardedly open to some experiences than others. It would be more open to rational experiences and data coming from the five senses. It would also be more open to the person internally and the psychological needs/wants of the person. In this conceptualization, body consciousness would have to do with physical needs, such as hunger, thirst, pain. There are many possible conceptualizations with potentially helpful ways of understanding human experience, and more to the point understanding how to help people during experiences of suffering. Until some branch of science gives us some proof of "the way it really is" — or until a mystical experience reveals "the way it really is," we can only observe and look for what fits.

Distinguishing Mystical Religious and Psychotic Experience

This paradigm focuses on the characteristics of psychotic and mystical religious experiences; it does not address etiology. Although ideas have been presented in this book relevant to etiology, the main focus has been on developing ways to distinguish these experiences "out in the field." This section presents characteristics of psychotic experience and of mystical religious experience,

then offers terminology for use in talking about other kinds of religious experiences.

Characteristics of Psychotic Experience In discussing characteristics of psychotic experience, this paradigm moves away from a symptomatology list like that given in DSM-V, which has often been likened to a "cookbook approach" to diagnosis. Instead, it relies on descriptions and the many examples of experiences given in Chaps. 3, 4, and 5, with priority given to characteristics reported by people who have experienced psychosis. A person experiencing psychosis may not manifest all of the characteristics, but all characteristics have been reported as having been experienced by various sufferers of psychosis.

Self-disturbance describes "a disorder of self-awareness and experience". There is a sense of de-humanization involved in psychotic experience. Amy Johnson gives a personal account of her experience, stating that she questions her "realness". Clara Humpston says the voices she hears tell her she does not exist. Clara Kean describes it as a feeling of being "detached from my real self"; her "thoughts, emotions, and actions [do not] belong to me anymore". Fragmentation is noted by most theorists. Mental activities do not cohere as a whole, and normal processing of complex ideas of self and others, formed through relationships, is disrupted; as a result the experience of self and the ability to engage in goal directed behavior collapse. In an amnesia experience, one knows he or she is a person, just not which person. In psychotic experience, one is not sure he or she is a person. When one is not sure of one's own reality, there is an inability to recognize what is and is not reality in the broader sense. Stanghellini quotes a patient who stated the problem succinctly: "I can't distinguish between thought, imagination, and reality", echoing Fairbairn's hallmark symptom of schizophrenia: inability to distinguish between fantasy and reality. Self-disturbance would seem not only to be a personality disturbance but also a disturbance of personhood that involves disruption of cognitive and affective processes, the ability to integrate components of the self, and the ability to relate and interact with the external world. Jung characterized it as a disintegration of the

personality, as if "an earthquake were tearing asunder the structure of a normally built house".

Thought disruption is directly related to self-disturbance. Thought withdrawal, thought insertion, and thought broadcasting all manifest the disruption. Concept disorganization reflects the inability to make logical connections between facts. P. K. Chadwick describes the vague emptiness when meaning is only a feeling, missing the "something" that should be significant, foreboding, or important; the "what" that should be connected to the feeling is missing. Michael Thalbourne describes a tendency toward literal interpretations coupled with the inability to think metaphorically. Mishara et al. note the compromised access to autobiographical material.

Hallucinations along with delusions are characteristics that seem to get the most attention. They are highly noticeable and often the first visible sign that something is wrong. They are related to thought disruption and are an outgrowth of the inability to distinguish fantasy and reality. Hallucinations usually are negative in tone, degrading the person and/or ordering harm to self or others. They are often associated with magical thinking. Auditory hallucinations are the most common, and the most frequent type involves the person being commanded to do something, usually something destructive. Commands can be continuously repeated.

Voices may be heard externally or internally. Visions that contain religious content of a macabre or gruesome nature do not fit with the beatific visions of religious experience. Visions such as those of religious figures suffering ritualistic torture or that focus exclusively on pain and suffering tend toward psychotic hallucination rather than religious experience.

It is possible for emotion to project a vision of something that gives visual expression to the emotion. For example, the man with a neurological illness who was fearful saw demons in the corner of his room until being baptized made him feel safe, at which time he saw angels. While such hallucinations may or may not be related to psychosis, they are not necessarily visions given by God. In the case of the man in the example, the

hallucinations communicated suffering that needed to be alleviated, and a wise pastor recognized the need and responded accordingly. It is possible for complicated grief to manifest similarly, not necessarily as psychosis or as religious experience but as an expression of suffering that can be relieved through therapy and/or pastoral care.

There are different categories of hallucinations, but content is always idiosyncratic, sometimes involving religious content and sometimes not. Religious content characterized by harmful, destructive, degrading, and/ or dehumanizing comments or orders indicates inauthentic religious experience. Religious content that departs from beliefs recognized by organized religious traditions also marks hallucinations as psychotic rather than religious experience. Within the Reformed tradition it is understood that God may make one aware of one's sin and/or sinfulness, evoking significant negative feelings or even spiritual crisis, but that awareness is paired with God's readiness to forgive and to provide newness of life. Being made aware of sin does not carry with it the notion of being destroyed or eternally condemned by God's wrath.

Delusions are also often connected to magical thinking. There are many kinds of delusions, grandiose delusions and delusions of control and reference among the more common, but again content is idiosyncratic. With the exception of the folie à deux phenomenon, it is unlikely that two people would have the exact same delusion. Delusions may or may not involve religious content, but when they do, the religious content is out of sync with the formulated beliefs of any organized religious tradition. Religious delusions can be shared by a small group, for example the Branch Davidian group in Texas and the Jim Jones group in Guyana, but the beliefs are out of sync with an organized religion having a formulated, historical set of beliefs and practices. Believing one has become divine, that one can conceive God's child, that one has divine power to save/ destroy the world are all examples of psychotic delusions.

Disruption in relationships is another characteristic directly related to self-disturbance. There is an inability to establish a shared reality with another person. It is not possible to have a person-to-person

connection when one is unsure of one's own reality. Disruption in interpersonal relationships is related to the de-humanization and de-personalization that accompany psychotic experience. Extreme social withdrawal can become a problem that feeds the overall psychotic experience.

Internal focus as opposed to focusing on the external environment is related to social withdrawal. The person experiencing psychosis turns inward and can get stuck in an ongoing task of interpreting the content of the psychotic experience. The experience itself becomes the focus of attention, and connection to the external world is lost. The ability to function on a day-to-day basis, performing routine tasks of self-care, becomes difficult if not impossible.

Disorientation is the final characteristic to be included. Brett noted that time, space, substance, and causal interaction can be distorted, resulting in the world being "strangely insubstantial or mutable".

The outcome of psychotic experience varies according to the type, the therapy or therapies used, and the constitutional and psychological makeup of the individual. Most psychotic experiences are not just a one-time affair. They disrupt functioning at home and on the job and can have devastating effects on personal relationships. As the next section shows, characteristics of psychotic experience are very different from those of mystical religious experience.

Characteristics of Mystical Religious Experience This section is limited to characteristics of mystical religious experience only, meaning it will adhere to the Reformed Theology understanding that mystical applies only to experiences of union with God/Christ. It is noted that neither Calvin nor Gerson, whose definition of mystical theology has been used in this book, included the word religious as they talked about union with God.

Unfortunately, since the time period in which they wrote, the word mystical has been used to refer to an ever-widening variety of experiences. In order to limit the meaning of the term to a particular use within the Reformed tradition, it is being paired with religious. The experience described in this section is the experience of unio mystica as Calvin

conceptualized it. In keeping with the Trinitarian understanding of God, union with God will be used to mean union with God or Christ. Mystical religious experiences can occur during or following prayer, but they can also occur at any time and under any circumstances.

The need to distinguish mystical experiences of God, other types of experiences of God, and other kinds of faith experiences has become clear. There needs to be an increase in God- and faith-experience vocabulary, within both theology and psychology, and this need is addressed in the proposed paradigm.

In presenting characteristics of MRE, priority is being given to characteristics that bridge both disciplines. Not all psychological theories reflect every characteristic, but each characteristic is reflected in at least one psychological theory. Not all characteristics are specifically stated in Calvin's writings, but they are expressed by subsequent Reformed theologians and/or by twenty-first-century Presbyterian pastors. Terminology used to name the characteristics is taken from both psychology and theology, as it has been presented in previous chapters.

Givenness is the first characteristic of mystical religious experience. Union experiences are initiated by God and given to the person. Givenness has to do with awareness that the experience is not created within the person, although the person has an openness to receiving it. Pastors frequently use the term spontaneous to describe the way the experience suddenly occurs. They also describe it as happening "out of the blue"; the person does not feel in control of the experience but is not frightened by the lack of control. It can and often does occur during prayer, but not necessarily so.

Verticality is the next characteristic. By nature, human beings have the capacity for vertical experiences that transcend experiences of common, everyday life in the socio-cultural milieu. The vertical experience of mystical union is an experience of God/Christ. Vertical experiences are not limited to mystical, uniting experiences, but verticality is descriptive of MRE in the Reformed

tradition, in which the believer experiences union with God/Christ.

Subject/Object describes the experience in terms of object relations theory. God is both the subject of the union experience and the object. As Subject, God initiates the experience and is active in it, but God is also the object that is experienced. Following the experience, the person uses it in developing the ever-evolving internalized representation of God.

Relational expresses the relationship quality of the experience. In the words of Lukoff et al., the experience is a "harmonious relationship to the divine". The relational quality of the experience is closely linked to the Subject/Object characteristic. The person feels united to God in a way that Calvin describes as similar to the union of husband and wife. There is a feeling of harmony and perhaps of euphoria. There is also a feeling of awe and the awareness that one is a creature in the presence of one's Creator. The believer is not absorbed into God; personal identity is maintained so that there is relationship between two individual entities.

Noetic has long been used to describe experiences of union with the divine. It describes a kind of knowledge of something/someone that comes from direct, personal experience as opposed to observational knowledge or intellectual information about the object/person. Knowledge may have to do with an awareness of the reality of God/Christ and/or a new or enhanced awareness of God as loving, healing, empowering, calling.

Transient describes the duration of the experience. It lasts for moments, perhaps hours. During the experience time seems suspended, so the person having the experience is unaware of the number of minutes or hours until the experience has ended. It may or may not happen again. It is not a permanent condition that denies the return to the experience of ordinary daily living. Inability to return to ordinary daily living signifies a clinical problem.

Real points to the feeling that the experience is more real than any other kind of experience. MRE is an experience of a dimension of being human that transcends ordinary reality. It is an experience

of the spiritual dimension of life. It gives self-knowledge that there is "more to being me" than what is experienced in ordinary daily living, and this way of "being me," although different from ordinary living, is very real and valuable.

Meaningful is understood as full of meaning because the experience has depth of meaning on more than one level. It is symbolic and metaphorical in ways that sometimes defy verbal expression. But it can also have concrete meaning in terms of a changed understanding of ideas, beliefs, problem to be solved, and/or who one is as a person and what one's purpose is. It is an experience of a different kind of consciousness that imparts meaning in a different way, but that meaning also translates into new meaning within ordinary conscious awareness. Because there is a sense of an overplus of meaning, the person also has an attitude of uncovering meaning for an extended period of time after the experience. An attitude that there is only one, literal meaning is missing; such an attitude is indicative of psychotic experience. There is an uncertainty sometimes about whether the MRE means "I am going crazy" and a welcoming of discussion about what it might mean on both a symbolic, metaphorical level and on a practical level.

Transforming expresses the resulting behavioral and/or personality change that is positive. Unhealthy behavior, for example addictions, stop. Personality characteristics that impeded healthy relationships are changed. There is a conversion from an old way of being that was less healthy in one or more dimensions (body, psyche, spirit) to a healthier way of being. There is integration of personality and more broadly of person as a whole. Sometimes the transformation is described as being more centered within oneself. In Howard Rice's words, conversion experiences change people "sometimes quickly, by an experience of radical reorientation of their lives".

Non-Mystical Experiences of God

Often knowing what something is not is as important as knowing what it is. This is especially true for situations in which a differential diagnosis is needed. This section presents experiences that match neither the description of psychotic nor

mystical religious experiences. They are nonetheless, experiences of God.

There are other direct encounters of God that are not included in the category Mystical Religious Experience, yet they are authentic experiences of God. Three categories are presented here: (1) Unmediated, Non-mystical Experiences of God; (2) Mediated Experiences of God; and (3) Inspiration of the Holy Spirit. These three categories are sequenced according to their proximity to mystical religious experience. Unmediated, Non-mystical Experiences of God bear the closest resemblance to mystical experience.

Unmediated, Non-mystical Experiences of God

These experiences include oracles, visions, miraculous healing, the visceral sensation of God's presence, and a physical sensation accompanying the outpouring of God's love.

Oracles is the name John Calvin gives to hearing the voice of God, either internally or externally. Hearing the voice of God is an experience mentioned not infrequently in both the New Testaments of the Christian Bible. Oracles are different from the auditory hallucinations associated with psychosis in that they do not issue destructive or self-harming commands and they do not repeat over and over like a broken record. God does not degrade the person to whom God is speaking or any other person. The voice of God may be directive, for example telling someone to "Go preach" or "This is my Son; listen to him" (Luke 9:35). God's voice can also be comforting and affirming, for example telling someone "Well done!" or "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matthew 3:17). Or in the case of the woman near death, an oracle can occur simultaneously with a vision, often a brilliant white light. Ms. L. heard the words, "It is not your time yet; you are going to be okay." An oracle is not a long lecture and it certainly is not a diatribe. Believers also sometimes hear "words of wisdom" as they struggle to respond to a situation that needs calming words or words of comfort.

Visions involve seeing God/Christ

Most often Christ appears as a brilliant white light that does not hurt the believer's eyes. God/Christ

may also appear as a white cloud. Occasionally Christ appears as a light over a certain area as if marking the way one is to travel or the direction one should take. One of the more well-known examples of a vision of Christ is that of the Apostle Paul on the Damascus Rd. found in chapter 9 of the Acts of the Apostles. In this example Paul also hears the voice of Christ coming from the light asking him "Why are you persecuting me" (Acts 9:4). Visions are different from the visual hallucinations associated with psychosis in that they are never macabre, as was the hallucination of Fairbairn's schizophrenic patient who not only saw Christ hanging on the cross but also saw herself participating in the agony. Visions may come during wakefulness or in dreams. As Jonathan Edwards notes, Satan can counterfeit visions (as well as any other experience of God/Christ), but the focal point is not God/Christ but self, and the result is not love for God/Christ but elevation of self and/or the destruction of someone or something else.

Miraculous healing is not reported with great frequency, but it is reported. For example, the alcoholic woman whose story was told in Chap. 5 was healed of her addiction to alcohol as she felt God flood her body with love. The desire for alcohol never returned. The dying woman mentioned above had her health restored as the white light of Christ faded away. There is no explanation for why these miracles happen or why they happen to some people and not others. There is no support theologically or biblically for the conclusion that some believers are more holy than others or that other people are not as loved by God as those who are healed. Healing miracles are undeniable and defy explanation.

Visceral sensation of God's presence is sometimes reported as a sense of God being in the room or beside/behind a person. One person reported feeling God's hands touching a shoulder during prayer, and the physical sensation was accompanied by a sudden sense of peace, hope, and love. More frequently believers report a visceral sense of God's/Christ's nearness as they walk in nature. The visceral experience may or may not be accompanied by a vision or an oracle. Always the felt presence is reported as comforting,

strengthening, affirming; it is never reported as frightening or controlling. The presence always directs the person's thoughts toward God.

Mediated Experiences of God

These experiences flow through something to reach the believer. Elements involved in the sacraments (baptismal water, communion wine, bread), other people, objects in nature can all mediate the experience of God.

Angels can mediate an experience of God. They "are dispensers and administrators of God's beneficence toward us" and can bring verbal messages from God; they can act on behalf of God. Both the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible are replete with examples of angels who spoke messages from God, both during dreams and in wakeful times, and who appeared as guides and protectors. Believer reports of angels who appeared to lead them to safety in times of danger and angels who appeared with a message from God are in keeping with Reformed Theology.

Incarnational experiences of God/Christ may be experienced through other people "who show love so well that they represent the love of God for us" (Rice 1991, p. 35). For example, when persons who feel unlovable have the experience of being loved by another person, they may feel God is loving them through that person. Similarly, being forgiven by one whom a person has wronged may lead to feeling forgiven by God.

Healing prayer experiences are mediated through the prayers of other people. It may or may not involve physical touch. A woman faced surgery to correct a congenital hole in her heart. Fellow believers met and prayed with her and repeat X-rays prior to surgery no longer gave evidence of the hole. Calvin does not support the use of "unction," or God's healing through the use of anointing with oil or laying on of hands, beyond the time of the apostles, the original twelve disciples of Christ. However, that these experiences are occasionally reported by pastors and parishioners in the Presbyterian denomination cannot be denied. In this situation, it should be recalled that although the Presbyterian denomination is founded upon the Reformed Theology of John Calvin, it is grounded

in scripture alone. On the basis of scripture there is support for God's working through other believers' prayers, the use of oil, and laying on of hands for healing.

Spoken word refers to the Reformed belief that God speaks through the words, written or spoken, of others. God speaks through scripture. God may also speak through sermons and devotional materials. Believers may hear something in a sermon or read something in devotional material they believe is a word spoken to them directly by God. The words give comfort, assurance, direction, guidance for a decision, conviction of sin, and particular or understanding of a situation.

Church sacraments and rituals can mediate experiences of God. The bread and wine (or juice) of communion can be experienced as Christ nourishing the spirit and providing strength for a particular task or life in general. The sacrament of baptism can mediate the experience of God granting new life in Christ. In the case of adult baptism one can feel a sense of becoming a child of God and a member of God's family on earth.

Elements in God's creation may speak to people in many different ways. Sometimes elements serve as a medium through which people receive something from God or experience something about God. People may experience the vastness of God as they gaze into the heavens and see the stars at night, or they may experience God's power in strong winds or ocean waves. Such experiences are relevant to the ongoing evolution of internal God representations.

Inspiration of the Holy Spirit

The Holy Spirit, sometimes called the Spirit of Christ, is the third person of the Trinity and witnesses internally. The Holy Spirit connects with and speaks to the human spirit. It is a common understanding in Reformed Theology that the human intellect alone cannot "figure out" all the meanings contained in Scripture; the Holy Spirit reveals meaning. Edwards writes that there is knowledge "too high and excellent to be communicated by such means as other knowledge is" (2005, p. 88).

The Holy Spirit also reveals gifts and talents given by God to be used for the good of others, which

increases self-knowledge. It also increases self-knowledge by revealing hindrances (which can be spiritual or psychological) to performing certain tasks, increasing awareness of the need for God's help to overcome those hindrances. The Holy Spirit is also instrumental in revealing human inclinations that separate one from God and that cause disharmony in interpersonal relationships (a.k.a. sin). That realization can lead to a crisis that is psychological and spiritual, but it can also lead to a conversion experience resulting in increased physical, psychological, and spiritual health.

Holy Spirit inspiration can lead to a new life purpose. It can precipitate what looks like a mid-life crisis or it may resolve a mid-life crisis. The experience is not limited to a particular time period. There is no limit to the ways the Holy Spirit can influence life. For that reason, discernment is needed to ensure that the inspiration is truly from the Holy Spirit and not counterfeit self-deception. There may be myriad psychological reasons for assuming a new life purpose; they may or may not be healthy and well-directed. Believing one has a new life purpose does not necessarily mean that the proposed change is Holy Spirit inspired.

The belief that the Holy Spirit dwells in one's heart is accepted Reformed belief (Calvin 1559/1960, 3.3.1). The indwelling of the Spirit enables one to live life with God/Christ at the center instead of self as the center. The result is a strong relationship with God in which one is open to God's leading and to unmediated experiences of God. One also experiences greater care for other people and enjoys interpersonal relationships that are more positive because one is not focused on oneself and getting one's personal wants/needs gratified by others. The result is greater psycho-social health.

Other Faith Experiences and Practices

There are other types of faith experiences that are not found in scripture or Reformed Theology but which reflect beliefs that are grounded in scripture and Reformed Theology. These experiences can be confused with psychosis or other mental health problems. The intensity and duration of these experiences aid their being interpreted as authentic faith experiences or as authentic mental health problems.

Appearances of Deceased Loved Ones

Appearances of deceased loved ones in dreams or when one is awake are reported not infrequently and reflect belief in the afterlife, not in ghosts. Deceased loved ones may appear when a family member is dying to welcome and reassure the person that there is no need for fear. A recently deceased person may appear to a loved one to give assurance that life in heaven is happy, peaceful, safe, and/or pleasant. The possibility exists that grief produces these experiences as hallucinations, but the experiences seem qualitatively more akin to spiritual experiences than psychological experiences. If they persist beyond the one- to two-year period in which grief normally resolves, though, such experiences need to be evaluated as symptomatic of complicated grief.

Transcendent Experiences

Transcendent experiences triggered by solitude in nature, in which one becomes aware of the vastness of the universe and of one's own tiny part in it or in which one feels at peace with God and within oneself, reflect belief in God as Creator of the universe and of oneself. There are also transcendent experiences not reflective of religious belief, such as the feeling of uniting with all that is. Experiences involving uniting with space aliens or destructive spirits would fit the description of psychosis rather than the description of faith experience.

Demonic Experiences

Demonic experiences involving Satan reflect the reality of evil in the world, biblical accounts of evil, and the place of evil in Reformed Theology. These experiences exclude uniting with Satan and being controlled by demons, which are more akin to the experiences of mental illness than to faith experiences. Experiencing crime perpetrated on oneself as evil and believing many of the atrocities that make the news almost on a daily basis are evidence of evil and even of Satan's influence in the world are in keeping with beliefs of the Reformed tradition. Believing that one is united with Satan and carrying out Satan's will on earth reflects psychosis, not scripture or beliefs of the Reformed tradition.

Horizontal Faith Experiences and Practices

Horizontal experiences are as important to faith as the vertical experiences discussed above. They connect believers with each other and with the world, and go beyond the communal activities of worship, prayer, and Bible study, which connect members of the faith community to each other. One could argue strongly that the purpose of vertical faith experience is the engaging of horizontal faith experience. Horizontal faith experiences reflect belief in God's love for all creation.

Horizontal faith experiences reach out to connect faith to living in the world. Parents manifest their faith and their relationship with God as they teach their children not only the tenets of the faith but also what that means in terms of relationships. Horizontal faith experiences include interacting with neighbors, including those who are not members of one's faith tradition and/or ethnic group. Horizontal faith experiences occur in the workplace through chosen priorities and interactions with co-workers and business associates. They occur when values are applied to decisions and actions requiring a choice between gratifying personal desires at the expense of others or prioritizing the needs of others.

Horizontal faith experiences are acts of charity and acceptance of others, including those upon whom society looks down. Often there is a sense of God calling a believer to work for social justice and to advocate for people whom cultural systems treat unfairly. One may feel called by God to conserve God's world. There is a felt sense of doing God's work in the world out of love for God and all of God's creation.

Overlapping Psychotic and Religious Experience

The overlap of psychotic and religious experience, in which there are mystical religious elements within a psychotic experience and vice versa, have been discussed in Chap. 4. Here I want to touch briefly on a kind of overlap that has not been adequately addressed by either discipline. Psychotic and religious experiences can occur simultaneously but on parallel tracks. I recall the report of a young man diagnosed with schizophrenia who heard

voices telling him to do harmful acts. He struggled to experience God's love for him in spite of the voices. Spirit has its own type of consciousness, and his effort to connect with God in that way was healthy. He was not trying to connect through psychological consciousness that would have been an intellectual endeavor or an endeavor to hear a healthy voice to control the unhealthy voices; he wanted to experience God's love through a different kind of knowing, a spiritual consciousness that was not distorted by psychosis. That spiritual connection to God, which might or might not have involved mystical experience, would be healthy and perhaps would open a better way for him to cope with his psychological problems. The needs of the spiritual dimension are as important as the needs of the psychological dimension, but often they do not receive the same level of attention. One does not need to be psychologically healthy in order to have a healthy, meaningful relationship with God.

In such cases, a multidisciplinary approach to therapy is needed. Pastoral care and pastoral counseling address the need for spiritual health. A caring, accepting relationship with a pastor could foster a developing relationship with God. Directed prayer, in which the pastor takes a leading role in helping the person verbalize the spiritual need and enters the presence of God with the person to communicate that need, could be powerful. Holding onto a faith object, such as a cross, a Bible, or even the church pew if the visit takes place in a sanctuary, can help the person stay focused on spiritual experience and perhaps mitigate, if only briefly, the psychotic voices. Discussing scripture passages that show God's love for imperfect people and that focus on imperfect people whom Jesus befriended could also be spiritually nourishing. Just as physical health is tended in the presence of psychosis, spiritual health also needs to be tended. Pastors and mental health professionals could mutually benefit from collaboration on such cases, and patients would benefit even more.

Call for Interdisciplinary Collaboration

The paradigm introduced in this chapter weaves together the theological roots of Reformed Theology, religious experiences reported to twenty-first-century pastors and pastoral counselors

by parishioners in the Presbyterian Church (USA), and theoretical positions from several approaches to psychology. Rather than concentrating on the outward, general similarities of psychotic and mystical religious experiences, the paradigm reflects a view of each kind of experience as seen individually through both psychological and theological lenses, revealing deeper, distinguishing characteristics. The two kinds of experiences do share some surface characteristics, but beneath the surface are significant differences.

Conversation between psychologists, theologians, and pastors provides a circumspect description of these two kinds of experience that is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve through intra-disciplinary dialog alone. Some matters are, indeed, the domain of just one discipline and are best addressed within that discipline. Understanding mystical religious experience and how it is similar to yet different from psychosis is not one of them. Both psychology and theology have contributions and responsibilities in this arena, and the opening of dialog and collaboration holds much potential for a furthering of understanding of great benefit to people who report these experiences. <>

Excursus on Some Channeled Texts

- [The Urantia Book:](#)

You have just discovered the literary masterpiece that answers your questions about God, life in the inhabited universe, the history and future of this world, and the life of Jesus. The Urantia Book harmonizes history, science, and religion into a philosophy of living that brings new meaning and hope into your life. If you are searching for answers, read [The Urantia Book!](#)

The world needs new spiritual truth that provides modern men and women with an intellectual pathway into a personal relationship with God. Building on the world's religious heritage, [The Urantia Book](#) describes an endless destiny for humankind, teaching that living faith is the key to personal spiritual progress and eternal survival. These teachings provide new truths powerful enough to uplift and advance human thinking and believing for the next 1000 years.

A third of [The Urantia Book](#) is the inspiring story of Jesus' entire life and a revelation of his original teachings. This panoramic narrative includes his birth, childhood, teenage years, adult travels and adventures, public ministry, crucifixion, and 19 resurrection appearances. This inspiring story recasts Jesus from the leading figure of Christianity into the guide for seekers of all faiths and all walks of life.

(Dates represent time range of revelations)

- [The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ said to be transcribed from the Akashic Records](#) by Levi H. Dowling (writing began 1890s, published 1908)

The Story of Jesus, the Man from Galilee, and How He Attained the Christ Consciousness Open to All.

[The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ](#) is a far-reaching work that brings to light the intimate details of Christ's life upon which the New Testament gospels are silent, written from the original Akashic Records by a student who devoted forty years to prepare for the task. This unique book is practically a complete record of the words and works of the Man of Galilee, including his eighteen years of study and travel in the Orient. It covers his life from birth in Bethlehem to his ascension from the Mount of Olives.

Of special interest and value are the full and intimate details concerning his life during the eighteen years spent in travel among the snow-bound monasteries of Tibet, the stately structures of Egypt, the mysterious temples of India, Persia, and Greece, a period when he walked and talked with monks, wise men, and seers throughout the Orient.

Transcribed from the Book of God's Remembrance Known as the Akashic Records

- [Book of Commandments \(called Doctrine and Covenants in later editions\)](#) by Joseph Smith Jr. (1828-1844) see [The Parallel Doctrine and Covenants: The 1832-1833, and 1835 Editions of Joseph Smith's Revelations](#).

The 2013 edition of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great

Price contains all of the study aids contained in the 1981 edition and includes revisions to the study aids, several new photos, updated maps, and adjustments to section and chapter headings. The style and format of titles, tables of contents, abbreviations pages, and other study aids have been standardized to improve the reader's experience; however, the adjustments have not been so extensive as to require members to purchase the new edition to stay current with either the Church curriculum or personal study.

- [Oahspe Bible](#) through automatic writing of John Ballou Newbrough (1880-1881)

All new 2016 "Eloist Edition" This definitive volume is the first completely re-typeset, hardcover edition of Oahspe published in the USA since 1891. Oahspe has gone through at least six editions and over 20 printings in the USA and England since 1882. All prior editions were either taken from the original 1891 electroplates or a photocopy of the 1882 edition.

This 8.5"x11" hardcover volume is nearly 900 pages in length, gilded, silk-like lining, and with two ribbon markers. Constructed of only the most durable materials available. This edition has undergone an intensive, five-year editing process.

Includes:

A greatly expanded glossary, expanded index, and new endnotes.

An all new introduction and supplementary appendix.

All discrepancies between the 1882 and 1891 editions have been footnoted.

All portraits and plates have been completely rescanned and enhanced.

This is a beautifully constructed "coffee table"-sized book that any true bibliophile would be proud to display.

The title of the book, Oahspe, means literally "Sky, Earth and Spirit" ("O" for sky, "ah" for earth and "spe" for spirit). The book is a product of automatic writing, which occurred through the hands of a medium, Dr. John B. Newbrough, over the course of one year (1881) in New York City. The book stated that it was written by an overshadowing of angelic beings, who are not a separate order in creation, but are actually our elder brothers and sisters, once mortals like us, but now high-

raised in wisdom through countless years of growth and experience. They stated that Oahspe is not a perfect book, nor is it the alpha and omega of knowledge. Rather, it is like a traveler's guide to greater spiritual growth and understanding. Its purpose is to give us an insight, while yet in mortality, of what the world of spirit is really like, and what the general history of the world has been. As a result, it gives us greater clarity regarding our true purpose and destiny as the immortal, eventually angelic, souls that we are.

Oahspe is easily the most unique book in the English language. Its objective is formidable, for it states that within its pages it has "herein made known the plan of [the Creator's] delightful creations, for the resurrection of the peoples of the earth." Oahspe also states that the book's purpose is "to teach mortals how to attain to hear the Creator's voice, and to see His Heavens, in full consciousness, whilst still living on the earth; and to know of a truth the place and condition awaiting them after death."

If you are able to comprehend Oahspe's mind-expanding perspective on the universe that we inhabit both now and in an eternal future, and if you are able to free your mind of the shackles of the limited teachings of the past, it will bring you to a state of understanding that will change your life. You will never see the earth, its people, or the stars above your head in the same way ever again.

- [The Cosmic Tradition](#) of Max Théon and Alma Théon (1900s)

Dans une vision de la nuit, une voix me parla, disant : "La matière n'est-elle pas suprême ?" Ne sachant d'où venait cette voix, je ne répondis point. Comme je gardais le silence, une voix dit : La vie n'est-elle point suprême ?" Une troisième voix, que je connaissais, dit alors : "La matière et la vie sont inséparables dans tout le Cosmos de l'être, puisque tout ce qui est vit."

In a vision of the night, a voice spoke to me, saying, "Is not matter supreme?" Not knowing where this came from, I did not answer. As I was silent, one voice said, "Is not life supreme?" A third voice, which I knew, said, "Matter and life are inseparable throughout the cosmos of being, since everything that is alive."

- [Book of the Law](#) by Aleister Crowley (1904)

"Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law." This oft-misunderstood phrase, which forms the basis for Crowley's practice of Magick, is found in The Book of the Law. Dictated to Crowley in Cairo between noon and 1 pm on three success days in April 1904, the Book of the Law is the source book and key for Crowley students and for the occult in general.

- [Toward the Light: A Message to Mankind from the Transcendental World](#) by Johanne Agerskov and published by Michael Agerskov (1913-1918)

The sub-title of this deeply moving and compelling work defines it as a message to mankind from the transcendental world thus placing it firmly among the very few books which are held to be of supernatural origin. 'Toward the Light' is about love and forgiveness. It is about peace and the unification of a divided humanity, and about achieving a more complete understanding of ourselves. For some this book will be controversial reading. It explains such things as the true nature of Good and Evil; the mystery of Reincarnation; and the consequences of the Law of Reciprocal Action (The Law of Karma). It answers theological questions such as how can we reconcile belief in God who is all-good and all-powerful with the existence of a world that contains so much that is incontestably evil? It is, quite simply, a work of revealed knowledge that bears on the fundamental problems of life - and upon the reality of death. The book offers a message to all - regardless of race, religion or creed. All that is asked is that the reader should keep an open mind and be guided by his or her conscience. That being the case, 'Toward the Light' will illuminate the spirit of all who open themselves to its message, for its message is truly a gift of love to every human being.

- [The Council of Seven Lights](#) by Ashtar (extraterrestrial being) by George Van Tassel (1952-1978)

The beginning of all creation has the same meaning as the ending of all creation, for all

things have always existed and always will exist. Everything anyone has ever been or will ever be, he is now. This is a truth often overlooked in man's search for understanding. He forgets God was all there was, and therefore all there is now or will ever be. George Van Tassell presents in this, his latest work, the middle viewpoint of life, religion, our planet and the spaces beyond. He takes the reader far beyond our atmosphere to give technical data on the lines of energy, the conditions of space. He describes polarity, its positive and negative aspects, and applies theory to fact so the reader can understand every point he makes. Mr. Van Tassel writes that religion and science are the same thing, the only difference being that they are two opposite viewpoints. Just as a wall is a wall regardless of which side one stands on, so are science and religion, life itself. According to Van Tassel, the Bible is an accurate history of events repeating themselves in cycles. He says there are predictions referring to spaceships throughout the Bible, among them the prophecy that there will be a day when the ships will come to take the people who are ready, leaving those who are not prepared to face the cataclysmic destruction inevitably approaching. Who shall go and who shall stay are described. This book contains an explanation of the reasons certain individuals affect one so strongly on meeting - a violent, unreasoning dislike or a strong attraction without apparent cause. The vortices of the human body are responsible for such reactions, and also explain a person's effect on others. In The Council of Seven Lights, the reader will find many absorbing facets of knowledge - new data on atmospheric conditions, further information about space ships, and for the searcher who desires more understanding of the greater pattern of life, a philosophy well worth studying.

- [God Spoke to Me](#) by Eileen Caddy (1953-1971)

God's still small voice

"There is great joy in doing something on the spur of the moment. When you do this, you find true freedom of the Spirit. You will find a new joy and freedom, which I long for all My children to have.

"Life is so simple. Keep it so. Let nothing weigh you down or depress you. All is very well. Live fully in the now.

"Take no thought for the morrow. Enjoy to the full what is happening now. Keep your consciousness raised, your mind stayed on Me. See My perfection working in you and through you, all your needs have been met, for all I have is yours.

"Let the words and the thoughts you have heard so many times become a part of your whole being, so that they are vibrating words which manifest in form and become reality."

The messages in this book ask us to have total faith in the process of living -- to trust God, the universe, spirit, love, or whatever we choose to call the divine source. They affirm that there is an inherent wisdom and intelligence in everything, which can be contacted by turning within. Each one of us can do this and find God's still small voice for ourselves.

Eileen Caddy (1917-2006) is known worldwide as one of the three founders of the Findhorn Foundation in Scotland. The books that have flowed from her inspiration have drawn multitudes to the Findhorn community. In her own person, Eileen Caddy, divinely ordinary as she described herself, has pushed the limits of the ordinary person's experience to the very borders of the kingdom of God.

- [Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul](#) by Jane Roberts (1963-1984)

One of the most powerful of the Seth Books, this essential guide to conscious living clearly and powerfully articulates the furthest reaches of human potential, and the concept that we all create our own reality according to our individual beliefs. Having withstood the test of time, it is still considered one of the most dynamic and brilliant maps of inner reality available today.

Late in 1963, Jane Roberts and her husband were experimenting with a Ouija board when a personality calling himself Seth began forming messages. Soon Miss Roberts began passing easily into trance -- Seth was "borrowing" her body and using it to communicate with the world of the living! Shortly after Miss Roberts completed The Seth Material, the astonishing story of her initiation into psychic experience, Seth began dictating a book of his own. Here, then, is Seth Speaks -- a

guide to increased spiritual awareness that was completely written by a personality "no longer focused in physical reality." Now you can join Seth on a voyage inward and through the past; a journey beyond the universe of the five senses into the unseen and unknown. He explains what to expect immediately after death, how to glimpse past lives, ways to contact dead friends and relatives, and exercises to sense the "points" of energy that exist throughout physical matter. Seth shares his troubles as a third century Pope and the first-hand knowledge he has amassed over thousands of years. Church-goers and non-believers alike will be stunned by his reports of Christ, what really happened on Calvary, and the circumstances and date of the Second Coming. He reveals how the Essenes coded the Dead Sea Scrolls . . . why the three lost civilizations preceding Atlantis (including one that managed to function entirely underground) rose and fell . . . how a brotherhood of "Speakers" has worked throughout history to preserve mankind's esoteric knowledge. Seth Speaks is all true, just as Seth dictated it - yet as suspenseful and fascinating as a novel, as provocative as science fiction.

- [A Course in Miracles](#) said to be from Jesus, by Helen Schucman (with typing assistance from William Thetford) (1965-1972)

It is important for you to know that this is the only complete original edition of A Course in Miracles that the Scribe, Dr. Helen Schucman, authorized to be published by the Foundation for Inner Peace in 1975.

Other books with titles such as "The Original Edition" or the "Unedited Edition" contain unsanctioned material from a first or second draft of the Course which Dr. Schucman deleted since it was not meant to be part of the published Course.

Only this edition from the Foundation for Inner Peace includes the following copyrighted material: the "Preface", "the Clarification of Terms", and "the Supplements", which Dr. Schucman also scribed. The Supplements are extensions of the Course principles and are titled "Song of Prayer" and "Psychotherapy: Purpose, Process and Practice."

The Course, as it is published in this edition and used by three million students worldwide, is a complete self-study spiritual thought system

that teaches forgiveness as the road to inner peace and the remembrance of God.

- [The Michael Teachings](#) by Chelsea Quinn Yarbro (1973–present)

Twenty-five years ago, Chelsea Quinn Yarbro and her friends began sharing messages from a group entity that called themselves "Michael." Michael's words were offered without alteration or interpretation for seekers, students, and skeptics alike. Pragmatic, insightful, and often witty, Michael insisted their work was simply to help questioners become more aware and better able to make their own decisions in life. Through this initial volume, [Messages From Michael](#), and three more that followed, Michael spoke to thousands who found new understandings of themselves. Unfortunately imitators and frauds have since exploited the Michael teachings-but even they admit that Messages From Michael was the first source of the teachings. Here, expanded for the twenty-first century, is the long-awaited new edition of this groundbreaking book.

[More Messages From Michael](#) When [Messages From Michael](#) was first published more than thirty years ago, there was a demand for more of the information. A second book, More Messages from Michael was published soon after. Out of print for more than a decade, More Messages from Michael joins the Caelum Press twenty-fifth anniversary edition of Messages from Michael in this updated twenty-fifth anniversary edition from Caelum Press. In More Messages from Michael, Mid-Causal entity Michael delves more deeply into life choices, reincarnation, the working of the soul's evolution, and the nature of living. Michael answers many questions ranging from the most mundane to the highly esoteric. Michael's teaching, which remains consistent to this day, is both practical and unearthly, delivered with dry wit and idiosyncratic English, filled with insights, information, and a unique perspective that has kept people coming back for more for over three decades. Just keep in mind Michael's admonitions, Belief is not required, All is chosen, and All choices are equally valid, and you may find that Michael's teaching has a message for you.

- [Ramtha: The White Book](#) by J Z Knight (1977–present)

The classic introduction to Ramtha and his teachings now revised and expanded with a Foreword by JZ Knight, a glossary of terms and concepts used by Ramtha, a detailed index and a commentary essay by Jaime Leal-Anaya showing the significance of Ramtha's teachings. It addresses questions on the Source of all existence, our forgotten divinity, life after death, evolution, love, the power of consciousness and the mind, lessons from nature, and Ramtha's ascension.

- [Ra](#) by Carla Rueckert (1981-1984)

"I am Ra. We came to your peoples to enunciate the Law of One. We wished to impress upon those who wished to learn of unity that in unity all paradoxes are resolved; all that is broken is healed; all that is forgotten is brought to light."

For thousands of years those of Ra have sought to teach the Law of One to seekers of truth on Earth who wished to learn of the unity or oneness of all things. This basic law of all creation is buried deep within each of our hearts because we really are one in love and in light, the building blocks of the universe. We are all manifestations of the One Infinite Creator. We are the Creator. We are not learning this law for the first time but are remembering it yet again as all mystics have taught throughout Earth's history. Our journey of self-realization is the discovery or remembrance of this essential truth, our essential identity. A waking up, as some have called it, within an illusion of separation. Don Elkins and Carla L. Rueckert worked together for 12 years to perfect the channeling process and receive philosophical inspiration and guidance from extraterrestrial sources. When Jim McCarty joined them in 1980 they began to receive a new and unique type of channeling contact from those of Ra. Through this contact, Ra shared information to help seekers of truth deepen their awareness and acceptance of self and other, and to help Earth move into the emerging fourth density of love and understanding.

This book is the transcript from the recording of that conversation between the Questioner and Ra. Through questions & answers, the metaphysical blueprint of spiritual evolution is

explored, from the microcosm to the macrocosm, from the particulars of life on this planet to the life of the cosmos, to the possibilities of healing, transformation, and self-realization for spiritual seekers and wanderers.

The Ra Contact: Teaching the Law of One Volume 1 contains Ra contact sessions 1–56. As with all L/L Research material, this book can be read for free in PDF form on the archive website www.lresearch.org.

- Abraham by Esther Hicks (1988–present)

[The Law of Attraction: The Basics of the Teachings of Abraham](#) presents the powerful basics of the original Teachings of Abraham. Within these pages, you'll learn how all things, wanted and unwanted, are brought to you by this most powerful law of the universe, the Law of Attraction. (that which is like unto itself is drawn). You've most likely heard the saying Law of Attraction has been alluded to by some of the greatest teachers in history, it has never before been explained in as clear and practical terms as in this latest book by New York Times best-selling authors, Esther and Jerry Hicks.

Learn here about the omnipresent Laws that govern this Universe and how to make them work to your advantage. The understanding that you'll achieve by reading this book will take all the guesswork out of daily living. You'll finally understand just about everything that's happening in your own life as well as in the lives of those you're interacting with. This book will help you to joyously be, do, or have anything that you desire!

- Kryon by Lee Carroll (1989–present)

[The Recalibration of Humanity: 2013 and Beyond](#) is the thirteenth book in the KYRON Channelled series. KRYON is a loving messenger of the New Age. Lee Carroll is recognized as one of the most popular inspirational channellers of the esoteric world. [The Indigo Children: The New Kids Have Arrived](#) is a must for the parents of unusually bright and active children. Indigo children are those who display a new and unusual set of psychological attributes and show a pattern of behaviour generally undocumented before. In

this groundbreaking book on the Indigo Child, international authors Lee Carroll and Jan Tober report the information of this increasingly documented and world-wide phenomenon and tell you how to identify this behavioural pattern and guide you on how you, as a parent or teacher of these children, can help them realise their amazing potential not forgetting their spiritual needs or specific health issues.

- God by Neale Donald Walsch (1991-2005)

[Conversations with God Book 1](#) began a series that has been changing millions of lives for more than ten years. Neal Donald Walsch was experiencing a low period in his life when he decided to write a letter to God, venting his frustrations. What he did not expect was a response. As he finished his letter, he was moved to continue writing - and out came extraordinary answers to his questions. This work presents the answers that Walsch received, helping him to change himself, his life and the way he viewed other beings. Finally, the bestselling series is now a movie, starring Henry Czerny (The Pink Panther and Clear and Present Danger) and Ingrid Boulting (The Last Tycoon). Produced and directed by Stephen Simon (producer of Somewhere in Time and What Dreams May Come) and distributed by Samuel Goldwyn Films and Fox Home Entertainment, the theatrical release is set for October 27, 2006. The movie is the true account of Walsch (played by Czerny), who went from an unemployed homeless man to an "accidental spiritual messenger" and author of the bestselling book.

- Arten and Pursah, by Gary Renard (1992-present)

[The Disappearance of the Universe: Straight Talk about Illusions, Past Lives, Religion, Sex, Politics, and the Miracles of Forgiveness](#) What would you do if you were sitting quietly in your living room when a mysterious couple appeared from out of nowhere—and then told you they were "ascended masters" who had come to reveal some shocking secrets of existence and teach you the miraculous powers of advanced forgiveness? When two such teachers appeared before Gary Renard in 1992, he chose to listen to them (and ask a lot of impertinent questions). The result is this

startling book: an extraordinary record of 17 mind-bending conversations that took place over nearly a decade, reorienting the author's life and giving the world an uncompromising introduction to a spiritual teaching destined to change human history.

"The world you see is an illusion of a world," A Course in Miracles teaches. "When you really wake up, what appeared to be real before is now recognised as the idle dream it is." Gary Renard, who is the author of one of the most popular books ever written about the Course, guides listeners through its scriptural verses and delivers them to a place where the need to reincarnate no longer exists. "I understand now that reincarnation is only something that appears to happen," Renard explains. It is just a continuation of the dream of birth and death." Distilled for people who have been curious about A Course in Miracles - as well as for continuing students who would like to deepen their studies - The End of Reincarnation offers listeners access to the essence of these teachings. Gary Renard's invaluable contribution is his ability to illuminate the peace available when we awaken from the dream and to catalyse our experience of oneness with all of creation.

- Tobias by Geoffrey Hoppe (1997–present)

[The Tobias Materials: The Creator Series: New Tools for Our New Spiritual Journey](#)

What happens after the New Age? Finally, bold new information for spiritual seekers!

Tobias, a loving and compassionate angel from the apocryphal Bible, shares twelve powerful lessons for moving into the New Energy in The Creator Series. Spiritual journeyers from every part of the world have already benefited from Tobias' insight and wisdom at the Crimson Circle website.

Learn how to: ~ Be in your divine moment ... every moment ~ Create your new reality without struggling ~ "Stand behind the short wall" in the midst of chaos ~ Replace Free Will with your inherent Divine Will ~ Resolve your challenges in the Oven of Grace ~ Dance with what comes to your front door ~ Empower yourself rather than giving it away to others Discover what Tobias says about:

- Why you left Home and what you did before coming to Earth

- Why prayer, meditation and visualization are old tools
- Why it's time to put down crystals, pendulums and astrology
- Why the battle of light vs. dark is intensifying
- How to move from duality into the new "quad" energy

Tobias speaks to tomorrow's spiritual teachers through Geoffrey Hoppe, who was a non-spiritual businessman and entrepreneur prior to his "wake-up call" in 1995. He and Tobias are fulfilling an ancient agreement to present this life-changing information at the appropriate time ... now. Challenge yourself to release the old and move into your new personal divinity with [The Tobias Materials: The Creator Series: New Tools for Our New Spiritual Journey](#). <>

[Egregores: The Occult Entities That Watch Over Human Destiny](#) by Mark Stavish [Inner Traditions, 9781620555774]

[Egregores: The Occult Entities That Watch Over Human Destiny](#) is the first book to explore the history and influence of egregores, powerful autonomous psychic entities created by a collective group mind

- Examines the history of egregores from ancient times to present day, including their role in Western Mystery traditions and popular culture and media
- Reveals documented examples of egregores from ancient Greece and Rome, Tibetan Buddhism, Islam, modern esoteric orders, the writings of H. P. Lovecraft and Kenneth Grant, and the followers of Julius Evola and Aleister Crowley
- Provides instructions on how to identify egregores, free yourself from parasitic and destructive entities, and destroy an egregore, should the need arise

One of most important but little known concepts of Western occultism is that of the egregore, an autonomous psychic entity created by a collective group mind. An egregore is sustained by belief, ritual, and sacrifice and relies upon the devotion of a group of people, from a small coven to an entire nation, for its existence. An egregore that receives enough sustenance can take on a life of its own,

becoming an independent deity with powers its believers can use to further their own spiritual advancement and material desires.

Presenting the first book devoted to the study of egregores, Mark Stavish examines the history of egregores from ancient times to present day, with detailed and documented examples, and explores how they are created, sustained, directed, and destroyed. He explains how egregores were well known in the classical period of ancient Greece and Rome, when they were consciously called into being to watch over city states. He explores the egregore concept as it was understood in various Western Mystery traditions, including the Corpus Hermeticum, and offers further examples from Tibetan Buddhism, Islam, modern esoteric orders such as the Order of the Golden Dawn and Rosicrucianism, the writings of H. P. Lovecraft and Kenneth Grant, and the followers of Julius Evola and Aleister Crowley. The author discusses how, even as the fundamental principles of the egregore were forgotten, egregores continue to be formed, sometimes by accident.

Stavish provides instructions on how to identify egregores, free yourself from a parasitic and destructive collective entity, and destroy an egregore, should the need arise. Revealing how egregores form the foundation of nearly all human interactions, the author shows how egregores have moved into popular culture and media--underscoring the importance of intense selectivity in the information we accept and the ways we perceive the world and our place in it.

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Excerpt: The following is from the Corpus Hermeticum, Book 16.

Every kind of creature is sustained and nourished by the Sun. As the spiritual world embraces the physical and fills it out with every different kind of form, so the Sun embraces everything in the cosmos, raising up and strengthening all generations. And when they are spent and ebbing away he receives them back.

The choir of spirits, or rather choirs, are placed under the command of the Sun; "choirs" because there are many different kinds of powers. They are set in formation under the stars, and are equal in number to them. Thus arrayed they serve each of the stars. Some of these powers are good and some are evil by nature, that is to say in their activity. For the essence of a spiritual power is its activity. There are also some who are a mixture of good and evil.

All these spirits have been given authority over affairs upon earth and over turbulences there. They cause a variety of disorders both publicly in cities and among nations, but also in the life of individuals. For they shape our souls after themselves and arouse them by residing in our sinews, in our marrow, veins, and arteries, and even our brain, penetrating as deep as our very entrails.

Through these instruments God Himself creates all this, and all things partake of God; since this is so, they are God. Therefore in creating all things, he creates Himself; and He can never cease to create, for He Himself never ceases to be. As God has no end, so His handiwork has neither beginning nor end.

Angels, Women, and War in the Heavens

The gods do not like it when one of their cattle should be free! INDIAN PROVERB

For those interested in the academic study of esotericism, the concept of eggregores may simply be seen as a quaint relic of an earlier time, a holdover from our ancient past and therefore of little practical consequence. For those on the spiritual path, any spiritual path, being introduced to the concept of eggregores is often a life-changing encounter. Instantly many old ideas--and experiences—are made clear, and a field of questions opens up before them. They reexamine their path in a new light and find that regardless of their being part of an organized group or a solo practitioner, large areas of their practice were under the indirect or direct influence of one or more psychic entities of which they were completely unaware.

For those engaged in practical occultism; that is, the manipulation of energies for some kind of spiritual or material result, eggregores are often nothing new, but rarely understood—as too often they are given the status of a priori goodness. Many groups speak in veiled but confident and positive terms about their leader or group (and by extension its members) being connected to a powerful eggregore, an inner contact, or some similar term. When examined in the light of this monograph and more traditional ideas associated with eggregores, these students can reevaluate their connections to these invisible forces and decide for themselves if these contacts have been beneficial or detrimental to their personal awakening.

What is an Eggregore?

The word eggregore is Greek in origin and is derived from e'gre'goros, meaning "wakeful" or "watcher." The word is found in the Book of Enoch wherein it is described as an angelic being. The Book of Enoch is ascribed to Enoch, the grandfather of Noah, and, while noncanonical, it has attracted some theological and historical interest by the major Jewish and Christian denominations for a section of it known as the Book of the Watchers. This section is thought to have been written around 300 BCE. The only extant version that exists is in the South Semitic language of Ge'ez, originating around the Horn of Africa. While the original text

may have been in Hebrew or Aramaic, no complete early text in either language survives. The main themes of this book—held in common by many mystics, practitioners of the occult, and even Christian fundamentalists—concern two hundred "fallen" angels, their interbreeding with human women, the subsequent creation of a race of giants (Nephilim) whose destruction in the biblical Flood receives mention in Genesis, and a coming apocalyptic battle between good and evil. A mention of the Nephilim from the Book of Enoch is as follows:

And they became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three hundred ells: Who consumed all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood.

And:

And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqijâl, taught astrology, Kôkabêl the constellations, Ezêqêel the knowledge of the clouds, Araqiêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs of the sun, and Sariêl the course of the moon.

The most commonly used definition is as follows: "(occult) autonomous psychic entity composed of and influencing the thoughts of a group of people." However, there is a second definition, an older, more significant, and perhaps frightening one. Here, an egregore is more than an "autonomous entity composed of and influencing the thoughts of a group of people"; it is also the home or conduit for a specific psychic intelligence of a nonhuman nature connecting the invisible dimensions with the

material world in which we live. This, in fact, is the true source of power of the ancient cults and their religious-magical practices.

Martinism is a Christian mystical movement rooted in the teachings of Louis Claude de Saint-Martin (1743-1803). Saint-Martin was a student of the Portuguese theurgist Martines de Pasqually (1727-1774) but was later deeply influenced by the writings of Jacob Boehme and turned away from the magical path. Saint-Martin's writings and teachings influenced diverse lines of students across France, Germany, and Russia. During the nineteenth century's French Occult Revival, Gerard Encausse (1865-1916), better known as "Papus," combined many of these streams into the Martinist Order. The Martinist Order and its numerous variations have played a major role in European and American esotericism in the twentieth century. Of Martinist lineage Mouni Sadhu, a Polish occultist of French-Russian, defines an egregore in his seminal work, *The Tarot*, as

collective entity, such as a nation, state, religions and sects and their adherents, and even minor human organizations. The structure of Egregors is similar to that of human beings. They have physical bodies (that is, collectively all the bodies of those who belong to the particular Egregor) and also astral and mental ones; the Egregor being the sum total of all these elements.

To my knowledge, the only modern scholar of esoteric philosophy who has written about the importance of the egregore is Joscelyn Godwin, of Colgate University in New York State, who dedicates a chapter, aptly titled "The Power of the Egregore," to it in his book *The Golden Thread*.

Godwin traces the origin of egregores, at least in the West, to the semi-animistic beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome and the intimate relationship that the ancient cult practices had on daily life as well as foreign affairs. This is critical, because here we see that every aspect of life has a sacred component to it, and, that in the proper execution of one's duties, the visible and invisible worlds are kept in harmony from the perspective of classical religion (and, with it, politics).

The study of these relationships and their method of implementation became a specialized focus of the

priestly class. These rituals and their attendant sacrifices were considered vital to the health of the family, community, city—even the empire (or later the nation). Within this larger collective body the individual lived their life and performed their duty and experienced their destiny as the gods dictated. The work of the various cults (in a world in which the average life span was thirty-five years of age) was primarily to aid in gaining the favor of the gods in an environment where material well-being and health were essential and in which little medical science existed for the preservation of life and limb. When this fact is combined with a dominant notion of little or no hope of an afterlife—the general belief in the ancient world, with Egypt being the exception—making the most of what life span one had was critical.

As Godwin points out, given the relationship of the visible and invisible in which the grave was seen as one's final destination, the ancient gods to whom cults were dedicated and offerings made in some ways may have needed human religion more than humans did.

There is an occult concept of the "egregore," a term derived from the Greek word for "watcher." It is used for an immaterial entity that "watches" or presides over some earthly affair or collectivity. The important point is that an egregore is augmented by human belief, ritual, and especially by sacrifice. If it is sufficiently nourished by such energies, the egregore can take on a life of its own and appear to be an independent, personal divinity, with a limited power on behalf of its devotees and an unlimited appetite for further devotion. It is then believed to be an immortal god or goddess, an angel, or a daimon.

Egregores were formed to watch over city-states, the Republic, and the Empire itself. As long as offerings and devotion continued, the prosperity and well-being of the city or Empire was thought to be assured. However, if new cults came into being and the energies of worship were directed elsewhere, the agreement would be broken and the egregore would cease to support the land and its people. Esoterically, this can be seen as the reason for the collapse of the Roman Empire. When its old gods and goddesses were no longer sustained by the people, they in turn could no

longer support Rome or its territories. In short, the spiritual death of the Roman Empire can be seen in what Godwin terms the natural tolerance of polytheism. By accepting new religious practices insofar as they did not challenge governmental authority, a slow draining-off of energy from traditional cults and their attendant egregores began. But it doesn't end there. The real death stroke lay in the nature of these new religions. These mystery cults from Greece, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria offered something Roman religion did not—personal salvation or, rather, survival after physical death.

Based on these metaphysical premises, Godwin suggests—and we agree—that for a city, nation, or empire to exist, its devotees must be focused on life in the material world to some degree (we will say more about this later). When their direction is turned otherworldly, the cults of family and state, the cults of blood, become weakened and are simply a jumping-off point for the individual instead of an end in themselves. When combined with the demands of time and intellectual and emotional commitment that mystery religions demanded of their members—initiates of the secret way—little or no energy was left for the traditional egregore. As Godwin says:

I am suggesting that the rise and fall of nations is intimately bound up with their relations with their gods; and that these are real entities, even though they are not the eternal all-powerful beings they are reputed to be. This seems to be a theory worthy of consideration by anyone who can admit that the universe is a very strange place, and that there is plenty of room in it for beings bigger than mankind. If such beings exist, it is only prudent to take an account of them. Every civilization in the past has done so, after its fashion.

We see in the above paragraph a notion well known to many, yet often ignored—the famous quote from the Emerald Tablet: "That which is above is like that which is below; and that which is below is like that which is above; to accomplish the work (or miracle) of the One thing." The egregore exists at both ends of the spectrum as well as across it: from the dense material world to the subtle and intangible psychic domain.

We also hear this concept repeated in the Christian scriptures, although as we will see there is disagreement among authorities on whether this constitutes an egregore in either the classical or modern sense of the word (paraphrased from Matthew 18:20): "When two or more are gathered in my name, I will be in the midst of them.

Three Questions this Book will Address

All of the above-referenced points then give rise to three questions:

- What is the impact of an egregore on the individual, his destiny, and free will?
- Who or what manages the collective physical body of the group by way of the invisible?
- How is the management performed and to what ends?

It is these questions that we will answer to some degree in the following pages. In addition, we will look at the critical process whereby one can free oneself from the influence of egregores, as well as the means of directly destroying them when the need arises.

We bring this information to your attention so that as a student of the esoteric path you may make a conscious and informed decision about your participation in various egregores. If your work is more academic than practical, then at least you will be aware of the critical role this concept has had and continues to play, not only in esoteric groups but in certain political and economic activities as well as in various forms of entertainment, and how they are easily supported by the mass media.

To this end, let us allow the words of the twentieth-century French alchemist Jean Dubuis to act as our friend and guide. The following excerpt is from the lessons of instruction he wrote for the Philosophers of Nature, an esoteric school in which no collective rituals were held so as to limit the formation of any egregore.

We have serious reasons in insisting that each student work on acquiring the greatest possible mental freedom for himself in the physical world. Genuine initiation is a complete liberation. How can your Higher Self help you liberate yourself if you

don't do it for yourself in the realm already accessible to you?

A second significant reason for insisting on this point is the subject of egregores. What is an egregore? It is the psychic and astral entity of a group. All members of a group, a family, a club, a political party, a religion, or even a country, psychically included in the egregore of the organization to which they belong.... Therefore, each individual who is involved in a group receives the influences of the egregores, that is the astral counterpart of the group, in his psyche. This process is unconscious. The resulting drawbacks are, first, some perturbing psychic influences in the majority of cases, and second, a restriction of inner freedom. It is impossible to free oneself from certain egregores.... However, we should free our-selves from all egregores that are not essential.... Be cautious .. . mental freedom should not transform us into dropouts or misfits. It should simply open the freedom of the inner path while liberating us from unnecessary obstacles.

Previous publications in the IHS Monograph Series have addressed the existence and nature of egregores (Studies in Poltergeists, Obsession, and Possession, volume 6) and how to modify one's relationship to them (Wisdom's Bliss and Khamael's Spear, volume 7) and even acknowledge the existence of a major beneficial egregore and its principal symbol (Rosicrucianism for the New Millennium, volume 9). However, this book is the only publication of which we are aware to date that is dedicated exclusively to examining the existence of egregores, our relationship to them, and how that relationship can be modified, severed, and—if need be—how the egregore may be destroyed. It is our sincere desire that you will find it of value on your journey on the Path of Return. <>

[Spirits Speak of the Universe: Extraterrestrials, Spirituality, and Our Galaxy](#) by Barry R. Strohm [Schiffer, 9780764355271]

Spirit board channeler Barry Strohm uses the gift of spirit communication to gather information for books concerning the paranormal, the afterlife, spirituality, and the alien presence.

Aliens are among us, and now it's time to have more of your questions answered through Barry Strohm and his spirit board connections that dwell outside of our sphere of existence. In this follow-up to *Aliens Among Us: Exploring Past and Present*, learn how extraterrestrials are able to travel the vast expanses of the galaxy in short periods of time, and examine the wide variety of space vehicles—one of which is the size of the United States. Read about various types of extraterrestrials, how they interact with humans, and the way in which they are governed and controlled in their visits to our planet. Discover information never before disclosed as you examine universal mysteries such as black holes, dark energy, how the universe was formed, reincarnation, and spirituality on other planets. Take an out-of-this-world journey to understand the secret knowledge of our not-so-distant neighbors.

If you are unfamiliar with this wide ranging genre of channeled messages you are in for an imaginative treat that offers a remarkable mirror to our world and times. One could argue such messages are related to eggregores as well as many classic revealed scriptures including many parts of the bible. Here is a somewhat random list of well-known works in the genre:

Contents

Acknowledgments

Preface: Topics covered in this chapter: spirit communication with our special channeling board; aliens have souls and we can communicate with them; non-human life forms.

Chapter 1—My Friend, Mou: Topics covered in this chapter: introducing my blue alien spirit; Mou's world; personal interaction; quotes for humans.

Chapter 2—Our Solar System: Topics covered in this chapter: details about each planet in our solar system; discuss activity in our solar system: past, present, and future; investigating our moon and life on other moons; life in our solar system; undiscovered planets in our solar system.

Chapter 3—Universality of Gods, Jesus, Mary Magdalene, and More: Topics covered in this chapter: God and the galaxy; sons of God; here and other planets; manipulation of the gospels of the

Bible; who really was Jesus?; Who really was Mary Mag-dalene?; an interview with Pope Sylvester I discussing selection of the gospels in the Bible; master guides returned.

Chapter 4—Reincarnation: Past, Present, and throughout The Galaxy: Topics covered in this chapter: intergalactic reincarnation; reincarnation and the gospels; aliens and reincarnation; we all have a book of life; animal reincarnation.

Chapter 5—Types of Aliens Among Us: Topics covered in this chapter: a detailed review of alien types: Blues, Grays, Pleidians, Arcturi-ans, Little Whites, Zetas, Reptilians, Sirian Hybrids, Shape Shifters, Spider People beings from other galaxies.

Chapter 6—Nature of The Universe, Space, and Wormholes: Topics covered in this chapter: nature of space; What is a wormhole?; energy vortexes; travel by molecular teleportation; origin and state of the universe; understanding the size of our solar system and galaxy.

Chapter 7—Space Travel Vehicles: Topics covered in this chapter: hundreds of different types of space vehicles; a personal encounter with a space vehicle; the size and type of space vehicles described; landing sites: then and now; Why can't we see them?

Chapter 8—The Galactic Committee and the Treaty: Topics covered in this chapter: a committee governing the advanced cultures and us; bringing order from chaos; details of successful governing; an intergalactic agreement of peace and cooperation; details of the agreement; protecting young cultures like humans; reason for secrecy; history of the treaty; abductions; hands-on study

Chapter 9—History of Alien Activities on Earth: Topics covered in this chapter: The Big Bang Theory; history of alien visitation; origin of humans on Earth; Atlantis—The Lost Civilization; another personal encounter

Chapter 10—Extraterrestrial Activity: Present and Future: Topics covered in this chapter: origins of man; multiple attempts to seed humans; sharing information with humans; abductions or learning sessions with aliens; abductions as a personal experience; alien contributions.

Chapter 11—Miscellaneous Mysteries of the Universe: Topics covered in this chapter: Does Nibiru exist?; Planets like Earth?; Hollow Earth, origin of the moon?; extraterrestrial activity in our solar system; life on other moons; tabby's star; Is there a deep space fleet?; What is a black hole?; What is dark matter and dark energy?; Is there life in other dimensions?; The current risk of solar flares and CMEs; disclosure in the near future.

Chapter 12—Antarctica: The Continent of Mystery and Aliens: Topics covered in this chapter: geologic history; a mapping mystery; discovering aliens; pyramids; alien vehicles and entrances; archaeological digs.

Chapter 13—Conclusion: Topic covered in this chapter: a recap of the unexplored and the unimagined.

Bibliography

Excerpt:

In this book you will learn the real truth in great detail about the alien presence here on Earth, what they contributed in the past, are currently contributing, and what their plans are for the future of humans. Topics of conversation include the universality of God and spirituality; reincarnation; and life in our solar system, galaxy, and the universe. Also, discussed in detail are travel in space, extraterrestrial vehicles, and alien types.

We use our gift of spirit communication to bring you information provided by the soul of an extraterrestrial as well as other master guides. Our tool for detailed communication with the spirits is a channeling board, which dates to ancient China and has persisted through human evolution to the present. Native Americans even use a basic form of it. Everyone is probably familiar with the Ouija Board, complete with stories of associated evil presences. Our board is unique, the configuration of the board was derived from a channeling session where we allowed the spirit guides to design the physical features of the board. It's configuration of letters, numbers, and words is shown above. It is round and has a glass surface to facilitate the movement of a small glass cup, similar to a shot glass. We initiate all sessions with a prayer of protection that was also given to us by the spirits. We always maintain a video and audio

of all spirit communication and prepare a written transcript. As this book goes to press, we have channeled more than 400 hours and have communicated with spirits ranging from saints to aliens.

We were introduced to our alien spirit friend by the name of Mou in the summer of 2014, during a channeling session with our friends in Salt Lake City, K and Doc Kivett. They had introduced us to the concept of board channeling with spirits and spirit guides several years earlier. Their family has been using this technique of spirit communication for more than forty years. Under their guidance, Connie (my wife) and I have advanced remarkably in our journey of soul experiences and learning. Without them, very little of this book would have been possible.

In this book, we provide information about alien species that range from Arcturians to Zetas. Alien types are discussed in precise detail that will give the reader an understanding into who is really observing us and what their mission is here on Earth. There is a chapter dedicated to the various alien vehicles and a discussion on why they are invisible to human eyes, as well as how these vehicles traverse huge distances between galaxies. The reality of alien shape-shifters and their physical presence among us is another point of discussion. We will even discuss the future and the human role in space exploration.

Our Solar System

In one chapter, I examine the planets of our solar system and attempt to show how relative distances, as we comprehend them, compare to our galaxy and the Universe. Many of the facts concerning the planets in our solar system are quite intriguing. For instance, did you know that the density of Saturn is so light that it would actually float in water or that Jupiter is so big you could fit 1,300 Earths inside of it? I inquire of Mou, the alien spirit, what is actually taking place on these planets and whether they support intelligent life now or in past times.

As our scientific knowledge increases and the use of our technology allows us to see deeper into the Universe, there are many new mysteries to be solved. For instance, did you know that Jupiter has a moon covered in ice, and there is an ocean under

the ice that could actually have a moderate temperature? Our astronomers have discovered a star whose light has dimmed by more than twenty percent during the last several years, as if a large, extraterrestrial structure has blocked the light from the star. We ask our alien spirit to answer many of the mysteries of the Universe.

Imagine the Unimaginable

The immensity of the Universe is unimaginable. The picture below is that of our galaxy, the Milky Way. There are billions of galaxies in our universe. On a much smaller scale, our space probe, Voyager 1 was launched in 1977. It took thirty-five years to reach the beginning of interstellar space, the place where the sun's magnetic field stops affecting its surrounding matter. Scientists believe interstellar space begins 12,250,000,000 miles from the sun. Voyager 1 will have to travel another 40,000 years until it encounters our nearest star. Comparisons such as this give some idea of scale of our planet when compared to the stars around us. Not only is the size of our universe unimaginable, our scientists say it is expanding.

Not only did he supply us with amazing information on the channeling board, but he gave us personal messages showing he had a great knowledge of what was happening in the world around Connie and me.

In many instances, he has predicted events that would take place for both Connie and myself. He definitely looks out for our best interests. Many of the future predictions that I send out to my email subscription list have come from our alien guide. My email subscribers have been getting information from an alien spirit for quite a while. I insinuated they were from a normal guide rather than having all my subscribers think I was totally out of my mind.

Much of what you are about to read has never appeared in print before. Many of the questions asked require understanding far beyond our knowledge. For instance, one night I asked a question and was told he could not describe an emotion that was never felt by humans. He also said he was "dumbing down" the information given me for my own safety. Mou is quite aware of the extremes taken by our governments to protect the

alien secret. Cultures on other planets have a head start on humans measured in millennia. Their technology is incredible as compared to our own. If the visitors from other planets wished to harm us, we would be harmed.

A problem with humans is their inability to imagine life that does not conform to the model of life we see around us. We have to keep in mind that life in other environments may not look like or have the same requirements as on our planet. For instance, in life, Mou breathed a nitrogen-rich atmosphere. There may be cultures that have no requirement for oxygen in their atmosphere. Our scientists search for planets that have characteristics similar to Earth. It is possible another life form may breathe methane or a gas with which we are totally unfamiliar. The atmosphere of Venus is carbon-dioxide and sulfuric-acid. Consider the possibility that there may be beings that consider that mix the perfect atmosphere. Where humans require a moderate temperature range, others might be very comfortable at -200 degrees—as you will see in this book, if you can imagine it, it is possible.

In other chapters, I investigate the concept of a universal deity and what cultures on other planets think of spirituality. In another, we look into the possibility that soul energy is capable of reincarnating throughout the galaxy. We explore the concept of travel in deep space and how it is accomplished, in spite of the incredible distances that have to be transversed. As mentioned, space vehicles are examined in detail, from one the size of the United States to drones the size of baseballs. In one chapter, I include personal photographs of an actual alien drone that followed me one evening in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The alien types that travel in these vehicles are discussed in depth.

This book will give the reader a unique opportunity to learn and hopefully understand much about what is taking place around us in the incredible Universe. You can open your mind and imagine the miracles, or you can remain close-minded and fail to understand the journey of the soul and humanity as it attempts to become more like our all-powerful God and the evolution of mankind in their attempt to travel the stars. <>

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