ASSOCIATION FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION

The 2015 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

Edited by:
Jon K. Loessin and Scott Stripling
Wharton County Junior College

Dallas, Texas
March 13-15, 2015

The Association for the Scientific Study of Religion

Presents

The Year 2015
Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

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President's Note

Welcome once again to the *Proceedings* of Association for the Scientific Study of Religion (ASSR). It is again both an honor and privilege to serve as ASSR President and as a co-editor for *The Year 2015 Proceedings of the ASSR*. Year after year, the Proceedings are another fine collection of papers and presentations from both our perennial authors and presenters as well as a host of new academic talent who bring with them new styles and topics. As usual, this year's papers are again both scholarly and exceptional.

The quality of these *Proceedings* attests not only to the fine work that has been accomplished by the efforts of many who participate and promote our meetings through research, writing, attending our sessions, and sponsorship through both donations and the purchase of this collection. I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who helps to make the ASSR what is has been, what it is, and what it hopes to become. Joining the ASSR only costs $10.00 yearly and and your support and participation in our yearly sessions and helping to make them successful by writing and presenting papers, chairing sessions, purchasing a copy of the *Proceedings* and attending the presentations of others. It is important for our future that every member of the ASSR not only encourages new membership at every opportunity but solicits scholars throughout the colleges, universities, and organizations at which you reside to become involved in our group through chairing sessions, writing and submitting papers, or holding office.

I would also like to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the officers of the ASSR for this past year. These are the people who, along with our presenters, truly made the Year 2015 meetings possible.

I hope all of you have a good year and the ASSR will be looking forward to your participation in the ASSR in 2015-2016. Be sure to visit us online at: www.assronline.org, complete with online publications of papers from past meetings (see the **Archives** on the site). Hopefully you will share this site with colleagues and students alike. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Jon K. Loessin, 2014-15 ASSR President/Editor

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Wolves In Sheep's Clothing: The Anatomy of Pastoral Abuse

Walt Scalen
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Abstract

Is it true that a disproportionate number of Protestant Evangelical pastors abuse their positions? It is our purpose to examine this common notion, and to delve into possible causes and correlates. Is the pastoral position in modern times really the pattern of the early Christian church? We will consider the possibility that the role as commonly defined is a magnet for personality disorders, especially narcissism. We will conclude with recommendations for reform and renewal.

Introduction

Pastoral abuse is currently a topic of vigorous discussion, and more often than not the name of Mark Driscoll is used as an example. Driscoll has gone from mega church wonder boy to poster child for the label of narcissistic pastor. Whether this is a fair characterization is not the issue and is beyond the scope of our paper. What is relevant is whether or not the Mars Hill implosion is representative of a much deeper problem in evangelical ministry, more specifically, the pastoral role.

The Case of Mark Driscoll

Mark Driscoll has been called "one of the nation's most prominent and celebrated pastors" (Asghar, 2014:1). He has also been characterized as one of the most influential pastors of the past twenty-five years (Duduit, 2011). Driscoll co-founded Mars Hill Church in Seattle, Washington in 1996. The church grew rapidly. Starting in a home it grew into almost 5000 members by 2006, and by 2014 it tripled in size with over 15,000 in attendance. But there was more, much more. Driscoll founded several para church organizations including Churches Helping Churches, The Acts 29 Network, and the Gospel Coalition. He helped found over four hundred churches in the U.S. and elsewhere. He created a network of satellite churches in the Seattle area connected directly to Mars Hill. He wrote books, gave conference speeches, became a media figure, and one of the most recognizable names in Evangelical circles. By 2014 he was affluent, famous, and successful. He was living the church growth dream, and then his kingdom began to crumble. Accusations came from several sources including fellow staff and other church members. The charges included the questionable use of church funds, plagiarism, and bullying or attempting to intimidate those who disagreed with him.

Specific findings are not available to the public, but the outcome is clear. Driscoll resigned in October of 2014 (Bailey, 2014). The Mars Hill Satellite churches are becoming independent. Mars Hill itself is being dissolved, and its property sold which

is a stunning ending to a once vibrant and growing enterprise. Driscoll's kingdom has collapsed, and his personal future is uncertain. The para church organizations that he once helped create have also disconnected from him. For example, the Acts 29 Network has removed him from their membership and encouraged him to leave the ministry (Paulson, 2014). Driscoll has now become the "poster child" for the much-discussed label of the "narcisstic" pastor. While the public may never know the details of this monumental collapse, the issue of domineering, over bearing, authoritarian evangelical pastors who leave in their wake a path of destruction is nothing new.

Churches that Abuse

In 1992, Zondervan published a book entitled *Churches that Abuse*, by sociologist Ronald Enroth. In his book he tells story after story of leadership abuse in evangelical churches and para church organizations. He calls names and gives specific details. The stories are typically told from the vantage point of victims who joined various churches and evangelical ministries with the best intentions to serve and help others, but ended up being manipulated, abused, and discarded by very authoritarian leaders. The accounts are heart rendering. Enroth's book has become a seminal work in the field of pastoral abuse in evangelical churches, but the issue it addressed is an ongoing saga. It is impossible to know exactly how widespread this phenomenon is, but circumstantial evidence exists to suggest that "pastoral abuse" is not a small inconsequential problem.

First, the social media is ablaze with church horror stories, and most of the scenarios report the same or similar experiences. Typically, the pastor is very authoritarian, sees themselves as the "Man of God," especially anointed, worthy of praise and adoration, and most importantly, due obedience. The same pattern is repeated over and over in Enroth's book. The author has personally been in church leadership for over forty years. I have personally encountered this same pattern multiple times. One minister that I served with said from the pulpit that he wished he was like Moses and had the power to open the ground and have all his dissenters and distractors to fall in the hole and never be heard from again. He also proclaimed that he heard from God, and we heard from him. Most recently, a pastor that I worked with for several years refused to submit to existing church policy, and while he refused to incorporate or create church by laws, he wanted to increase his power and more control over church affairs. As a result of his demands the church split and the majority of members left, some of whom had been there for decades. He was willing to "scatter the flock" for his own interests, and he did so without remorse. I have heard similar stories from members of other churches in my area of Eastern Texas.

Tim Stevens, a well-known church consultant that has written several books on church related issues states the following: "I think every church I've worked with or been around that is own the fast growth track has been lead by a narcissistic leader"(Stone, 2014, 10). He once spoke at a conference of executive pastors from the 50 largest churches in America. He talked about the strengths and weaknesses

of narcissistic leaders, and when asked for a show of hands overs 75% of the attendees admitted that they fit the pattern he was describing (Stone, 2014, 9).

Church Leadership in the New Testament Literature

There is a host of books and articles on this subject in the prevailing literature, and we will examine some of them in this paper, but first let us address the question of whether or not the pastoral role as described in the New Testament documents and in the teachings of Jesus is in any way consistent with the way that apparently some pastors view and practice their "calling." Evangelicals especially claim that their beliefs and practices are based on Biblical teachings. It would be hard to imagine any evangelical pastor claiming that Jesus's teaching on leadership was not a source of authority or a model for them to follow. Interestingly, the prevailing notions of pastoral authority found in contemporary evangelical circumstances have little support in the Biblical literature or the historical practices of the early Christian Church. You will search in vain to find the singular "super star" pastor who functions as a CEO or has absolute authority over all church affairs, a notion that has more history in the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church.

The term "pastor" is mentioned only once in the entire New Testament, and it is actually "pastors and teachers," (*Holy Bible,* Ephesians 4:11, 1019). In the Greek Text, it is the word "poimen" which literally translates shepherd. The word translated as "shepherd" appears seventeen times in the NT, but is translated "pastor" in reference to church leadership only once. In that case it is in the plural, which is not insignificant. Leadership in the NT church was clearly seen as a plurality of elders. The term "presbuteros" translated "elder" appears over seventy times in the NT and is almost always in the plural. The modern notion of a singular leader who is the center and focus of attention, who is completely in control of directing all the affairs of the church, is unknown in the NT. Jesus taught specifically against this kind of authoritarianism in church leadership. In Matthew 20 beginning in verse 25 Jesus speaking to his disciples states, "you know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It is not so among you, but whoever wishes to be great among you shall be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first, will be your slave. Just as the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many" (*Holy Bible,* Matthew 20:25-28, 855).

The Apostle Paul later wrote that the "Church is built on the foundation of the prophets and apostles (writers of Scripture) and that Jesus was the Chief Cornerstone" (*Holy Bible,* Ephesians 2:20, 1018). Christ is declared as the head of the Church and no other can occupy His place (*Holy Bible,* Colossians 1:18). The clear conclusion is that when pastors "lord it over" their flocks they are usurping the authority of Christ. He is the one and only Lord of the Church Universal and any church in particular.

Some will point out that the Bible also commands Christians to "obey their leaders for this is the will of the Lord" (*Holy Bible,* Hebrews 13:17, 1052). Notice however that it is "leaders" not a single individual. Clearly, the affairs of the early NT church were overseen by a plurality of elders and not controlled by a "super star" CEO pastor. This allowed for balance and accountability.

Recent Trends in the Pastoral Role

So, how did we get to the situation in evangelical circles that we are now in? Where did the notion of the "one man show" originate? The lure of power, prestige, and wealth is strong, but to have fame and fortune is almost irresistible. It is clearly not a historically "Christian" practice, but it is role whose script has been written over time. It is beyond the scope of this paper to trace the entire history behind the emergence of the singular, all knowing, and all controlling super star pastor, but we can look at a few contemporary trends.

There are three trends within the last fifty years, which have helped to "evolve" the pastoral role within evangelical churches: independent fundamentalistic churches, the rise of televangelism, and the church growth movement. Independent Fundamentalist Baptist churches are representative of a much more wide spread view of pastoral authority in conservative circles. Each IFB church is wholly autonomous and free from any outside governance. Its pastor is divinely appointed and accountable to no earthly authority. He speaks for God, and God alone may judge him. To question the sovereignty of the pastor is to disturb God's order and invite upon oneself separation from the church, and therefore from the very source of salvation and hope. This notion of a "sovereign" pastor who is above human accountability is obviously ripe for abuse.

The rise of televangelism has come to portray ministers as flashy, affluent, powerful, and successful. T.V. preachers have millions of adoring fans and financial supporters. Once their ministries are established these individuals live and rule like kings. They are largely accountable to no one and run their empires with absolute authority. This phenomenon took hold in Post War America of the 1950's and is linked to the next development, the rise of the church growth movement and the mega churches in the 1990's.

The models for establishing a Mega Church were Rick Warren of Saddleback Community Church in California and Bill Hybel's Willow creek Church in Chicago. Both have trained hundreds of young and old pastors on how to grow their churches (Sataline, 2006). The message is clear if you study their literature, pastors must exhibit courage, be visionaries, overcome opposition, and "transition" existing churches into the new paradigm or establish new churches that "connect" with the new generation of prospective members. Messages must be relevant, music contemporary, and facilities first rate. Entertainment and consumer products and services will attract prospective members. The image of the pastor that emerged in these new paradigm churches was that of a Chief Executive Officer who was a

strong leader, a visionary, and a relentless worker, persistent, popular, and powerful. The results would follow.

What is missing in all of these models for pastoral leadership is the teachings of Jesus and the writings of his Apostles. Contemporary models emphasize power and success, while the NT literature talk about love, humility, service, and sacrifice. Jesus talks about self-denial and giving up earthly pursuits. Many Contemporary evangelicals have visions of mega churches and affluent ministries. This is not to say that in the contemporary evangelical scene there are not humble servants who are loving shepherds for their flocks. It is also not true that all pastors of large "successful" churches are spoiled brats who have no accountability and demand their own way. What is suggested is that several contemporary trends have contributed to the rise of some selfish, arrogant, and abusive leaders.

Central Thesis of this Paper

Our key thesis is that the emerging role of the pastor in the last fifty years in evangelical circles has attracted a disproportionate number of individuals who have a personality profile that is prone to the abuse of power. Such individuals lack personal insight and human compassion. They see themselves as beyond question and accountable to no one "but God." They won't listen. They are vain, manipulative, and overly aggressive. They see themselves as "anointed" and beyond being accountable to mere humans i.e. other church members. They are the "Chief Shepherd," the supreme ruler, the unquestioned authority, the mediator between the "laity" and God. Such individuals do great harm. Unless they learn to "moderate" and "reform" the voices in their heads, conform themselves to a servant's mentality, and restrain their sense of superiority and their boundless anger they can leave massive amounts of carnage in their wake.

Narcissism Defined

The DSM V (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, fifth addition) describes the Narcissistic Personality Disorder as one who has a boundless sense of entitlement, who sees themselves as especially gifted or attractive. Their preoccupation with their own well being and success can make them seem uninterested in others, arrogant, and haughty. Psychologically, they may actually lack a healthy sense of self worth and be insecure; however, their behavior reflects the opposite. They treat others in a condescending way. After all, others exist only for their well being, to help accomplish their goals and plans. When others are no longer useful or represent some degree of resistance they are quickly discarded. Anyone or anything that causes them to feel "not superior or special" becomes the object of intense anger. Despite their boundless bravado, they require constant attention and admiration from others to bolster their own fragile self-esteem. They are typically very manipulative and see others as either an asset or impediment to their success. If they can't control or use you, they don't need you. They listen to only what they want to hear and vigorously resist correction or advice. (DSM V, 2013).

Apparently this description brings to mind a host of pastors in evangelical circles, because the literature and the world wide web in particular is “on fire” with articles, blogs, and posts on this subject, most of which have the term “narcissistic pastor” in the title. An especially detailed discussion of this issue can be found at a web site named *Epiclesis,* where there is a lengthy article entitled “Narcissism in the Pulpit” (Vaknin, 2015). It is one source among many that deals with this topic, perhaps more comprehensively than most. The source that does the best job of putting this issue in a very contemporary and relevant context is found at LeadingSmart.com. At this site you will find a very enlightening article by Tim Stevens, a well-known church consultant. The title of the article is “Mark Driscoll and Other Narcissistic Pastors” (Stevens, 2014). What is most helpful is that Stevens introduces his readers to the work of Michael Maccoby who is the author of *Narcissistic Leaders: Who Succeeds and Who Fails,* first published 2003. It is a scholarly work that views narcissism as two sides of the same coin. Most discussions of narcissism see it as a personality disorder; however, Maccoby, a management consultant and anthropologist, sees narcissism as a personality type that has both positive and negative traits.

According to Maccoby, narcissistic leaders are very good at thinking outside the box. They are visionaries who see things, as they “ought” to be rather than the way they are. They are risk takers who have a passion for casting a vision and working tirelessly to make it a reality. They are often charming, engaging, charismatic, and humorous. If they can keep the negative side of their personality in check they can be immensely successful at building organizations. If the “dark side” of their personality cannot be controlled and moderated then they can destroy what they have accomplished (Maccoby, 2003).

The narcissistic personality type according to Maccoby doesn’t listen. The very thing that made them creative, not listening to the crowd or the status quo, is the thing that often brings them down. They tend to be paranoid and oversensitive to criticism. They typically will not listen to advice and typically respond with anger when others press their demands. They have a grandiose vision of themselves and a boundless desire to control everything. They begin to put their own interests above the interests of the organization. In the case of pastors, the transition from humble servant to prideful dictator is complete. Widespread destruction soon follows (Maccoby, 2003).

Avoiding Pastoral Train Wrecks

What should churches do to prevent and avoid the damage a narcissistic leader can do? If the narcissist is the founder of the organization it is much more difficult, because typically such individuals will avoid accountability structures of any kind and feel especially entitled. When selecting new leaders at already established churches, members should carefully examine candidates. Thorough background checks should be conducted. Larger churches may want to hire a professional to conduct a comprehensive investigation. It is not unreasonable to require a serious candidate to complete a battery of psychological tests such as the M.M.P.I. Perhaps the greatest

protection of all is to set up accountability structures in a church constitution and by-laws along with formal incorporation of the church. Constitutions should contain detailed job descriptions for pastors including specific expectations, limits, and procedures for removal. Narcissist leaders love phony "yes man" boards. They will surround themselves with friends, loyalists, and fans. Organizations must do their best to prevent this from happening by establishing term limits and other means of ensuring "real" accountability.

Conclusion

Above all, Evangelical churches might want to revisit the teaching of Jesus and the writings of His apostles to reframe their notions of leadership. Humble servants with a genuinely loving and caring spirit are not only open to correction, but are typically kind and cooperative. Otherwise, those who innovate the role of the pastor in the New Testament Church are purposely revising the clear teaching of Jesus and his Apostles. They do so at great risk.

Biographical Note

Dr. Walt Scalen retired from the Department of Government at Stephen F. Austin State University in 2011 due to a health crisis. He currently teaches Sociology classes at SFASU and graduate Psychology classes at Le Tourneau University. So, perhaps he is actually not "retired." Rumors of his demise have been greatly exaggerated.

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Evangelicals and Social Action: "Christianity Lite" or Building a Road to Freedom?

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Introduction

With globalization, the lexicon of "international human rights" has become more common, expanding beyond the usual public policy and academic debates on international relations and foreign policy. The topic of human rights, however, engenders a variety of responses from potential advocacy groups, since many human rights non-governmental organizations (NGO's), are often seen as overtly associated with liberal political ideology. In the case of evangelicals, this political perception may pose an interesting conundrum in regard to their unqualified support of modern international human rights initiatives, especially in the case of conservative evangelicals. While there are numerous faith-based international relief organizations that have a longstanding track record in a variety of humanitarian efforts and enjoy the support of U.S. evangelicals, the direct engagement of evangelicals with high-profile global human rights groups and initiatives is much more limited (Hjelm, 2014; Amstutz, 2014).

The nature of the role of religion in political involvement remains a hotly contented issue across a wide spectrum of American religious groups, as well as among secular groups (Amstutz, 2014). In the last decade, debate over religion and its role in political discourse at both the national and international level has taken on a higher profile (Evans, 2014). In the context of liberal democracy, "many influential democratic theorists do not theorize the role of religion in particular…many democratic theorists subsume religion under other broader categories such as "culture"...a growing body of work suggests that religion is an important source of meaning, difference, and solidarity that theories of democracy must take into account (Evans, 2014:146). This exploratory academic discussion highlights a critical issue regarding human rights and religion: the recognition that the general relationship between religion and global human rights is often viewed by scholars and human rights advocates as both highly complex and problematic.

Religious Studies scholars assert that each major world faith tradition holds the potential make a contribution in the current discourse on global human rights (Menuge, 2013; Little, 2015). Human rights initiatives depend on the values of human communities to give them context, coherence, and cultural accommodation. Contemporary faith communities can also serve as sources and touchstones of dignity, responsibility, respect, restraint, restitution, and reconciliation related to human rights. In a sociological sense, religious ideas and institutions hold the potential "for the cultivation and abridgement of rights of women, children, and minorities, and rights to peace, orderly development, and protection of nature and the environment" (Witte and Green, 2011:1).

The main goal of this paper is to detail evangelical involvement in the global human rights movement through an exploratory discussion of issues, identifying potential barriers (to further evangelical engagement), and profiling exemplary evangelical human rights organizations. The three organizations detailed are the Institute for Religion and Democracy, the New Evangelical Partnership for the Common Good, and International Justice Mission.

Evangelicals and Global Human Rights Initiatives: Barriers and Bridges

Social and economic conditions over the last 30-40 years helped to set the stage for greater involvement by U.S. evangelicals in global events and foreign affairs. In the past three decades, a number of prominent evangelical Christian churches and leaders have increasingly highlighted the language of human rights in reference to response to international affairs and relief work (Menuge, 2013; Amstutz, 2014). Regionally, socioeconomic changes in areas of the U.S. with large numbers of evangelicals were an important impetus in a shift in evangelical world views - from a "localite" perspective to a more cosmopolitan world view. Schafer asserted that the economic growth of the Sunbelt region, coupled the expansion of the defense industry to address the perceived international threats posed by the Cold War (in the 1960's through the early 1990's) influenced evangelicals' "rediscovery of the state." The expansion of the middle class and new federal programs to encourage home ownership influenced evangelicals to reconcile their earlier "separationism" from major social institutions, including government, to new forms of "acceptable" engagement with the state, broadly defined. A new form of cultural engagement emerged, with its impetus drawn from the "domestic economy crucial for maintaining America's new role as 'defender of the Free World'" (Schafer, 2012:62, 72). Cold War foreign policy designed to protect individual citizens and families from "harm" heralded the expansion of individualist culture and thus made evangelicals more comfortable with the powers of the state (Schafer, 2012). These domestic and global developments set the stage for evangelicals to take an expanded role in advocacy for international relief efforts and foreign policy, beginning in the 1980's and beyond. Consequently, the increasing engagement of evangelical faith-based group into the realm of global humanitarian relief and human rights initiatives, in one sense, may be a logical cultural progression, especially for liberal evangelicals (Amstutz, 2014).

The doctrinal beliefs of evangelicals hold the potential to influence social and political behavior, and so it is useful to examine possible linkages with beliefs and action in connection with global human rights. While there has been some academic discussion concerning the potential role of Christian theology for the modern human rights movement from other Western religious traditions, including Catholics, mainline Protestants, and Orthodox Christiangroups, Nichols (2009) noted major gaps in the literature concerning the possible relationship of the human rights movement and evangelical theology. He further noted, however, an interesting doctrinal paradox related to increased evangelical involvement in human rights initiatives, advocacy, and humanitarian relief:

> …for while evangelicals' missiology propels them toward support of religious human rights, that same missiology pulls strongly against their ability to pledge full support for the human rights movement.. Because of the deep primary emphasis on evangelism as proclamation…, modern evangelical theology has an almost insurmountably difficult time supporting human rights in their fullness. Most starkly, while evangelical churches have traditionally been willing to provide "humanitarian relief" to alleviate suffering in foreign locales, that relief is frequently…"linked" to the prospect of future evangelism (Nichols, 2009:630).

Joel Nichol's analysis identifies a major barrier for evangelicals' involvement in human rights: proselytizing (evangelizing) goals must be clearly separated from human rights advocacy and humanitarian relief work. There is evidence of greater recognition and acceptance of this division, especially among liberal evangelicals (Steensland and Golf, 2013), though this still represents a major barrier for direct involvement in human right initiatives (for many evangelical groups). Another set of issues that evangelical groups revolve around organizational control issues. Part of the reason for the emergence of free-standing evangelical human rights organizations may be the ability to control their own messaging, economic resources, organizational identity, and goals. In a partnership with established international human rights groups, these organizational issues may be difficult to address. A "free-lance" form of social entrepreneurship, whereby evangelical groups devise their own global human rights initiatives, may appear as a preferred path, given these concerns.

Evangelical groups may also struggle with the controversial issue of contraception services advocacy (including abortion) in their involvement with global human rights groups, especially since many of their (evangelical) stakeholders may hold conservative or increasingly libertarian views on this topic (Steensland and Golf, 2013). Clearly, these issues are not insurmountable for evangelical human rights groups. Recent survey data suggests that younger evangelicals, including millennials, tend to approach direct involvement in the fractured bipartisan political environment with skepticism, and are seeking new venues for social action. Fresh attempts to frame human rights concerns into a broader context of "concern for the other" in the global environment may also expand the evangelical constituency supportive of human rights initiatives. Such an approach might also be attractive to those evangelicals who are skeptical of communitarian responses to human rights issues, especially through established international non-governmental organizations. Still another issue is the tendency of many evangelicals to be "just war" advocates, which may produce an interesting juxtaposition in partnering with global human groups, who may lean toward a more "anti-military" intervention stance on solving human rights abuses (Kopel, 2015).

Evangelical Engagement and Global Human Rights Initiatives

Three selected human rights groups with close connections to U.S. evangelicals will be highlighted in this section. Joel Nichols observed that the number of evangelical human rights groups might expand due to new perspectives on global engagement increasingly receiving expression among evangelicals:

> …evangelical Christians have a greater connection to human rights than is often acknowledged (and greater than they often acknowledge themselves). But, it ultimately appears doubtful whether modern evangelical theology is amenable to a robust and deep understanding of human rights. Nonetheless, the recent rise in the number of evangelical non-governmental organizations and the attendant rise in awareness of human rights within evangelical discourse potentially serve as signposts that the uncomfortable dance of evangelicals and the human rights movement may become slightly less awkward over the coming years (Nichols, 2009:629).

One of the most prominent evangelical groups that has attempted to craft a doctrinally conservative model of human rights engagement is the Institute of Religion and Democracy (IRD), founded in 1981 by United Methodist evangelist Edmund Robb & AFL-CIO official David Jessup. Michael Novak and the late Catholic scholar Richard John Neuhaus also joined the IRD Board of Directors early on, along with *Christianity Today* magazine's founding editor, the late Carl F. H. Henry. Mark Tooley became IRD's president in 2009. IRD describes itself as "an ecumenical alliance of U.S. Christians working to reform their churches' social witness, in accord with Biblical and historic Christian teachings, thereby contributing to the renewal of democratic society at home and abroad" (IRD:1). From IRD's early focus on perceived Marxist leanings in some mainline Protestant churches, in recent years, it has attempted to draw attention to religious liberty, and, more recently on global religious freedom. IRD has also worked to develop a "Christian template" regarding human rights.

Interestingly, IRD's founding documents include a detailed statement arguing for limits on people of faith in wielding influence on U.S. foreign policy:

> In democracy, Christian citizens are called upon to make judgments about the wisdom and morality of their country's foreign policy. The Church in the Biblical sense of the Body of Christ has neither competence nor responsibility to design or control the foreign policy of the United States…the mission of the Church is to be the Church to proclaim the saving Gospel of Christ and to embrace all persons in a sustaining community of caring discipleship. As part of that sustaining and caring activity, agencies and leaders of the churches should address foreign policy issues in order to help Christians exercise their responsibility as

> citizens, and in order to help America act in the world in a manner congruent with our most cherished values (IRD, 2015:1).

The civic engagement role of religious groups non foreign policy issues is simultaneously affirmed and delimited.

In regard to global human rights and its interrelationship with both democracy and evangelical faith, the IRD further includes this statement in its founding documents:

> It may be thought that, with the ending of the Cold War, freedom's cause has been secured. It has not. The victims of persecution and repression remain legion, and they continue to count on those who enjoy the blessings of freedom to be their voice and public defender. The churches should relentlessly protest every infringement of freedom, especially of religious freedom. In protesting human rights violations, governments will of necessity take into account many considerations – political, diplomatic, military and economic. The ethics of the Church, however, are distinctively ecclesial. In witnessing to the transcendent dignity of the human person, the churches are bound not by reasons of state but by obedience to Christ. Therefore the witness of the churches should reflect an unwavering adherence to a single standard in the judgment of human rights. Whether the regime in question is repressive only in order to maintain itself in power or whether it aspires to totalitarian control over its people, whether it fashions itself as rightist or leftist, whether it is friend or foe or neutral toward us, to the extent that it violates the rights of people to be artisans of their own destiny, it blasphemes against the divine intent for human life. The churches dare never be apologists for such blasphemy in the name of some higher social good. Because every person is called to be fullness of humanity revealed in Our Lord Jesus Christ, there is not a higher good than the human person. With particular respect to the weakest and most vulnerable members of the human community, Christians insist that no human being is expendable (IRD, 2015:1).

It would appear that IRD is organizationally attempting to create a cultural bridge between the longstanding evangelical focus on international Christian persecution to larger issues related to human rights. A cursory examination of both its mission statement and its website content suggest that it is focused on meeting its organizational goals while adhering to a conservative doctrinal (theological) position - to properly reflect its target constituency of theologically conservative Protestants and Catholics.

The New Evangelical Partnership for the Common Good (NEP) was established in 2010 to create a broad-based coalition of evangelicals focused on social justice and other issues associated with public engagement, including human rights. The NEP was co-founded by Richard Cizik, former Vice President of Governmental Affairs of the National Association of Evangelicals, David Gushee, Professor of Christian Ethics/Director of the Center for Theology and

Public Life Mercer University**,** and Steven Martin, pastor and documentary filmmaker. The mission of the NEP addresses **"**traditions of evangelical public engagement…highlighted by 19th Century movements for the abolition of slavery and for women's rights, early 20th century movements for worker's rights and a more just economy, and late 20th century movements for civil rights for African-Americans, peacemaking, the protection of the unborn, and the care of God's distressed creation" (NEB, 2015). Their policy statement on human rights, while comprehensive in nature, reflects a special focus on issues related to torture in a post-9/11 global environment:

> Human rights, which function to protect human dignity and the sanctity of life, cannot be cancelled and should not be overridden. Recognition of human rights creates obligations to act on behalf of others whose rights are being violated. Human rights place a shield around people who otherwise would find themselves at the mercy of those who are angry, aggrieved, or frightened. While human rights language can be misused, this demands its clarification rather than abandonment. Among the most significant human rights is the right to security of person, which includes the right not to be tortured…we renounce the resort to torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of detainees, call for the extension of procedural protections and human rights to all detainees, seek clear government-wide embrace of the Geneva Conventions, including those articles banning torture and cruel treatment of prisoners, and urge the reversal of any U.S. government law, policy, or practice that violates the moral standards outlined in this declaration (NEB 2015:1).

Clearly, the NEB has mapped out an ambitious plan in the human rights arena and has tailored its message to reach an evangelical constituency, asserting that the concept of human rights is not a simply a "secular" notion, but found "expression in Christian sources long before the Enlightenment. More secularized versions of the human rights ethic which came to occupy such a large place in Western thought should be seen as derivative of earlier religious arguments. Twentieth century assaults on human rights by totalitarian states led to a renewal of "rights talk" after World War II. Most branches of the Christian tradition, including evangelicalism, now embrace a human rights ethic" (NEB, 2015).

The International Justice Mission (IJM) is a North American-based faith-based human rights organization that operates globally to rescue victims of individual human rights abuse. It was founded in 1997 by attorney Gary Haugen, formerly with the U.S. Department of Justice, after his experiences as part of a UN investigation team to Rwanda (Haugen, 2007). In particular, IJM works to combat human trafficking including the sexual exploitation of children, forced labor slavery (e.g. to pay off a debt), illegal detention, and illegal land seizure. Based on referrals of abuse received from international relief and development organizations, IJM also undertakes professional investigations of abuses and mobilizes intervention on behalf of victims when local conditions make such

logistics possible. Though it is faith-based, IJM assists victims internationally, regardless of their religion. The multifaceted mission of IJM includes victim relief, perpetrator accountability, victim aftercare, and structural transformation. *Christianity Today Magazine* (2007) noted that IJM "has played a major role in awakening American Christians to global injustice, and, more importantly, to the opportunity we have to bring justice to the oppressed." In contrast to the first two organizations previously described, IJM functions more as a global direct service provider marshaling professionals through regional resource centers in Latin America, Southeast Asia, India and Africa.

Conclusions and Implications

The changing political landscape, both domestically and internationally, coupled with recent terrorism-related events have together changed the sociocultural milieu of global human rights initiatives. Hertze (2006) detailed unlikely alliances between evangelical groups and politically liberal NGO's regarding human rights issues such as genocide. Recent events in Iraq and Syria regarding ISIS-related terrorism have created new humanitarian concerns about the protection of religious minorities, refugees, internally displaced groups, human trafficking/enslavement, and children's rights. A cursory analysis of web-based media reports and social media suggests that many new "unlikely alliances" have formed with individuals and groups regarding these humanitarian and human rights issues. A current example of this new sociopolitical phenomenon, fueled by social media, is the global response to the "siege of Kobane."

Internationally, politically conservative, liberal, and libertarian groups, along with Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Islamic, Jewish, and secularist groups (e.g., NGO's) somehow coalesced into an alliance to address humanitarian concerns in the Middle East connected to Kobane. The international response to the recent siege of Kobane, officially known as Ayn Al-Arab, a city in the Aleppo region in northern Syria, located immediately south of the border with Turkey, is an interesting case study of the changing nature of coalitions on human rights-related issues. The 100-day siege of the city by the terror group, ISIS of Kobane - a city that had served as a refuge for diverse refugee and displaced groups impacted by the Syrian conflict - galvanized the world as Kurdish defenders worked to defend the city. A religiously and politically divergent international coalition emerged that marshaled Coalition military intervention to keep the city from ISIS control. International support garnered via social media from human rights groups and Kurdish ex-pats, especially in Europe, emphasized the defensive role of the military in preventing genocide. A cursory examination of online media reports and Twitter responses to the Kobane siege suggests that human rights NGO's were also joined by Jewish, Catholic, and evangelical groups who came together to lobby the Obama Administration to step up its air defense efforts to allow Kurdish fighters to successfully defend the city. Kobane emerged as an international symbol of successful resistance to terrorism and efforts to preserve human rights via military intervention as a "tool of last resort."

Someone observed on Twitter that Kobane was like Sparta or the Alamo but with a better outcome, as the city came back under control of the Kurds in late January 2015.

This paper has attempted to provide an exploratory discussion of the intersection of contemporary U.S. evangelicals with the modern international human rights from a sociological perspective. The major role of evangelicals in modern American culture -including social spheres beyond religion - has received much scholarly attention, but the increasing role of evangelicals in the global human rights movement has received scant research attention, with the exception of the work of two political scientists. Scholarly treatments of the relationship of modern evangelicalism and global human rights include Alan Hertzke's (2006) *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights, Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy* (2013), and *International Ethics: Concepts, Theories, and Cases in Global Politics,* both by Mark Amstutz. (2013). Of the three books, however, only the latter deals directly with evangelical thought on human rights.

The examination of international human rights as a social movement and the examination of direct involvement in global human rights by evangelical churches, evangelical non-governmental organizations (NGO's), and participation by evangelical partners in current international human rights initiatives have received only limited scholarly focus. It is hoped that this exploratory examination of modern evangelicalism's role in the modern global human rights movement will highlight the need for increased scholarly attention to this topic. One template for this research is *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective* by Philip Muehlenbeck (2012). Muehlenbeck examines not only the role of religion in the U.S efforts in the Cold War, but also the opposite causal direction: the impact of the Cold War on American religion. Furthermore, he examines influential individuals inside and outside of governmental organizations and international NGO's, as well as influential religious faith-based groups and organizations. Deeper scholarly work on global human rights and evangelicals could benefit from this multilevel approach.

Finally, the larger relationship between religious traditions and the modern discourse on human rights has yet to be fully explored by sociologists and other Religious Studies scholars. There is a need for new theoretical development that fully encompasses the political, economic, cultural, and religious dimensions of the contemporary global human rights movement - a missing element that hinders the analysis of the role of emerging religious minorities as well. Reader (2003) noted, for example, that theoretical interpretations of the work of Jacques Derrida regarding responsibility to "the other" and Jurgen Habermas on communicative rationality and the public sphere hold special promise in the analysis of religion and human rights. Finally, this exploratory discussion of the role of evangelicals in the global human rights movement can serve as a reminder to human rights researchers to practice scholarly due diligence in documenting and identifying the potential impact of contemporary religion on global human rights. Major faith traditions have a long history of human rights discourse, including Buddhism, Christianity (especially Catholicism),

Confucianism, Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, Shintoism, and Sikhism. Researchers must not neglect new emerging "voices at the table" on global human rights, whether they are Bahá'ís, evangelicals, Yazidis or another religiously-focused group (Hjelm, 2014; Little, 2015). Green and Witte (2007) succinctly articulated this neglected area of scholarly analysis in need of a multidisciplinary lens: "What is the fate of human rights particularly religious rationales for human rights, respect for "religious human rights," and the engagement of religious believers and religious bodies in struggles for human rights around the globe?" (2007:1).

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Existential Anthropology and the Architecture of Approach and Elevation

Patrick Scott Smith, Independent Scholar

Introduction

This analysis will begin with the basic premise of Existential Anthropology, that the condition of physical vulnerability leads to personal interdependence and social cohesion necessitating hierarchical structure and social stratification which, as this focus will reveal, is reinforced with certain ceremonial and architectural features of separation and approach. Key elements in the process are the use of distance and selective approach to create specialness to ruler and deity and awe and compliance for adherents. For the effect of elevation, architectural features include the use of pylons, pillars, raised platforms and stepped construction. For the veiled effect of separation for the divine image, particular use is made of pillars, walls, portals, and curtains. For processional sequence, the contrasting use of light and dark is utilized with the placement of an open court area to precede the inner sanctum, while the ongoing character of divinity is epitomized through the placement of repetitive doorways and the use of "lines of infinity" as architectural feature.

The Anthropology of Selective Approach and Separation

Beginning with individual psychology within physical circumstance as it relates to and creates social function, the first requirement for approach is the establishment of space or distance between the person or thing being approached and the person or persons approaching. While there is a practical side for the placement of distance between ruler and those ruled (for example, protecting the life of the ruler), the psychological effect for the ruler is the creation of feelings of importance and specialness, because he or she is now separated from all others, and, for that reason alone, he or she is special. This is further confirmed when the ruler is physically set above others; for example, the ruler's throne is usually built with enlarged and heightened dimensions and is, itself, often set above common ground.[1] So, now, the political rank the ruler holds is confirmed and symbolically mirrored in physical reality, as he or she is set above attendants and petitioners.

Separation and distance conversely create feelings of importance about the ruler by the ruled. In the instance where the ruler takes on the nature of divinity, separation and distances are so filtered that very few have any access, and then only through extreme ritual procedure. Like real divinity in which physical presence is not seen, neither is the ruler.[2] In the Japanese enthronement ceremony, the *Daijō-Sai*

[1] On the niche stelae of Piedras Negras accession of a new Classic Mayan king is depicted on a scaffold throne surrounded by cosmological symbols of heaven. See David Stuart, "Ruler Accession Rituals" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures: The Civilization of Mexico and Central America*.

[2] What makes the observation of the ruler rare is the placement of space between ruler and subjects and strict selection (with obeisant posture required) of those allowed to come in contact. With this

enclosure was closed to all but the imperial family and ranking military and civil personnel.[3] "Similarly, women, children, and commoners were excluded from the Indian coronation ceremony. In Thailand, the traditional rite of the king's consecration was distinctly private. This same secrecy is also part of the African and Fijian coronation ceremonies . . . The secrecy surrounding initiation rites in general and enthronement ceremonies in particular also characterize the rituals at temples and other sanctuaries."[4] Mesopotamian and ancient Egyptian rites were jealously guarded secrets. In 200 BC ancient Greece, the rites held at Eleusis were so guarded, when two boys from the distant town of Akarnania entered the sanctuary asking questions about the mystery festival, they were immediately executed.[5]

The anthropology of selective approach is thus achieved through space and distance, the setting of boundaries, physical barriers, and ritualistic procedures, all purposed to achieve a process of special selection based on rank, whereby the hierarchical nature of government and social structure is confirmed and maintained. Thus kings, emperors, king-priests, chiefs, and rulers all practiced, to one degree or another, the psychology of separation to maintain authority and to evoke awe, respect and/or worship, enacting stringent rules of approach, imposing elements of separation, and requiring personal motions of obeisance all designed to induce reverence and compliance (in some instances worship) and, in this way, maintain authority over others.

Like acts of genuflection, or the Chinese kowtow, which required subjects to bow and touch their head to the ground before the emperor[6], we see an account—as related from Cortes side in their first meeting with the Aztecs at Xoloco—showing the importance of creating an aura of specialness, in the Aztec's case, where eyes were diverted in homage to a supreme ruler:

> In the center was the great king Montezuma in a litter draped with fine cotton mantles. He could be seen by no one and none of the Indians accompanying him dared glance at the litter which was borne on the shoulders of the lords. Then Montezuma emerged from the litter and placed necklaces of gold and precious stones round Cortes's neck.[7]

In this account, not only does the draped litter serve as signifier of separation, the significance of that separation, and thus the specialness of the king, is enhanced by the fact that the litter is borne not by commoners or servants, but by subordinate nobility, making the king's supreme rank all the more evident. Not only is the king not

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accomplished, stature and privilege, fear and awe, and respect and subjection are at once made stable and continuous. But while rarity is thus an important tool in maintaining the special status of deity and ruler, though deity cannot be seen, its image and human representative *must* be, to win and keep adherents.

[3] D. C. Holtom, *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies: With an Account of the Imperial Regalia,* 102-3.

[4] Stephen D. Ricks and John J. Sroka, "King, Coronation and Temple: Enthronement Ceremonies in History" in *Temples of the Ancient World*, 238-40.

[5] Ibid, 240.

[6] Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*, 205.

[7] Michael Wood, *Conquistadors*, 56.

to be glanced at, but the litter itself is not to be viewed, further enhancing the specialness of the king. In the Maya world, similar status and treatment was given to rulers, where "the highest expression of human sacredness came from the royal families and especially the supreme ruler who descended from sacred lineages. Not only did their bodies contain divine fire and energy, but their clothes, bloodlines, paraphernalia, and especially their ritual actions brought the divine into terrestrial level of existence."[8]

The idea of the divine itself dictate's architectural structure. The divine cannot be such, unless it is special. The specialness of deity, like the specialness of a king, is defined by a delineation of separation, which is defined and maintained through a filtered and controlled approach. If one can approach a king or deity like one approaches fellow peers then that king or deity is not special, but like one's peers, is no more powerful, superior, or of higher rank. The special uniqueness of the divine and its special element of separateness is automatic by its determined nature—that it is non-physical and therefore not reachable, and not of this world, but of another world. And those that share space with the divine presence, whether priest or king, are, for several reasons, also special: the desires of the deity are fulfilled by them; the thoughts of the deity are known to them; the deities speak through them, and through them requests are mediated. For example, the Hittite king was the direct administrator of the gods, the Storm-god and Sun-god, and was directly appointed by them. The land which belonged to the Storm-god was given to the king for which the king was duty bound to protect. "The king's duty, among others, was to worship all gods. Correct worship guaranteed prosperity, wealth, and strength to the king, his family, and the whole country." During festival celebrations, the king mediated the service, and, with specific ritual, he and the queen made offerings of bread and drink to the gods.[9] In the Mesoamerican world, rulers were also very much involved with sacred intermediary activities. At Conquest in Central Mexican Cholula, the two ruling offices were filled by nobles-turned-priests from the cult of Quetzalcoatl.[10] In Aztec society, not only were the children of nobles educated by priests, but the rulers themselves took an active part in mediating rituals and ceremonies.[11]

But the separated specialness of the king or priest, who is the intermediary between deity and the populace, is maintained through the ritualized process of approach channeled and magnified by architectural design. The essential feature to hierarchical structure and function and the apportionment of rank is conserved through the same selective process. Those constantly closest to deity would be of the highest rank, those allowed occasional approach would be of high but subordinate rank, and those allowed approach to these special individuals would be subordinate, but of higher rank than the general populace. The hierarchical nature of power, national identity, and the furtherance of national interest are also maintained through the same means through connection to deity. The Roman triumphs, therefore, were not just displays of spoils and celebrations of victory, but, with

[8] Davíd Carrasco, *Religions of Mesoamerica: Cosmovision and Ceremonial Centers*, 103.
[9] Susanne Görke, "Hints at Temple Topography and Cosmic Geography from Hittite Sources" in *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, 42.
[10] Pedro Carrasco, "Social Organization of Ancient Mexico" in *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica,* 372.
[11] Francis F. Berdan, *The Aztecs of Central Mexico: An Imperial Society*, 139.

specifically prescribed procession, would include the imperative connection to deity with the unswerving element of temple devotion in all triumphal processions.

In the princely courts of Europe, daily transactions and interactions between the monarch and principal adherents employed methods of distance and selective approach to confirm the monarch's supremacy not only as ruler, but as divine principal. Starting with separation between ruler and ruled, the monarch's court only permitted a select entourage of local magnates and aristocratic grandees, and "through contacts and the distribution of offices fostered a series of subordinate patronage network that linked courtiers to the localities."[12] Space was further established in Spain in 1548, when the court incorporated Burgundian etiquette, whereby "everything possible was done by means of both ceremonial and household organization to preserve the sacred character of kingship through the maintenance of distance."[13] In the royal chapel, for example, the king "heard the service from his closet raised above the heads of his courtiers, a figure in every sense between heaven and earth. The sacredness of the king's presence was further emphasized by his seclusion within the closet inside a curtained, tabernacle-like area called the 'traverse.'"[14] The component of distance was also employed when the monarch conducted day-to-day business, unseen by almost everyone, and the element of selective approach, when four sparsely furnished public rooms were built to precede the king's private rooms and entrance to them was only granted according to strict rank.[15]

Sacred space and the house of god

Mark K. George describes architectural space in terms of its practical, conceptual, and symbolic value, saying, "Social space . . . is understood as more than physical reality . . . it is a combination of interrelated fields: the physical reality of space; the conceptual systems a society creates to explain and think space; and the symbolic meanings a society ascribes and imputes to space."[16] Conversely, Hundley categorizes temple architecture into primary, secondary, tertiary, and quarternary spaces. Starting with the sacred locale of the cult image, primary space could be a pedestal, niche, shrine, or small room. Secondary space would be areas adjacent to the sacred space and would presumably serve supporting functions. Tertiary space mediated access to include vestibules, corridors, and auxiliary rooms such as slaughter rooms, store rooms and archives. Quarternary areas, outside the temple, included courts, processional paths, workshops, and priestly residences.[17]

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[12] John Adamson, "The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court, 1500-1700," *The Princely Courts of Europe*, 8.

[13] Glyn Redworth and Fernando Checa, "The Courts of the Spanish Habsburgs, 1500-1700," *The Princely Courts of Europe*, 48.

[14] Ibid, 104.

[15] Ibid, 57. While the practice of distance and selective approach was implemented in all monarchies, the French court, especially of Louis XIV, was relatively more open, where "the sequence of rooms in the 'German' style became a matter of timing in the French case, the various *entrées* taking over the role of the antechambers' hierarchical thresholds. Moreover, the ruler's own apartment played a major role in French ceremonial."

[16] Mark K. George, *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space*, 19.

[17] Michael B. Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East*, 15.

In this inquiry, emphasis will be placed on the cognitive/emotive quality to temple architecture, the design evoking submission and awe, the purpose of which is to maintain hierarchical structure to social organization through selective approach. As Hundley alludes,

> Indeed the temple was masterfully created to express in physical form the ideology of the temple builders, to communicate subconsciously to the observers the appropriate behavior and emotional response, and to impress on them the importance of compliance.[18]

Thus the hierarchical structure of society and architectural design were very much intertwined in times past. The design and placement of spaces within and without temple structure had symbolic and social significance. By the regulation of movement and motion with impactful effect on the psyche of believers, maintenance of social, theological, and cosmological order was maintained.

As far as political statement goes, the temple was potentially a reflection and legitimating agency of national authority and power, as the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was for the Romans. "Jupiter was above all a victory god who presided over the expanding Roman world and as Rome's power grew, so, too, did his importance. He naturally was associated with the mission of power and conquest."[19] Like the Parthenon in Athens, its impressive size and design and location atop the Capitoline Hill "accounts in large measure for its long-standing role in establishing and maintaining the authority and legitimacy of Roman leadership."[20]

In India, Jain temples, housing the *mula nayak* deity, were built as images of the universe. In the Svarna Nagari hall at Ajmer in Rajasthan, behind the Soni Jain Temple, stands one of the most detailed reproductions of Jambū-dvīpa, the innermost island continent of the Jaina universe. Central to the island is a mountain, Sumeru Parvata, above which are divinities of light hanging from the ceiling in their celestial vehicles representing the nine planets venerated by the Jainas. At Hastinapur in Haryana, furnished with mountain chains and named cosmic rivers, is a thirty-five meter wide reproduction of Jambū-dvīpa, where, in the shape of a lofty tower, Sumeru Parvata rises sixty meters. To inspect the cosmological monument visitors can enter a small boat to travel a waterway representing Lavana Sanudra, the Sea of Salt, which surrounds Jambū-dvīpa.[21]

But above all, the temple was the special abode of divine presence and, as such, was an intermediary between the worlds of the "here" and special "there." As Hundley describes,

> The ancient Near Eastern temple was the primary point of intersection between human and divine . . . it situated the deity in the midst of human habitation, so that humanity might offer service and gifts in

[18] Ibid, 38.
[19] John W. Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire*, 12.
[20] Ibid, 2.
[21] Julia A. B. Hegewald, "Images of the Cosmos: Sacred and Ritual Space in Jaina Temple Architecture in India." *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, 62-63.

> exchange for divine protection and prosperity. Through regular and regulated interactions in the temple, people could gain some measure of control over both their own fate and that of the world around them. By influencing resident deity, they influenced the cosmos it governed; it marked the intersection of two otherwise separate spheres . . . [22]

In ancient Mesoamerica, the temple was known to be the "home of the gods."[23] Among the Zapotec, a crucial concept in their religion was that of pè. Variously translated as "wind," "breath," or "spirit," pè was the vital force that made all things move. Among the sixteenth century Zapotec, the temple was known as *yohopèe*, which literally meant "house of pè."[24] Among the Yucatec Maya, neighbors of the Zapotec, the temple was referred to as *k'u nah* or "god house." At the time of the Spanish conquest in Central Mexico, the Nahuatl term for temple, among the Aztec, was *teocalli*, which meant "deity house."[25] As such, being the residence of deity, the temple served as a special place for divine presence and by design gave deity the same, but magnified place of importance as human ruler-ship. While human rule was legitimated from its connection to deity, the specialness of deity was made so, through architectural design, achieving the same ends of selective approach and separation rulers attained in their ongoing interactions.

Approach and elevation

While in some instances elevation as architectural feature would play a role of assumptive reality, in others, the purpose would be simply to educe a level of reverence, awe, and submission supportive of hierarchical function. The Greek temples made their statement not only in their aesthetic appeal, but in their monumentality, as well. Unlike today, where in any metropolis, the dizzying height of one skyscraper towers next to many others, and the aesthetic impressiveness of one can be compared to multiple others, fewer buildings in ancient Greek society could be compared to the temple in size and appeal. But to enhance the temple's statement even more, building sites themselves were usually elevated and conspicuous. Primary concerns in selecting a building site for any particular Greek temple were locations of preeminence. Vitruvius suggested of the Romans that the site of their protector deities "should be located in the very highest place, the vantage from which to see the greatest possible extent of the city walls." Building sites would include eminences overlooking plains and seas. In southern Italy, the majority of Greek colonnaded temples were built on the sea's edge.[26]

Of Egyptian temples, the pylon is the most notable architectural feature, with a pair of massive trapezoidal facades placed at either side of an imposing entryway. The ascending statement and trapezoidal lines of the facades themselves suggests

[22] Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings*, 3.
[23] George F. Andrews, "Pyramids" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures,* vol. 3, 45.
[24] Joyce Marcus*,* "Archaeology and Religion: A Comparison of the Zapotec and Maya" in *World Archaeology*, 174.
[25] Jeff K. Kowalski, "Temple Complexes" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, vol. 3, 194.
[26] Tony Spawforth, *The Complete Greek Temples,* 48-49.

an aspect toward the above and largeness bigger than self. At Karnak, a bridge adorned with solar images connected the two towers. Obelisks were sometimes placed before temple entrances, with colossi of kings on both sides and relief images of kings and gods awash in color on the façade walls. Finally, the undulating motion of flags at the entrance would have made the intended splendor of the temple even more pronounced.[27]

Egyptian Temple Entrance Preceding Court and Sanctuary

Elevation played a significant role in ancient Egyptian temple construction as early as the New Kingdom, but was more pronounced in later periods. "For example, in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, a raised platform, leading up to the porch, separated the temple core from the court."[28] In processional temples like Karnak and Luxor, the themes of courtyard reliefs are dominated by festival scenes, which included the procession of the divine bark. "As such, it was likely a gathering place for the common people, at least during festive occasions. In addition, several New Kingdom inscriptions on the walls and statues in the courts indicate that petitions of the people were heard at these locations. . . It also seems to have been a gathering place for the statues of prominent private individuals whose inscriptions often implored passersby to pronounce their names and to recite the appropriate offering formula."[29] While what went on in the inner sanctum and temple core captures attention, court activity was equally important for the preservation of social and religious structure.

Like modern skyscrapers, capital buildings, and other government structures, the size, layout, inner ornamentation, and outer architectural features of the cathedral are intended to inspire awe and reverence. While ancient Near Eastern temples were designed to evoke the same, access to divine presence was limited and ritually regulated. In contrast to cathedrals, intended to accommodate crowds for congregational service, for the Near Eastern temple, "access is an especially important contrast. Though in the ancient Near East, temple courts were occasionally accessible, and their size could accommodate large crowds, especially

[27] Hundley, *Gods*, 24-25, 30.
[28] Hundley, *Gods,* 29.
[29] Ibid, 35-36.

during festivals, when access was severely restricted to the temple interior."[30] Yet it was necessary for the common person to participate in divine connection. The specialness of deity preserved through separation and selective approach and the inclusion of the common person in the participation of divine connection are what dictated architectural design. In the case of activities at the Egyptian court, representative approach is indicated throughout. Since the court area could not contain the whole populace, those there were themselves representative, with petition to deity. The statues of prominent individuals within the courtyard, with their injunction of name pronouncement and proper ritual procedure, also indicate higher rank, and it would have been fewer, still, who would have been allowed to deliver petition of the people to deity from the court.[31] Those allowed to go beyond the court towards deity did so up a flight of stairs. In the case of Khonsu, the raised temple core above the court is suggestive of the stepped approach in Mesoamerica; there, separation was achieved with extreme elevation, with the temple placed at the top of a truncated pyramid.[32] Set high on top of a truncated pyramid the Aztec temples universally consisted of a small, rectangular structure, divided into two rooms, "the ante-chamber and *sanctum sanctorum,*"[33] with a single door. Worshippers, however select, could enter the outer room of the temple, while the inner chamber was restricted to priests.[34] As Marcus points out, the evolution from single to two or three room temples with a designated inner sanctum was a standard feature of the Classic Period in temple construction throughout Mesoamerica.[35]

The architecture of contrasting effects and the psychology of awe

Especially applicable to Near Eastern and Greek and Roman temples, a sequence of emotive effect, pertaining to the temple, could be categorized in terms of distant observation, secondary approach, primary approach, and primary contact. Starting with distant observation, the idea would have been to implant a suggestion of monumentality, which the temple would do because of its size and unique design when seen from a distance compared to its surrounding landscape and other edifices. Secondary approach would have included ruler-ship statements that became visible on closer approach. In some instances, avenues leading to the

[30] Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings*, 5, 8-9. In the Great Interior of the Forbidden City, a similar configuration was permanently set in place in 1669 when Xuanye, the young Kangxi emperor, made permanent the separation of private and public space. All but high court officials and princes were barred from the inner court area where the imperial family lived and the emperor conducted daily affairs. Rawski, *Last Emperors*, 31.

[31] The selection process as to who would be allowed to participate in the procession from court yard to temple core to inner sanctum is speculative. On one hand, the importance of divine connection to general worship might buoy the assumption for some type of representative participation in the processional course. On the other hand, such areas may well have been off limits to all but the priests and rulers, thus the reason for processionals of the divine images from the temple.

[32] See Andrews, "Pyramids", 43-45.

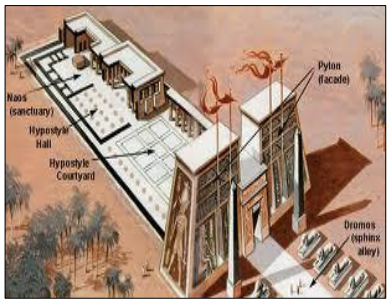
[33] Henry B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico", in *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica*, 438.

[34] Marcus, "Archaeology", 174.

[35] Joyce Marcus, "On the Nature of the Mesoamerican City", in *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey*, 230-32.

entrance[36] would have been lined with statues of gods, kings, fierce animals, or mythological figures, while the entrance itself was guarded with colossi. On façade walls or in entryway gables,[37] imposing statements about conjunctive human/divine ruler-ship were made with imposing conspicuousness. At this point, when the evocation of over-lordship is cogent and the distant suggestion of monumentality is confirmed when the size and grandeur of the structure is compared to oneself, real awe is accomplished. With this set of emotive suggestions absorbed, entrance into the temple (primary approach) marks an important transition from one world to another, from the world of the here and now; from a world of limits, to one of superlative transcendence; that on crossing the boundary of such a special place there is a palpable hope, the divine character and attributes contained within will be shared and experienced. The goal of primary approach at this point becomes a forward motion, with increasing expectation about contact, toward the inner sanctum, where deity resides and primary contact could be made. The interior design is thus intended to invoke psychological response of awe through a forward process of contrasts with the general outline, for Near Eastern temples, of light preceding darkness, largeness preceding the final smallness, and darkness of the room in which the divine image resides.

While multiple special effects are used in conjunction with a general architectural design, which itself will vary depending on the culture of origin, a common feature of Near Eastern and Greek and Roman temples is that of the precedent of light and ambient space before entrance into sanctuary space. For the Greek and Roman temples, this was provided with the portico and for Near Eastern temples with open court areas.



Open Air Courts and Portico

At the Khonsu temple at Karnak following the open court, one ascends to a portico

[36] Processional pathways were used during festivals, when the divine image was taken out of the temple. During the festival of Opet, images of the holy family of Thebes and other sanctified beings, including kings of olden times, were conducted along the processional route between Karnak and the temple of Luxor. Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London: Routledge, 2006) 270. In Egypt, from the New Kingdom onward, much attention was given to processional routes (ideally paved with stone) to line them on both sides with sphinxes or similar statues with shrines set at intervals along the way. The processional route linking the temple of Amun-Ra and the goddess Mut at Karnak, Thebes was lined with ram-sphinxes. Kemp, 251, 268.

[37] For scenes in the gables of Greek temples, of a supernatural world of gods, heroes, monsters and mythical beings and their often epic struggles where the gods and the Greeks win, see Tony Spawforth *The Complete Greek Temples*, 65-66; 141; 152-53.

of pillars, a rectangular area wider than long. Next, moving through a doorway smaller than the pylon entrance and into the hypostyle hall, also wider than long, one is met with a forest of towering massive and closely spaced columns. Compared to the openness of the court, this area would have had a pressing and imposing impact. Finally, before arrival at the inner sanctum, one enters the dimly lit sanctuary of the divine bark, which is contrastingly longer than wide and, with shorter ceiling and rising floor, would have provided a tunnel-like effect, leading to the most holy place, where the divine image rests in a small, very dark room.[38] The intent of moving from an open, well-lit area into a forest of imposing columns, then into an area dominated by restrictive darkness, was the delimitation of self, immersed in divine presence. As Hundley mentions, with the descending ceiling and rising floor reaching their lowest and highest points in the inner sanctum,[39] "one would have felt like he was ascending into a different realm."[40]

At Khonsu, the particular use of darkness to create emotive response of awe and submission was accomplished on several fronts. In darkness, points of reference are taken away; one's sense of direction is removed and awareness of surroundings and the ability to avoid obstacles and dangers are restricted. In this way, personal confidence was eroded, apprehension was amplified, and dependence on guidance from something or someone else was increased. Thus, greater focus would have been placed on wall images, statuary, and on the person and words of priests, whose purpose was to convey the over lordship of deity and ruler.

One of the common features of Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Mesoamerican temples is that the divine image resided in a small dark room in the darkest area of the temple.[41] In comparison, in the Hebrew bible, Yahweh occupies a place of "thick darkness," and He "made darkness around him his canopy." (Exodus 20:21; Samuel 22:12) As mentioned, deity must reside in a "special there," a world different and unfamiliar. For humans, darkness accomplishes this. In it is the un-seeable and unknowable—attributes of deity, itself. While the emotions of fear and uncertainty are associated with darkness, they are appropriate feelings towards a deity so superlative. But the shared feature of deity-in-darkness does not end there. Like Egyptian interaction, the Hebrew account of contact with Yahweh also contains the basic elements of approach. Elevation came into play when, like the Mesoamericans who gathered at their plazas[42] before their temples, the Hebrews gathered at the foot of Mount Sinai, where, at the top, Yahweh was to reveal Himself. Separation was achieved when Yahweh made sacred space with the decree, "You shall set limits for the people (that they) take care not to go up the mountain or touch the edge of it" (Ex. 19:12). The specialness of and obeisance to deity was manifested when the people were not to approach, or look at Yahweh, "lest they break through to the Lord to look and many of them perish" (Ex. 19:21). Selective approach was revealed when only Moses was allowed to come near and communicate with Yahweh, and only through him was a report brought back and given first to the elders (Ex. 19:7).

[38] Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings*, 21, 25-29, 40-41.
[39] Ibid, 41.
[40] Ibid, 40.
[41] Ibid, 40-41, 51-53.
[42] See Patricia Joan Sarro, "Plazas" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures,* vol. 3, 4-5.

Finally, like Near Eastern, Greek and Mesoamerica deities, Yahweh also inhabited and manifested himself from a place of darkness (Ex. 20:21).

In comparison with the Egyptian process at Khonsu, the route to deity with Greek temples was less intermittently contrasting and more direct, but not without special effects. The level of access to divine presence concerning Greek temples, like the Near Eastern ones, is unknown, and discussion centers on the question of how strict the access was. Certainly for the specialness of deity, selective approach and separation were essential. The Greek epiphany-of-deity ceremony and processionals indicate this. While capaciousness of the sacred space of Greek temples suggests accommodation, there is also evidence certain areas may have served an inner-sanctum purpose. For example, the colonial west temples, with their long narrow floor plan absent internal columns, showed "a penchant for a back room, in some cases demonstrably used for divine images . . . In ancient writings there is a clear tradition about temple areas that were literally, 'not to be entered' (*adyton)*, but these restricted spaces are hard to pin down archaeologically, and seem to be a particular feature of oracles." Nevertheless, in Cyrene's 4th-century temple of Apollo, the east hall accommodated an open crypt of mysterious purpose, to which worshipers descended by staircase. In western Greek temples (southern Italy and Sicily) and in western Turkey, masonry screens were added to presumably "shield ritual performance." Another indication of smaller enclosed sacred spaces may come in the form of a "back room shrine" in a Doric temple built near Poseidonia in 500 BC.[43] Conversely, considering temples were also repositories of treasure, smaller enclosed spaces may have been used for this purpose, instead. "Temples were the prime demonstration of state wealth, to say nothing of piety (the back room of the Parthenon was the treasury). They were also the first museums, being display places for precious booty and for interesting bygones (Heracles' cup, the Amazon queen's belt, and so on)."[44] But what can be said with certainty, considering the temple as a house of god, is that the ancients strove for a balance of selective approach and general participation. Indications are the process started with the allowance of lower ranked representatives at the open-air courts of the Near Eastern temples, and outside, at the portico, or in the larger sacred space of the Greek temples. Stricter selection, by rank, would be dictated on closer approach of areas considered most sacred. Visiting the Greek temple would start with the open-air and light effect from the portico. The temple doors would then open directly into the sanctuary, where standing or sitting in a darkened[45] expansive room one is met with an illuminated colossal deity, realistic portrayed and magnificently adorned.[46] The

[43] Spawforth, *Greek Temples*, 88-89,90,115.

[44] John Boardman, "Greek Art and Architecture" in The *Oxford History of Greece and the Hellenistic World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin, Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 348.

[45] Spawforth, 87. The only natural light source for the inner space of the temple would have come from the temple doors. At Metapontian in southern Italy, the most striking feature of the Doric temple is the continuous wall punctuated by monolithic half columns which replaced the usual outer colonnade on all sides, except the front, which probably resulted in an exceptionally dark interior. (Spawforth, 120)

[46] Egyptian cult statues (however small, 30 cm) were made of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and other highly valued material. Mesopotamian ones (also small, 30-60 cm) were made of a wooden core, sumptuously dressed, with hands and face gold-plated and beard and eyes set with precious

colossus of Hera outside Argos and the statue of Zeus at Olympia[47] were reputed to be overlaid with gold and ivory.[48] The statue of Athena in the late fifth-century Parthenon was ten meters tall and overlaid with a ton of gold.[49] Herodotus mentions that "in the Babylonian temple there is another shrine . . . where there is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a great golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also of gold."[50] In other instances, awe and involvement were accomplished when the deity was revealed in situ for public viewing.[51] In Ionic temples and in some Doric ones, the central pair of columns on the main façade was widened, and in some temples, floors were raised, to presumably improve the sight-line line between worshipers and deity. The basis for this ceremony of epiphany may have come from the ancient Greek strand of religiosity of divine epiphany, where gods would manifest themselves, sometimes from a statue coming to life, to adorers in dreams.[52] "Psychologically, the ground for such 'appearances' could be prepared by the way in which temple officials staged the revelation of the statue inside. In the centuries after Alexander, there is evidence for the dramatization of this moment, rather like a theatrical performance."[53] At Teos (AD 15-37), Dionysos was revealed by the daily opening of the temple doors with the accompaniment of singing, libations, incense-burning and illumination.[54] And at times of oblation, the doors were opened to offer an "interactive relationship," where "the deity, through his statue, became a spectator at the sacrifices performed in his honor."[55]

In contrast to churches and mosques, Maya temples[56] were small and dark, and made to house only the idol image and ritual regalia. The locations of public ceremonies were the temple stairways and adjacent plazas below. To the Maya, darkness pertains directly to spiritual power: "The colonial K'iché of Guatemala sequestered idols in dark places to conserve their spiritual force, and it is likely that

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stones. Hundley, *Gods in Dwelling*, 158-159, 213-214. The reason for their small size was likely from their periodic use in processions.

[47] The statues of Zeus at Olympia and Athena inside the Parthenon were created by the Athenian Phidias, which gained him so much fame his expertise was sought after by other Greek city-states to build statues for them. Thomas R. Martin, *Ancient Greece: From Prehistoric to Hellenistic Times,* 121.

[48] Spawforth, 74, 78.

[49] John Pedley, *Sanctuaries and the Sacred in the Ancient Greek World*, 100.

[50] Herodutus, 1.183.1. One interpretation of the scene on the Parthenon's frieze is of a procession of citizens to present to Athena a new robe woven by specially selected Athenian girls. Martin, *Ancient Greece,* 120.

[51] While the epiphany-of-deity ceremony seems to have been a popular means of maintaining the "special there" status of deity and the important elements of separation and awe, Greek temples may not have always housed oversized statues and divine participation was not always accomplished with the epiphany-of-deity ceremony. The construction of ramps and a sensible flight of steps were also used to convey statues of deity out of the temple for processionals. (Spawforth, 74-75, 90, 103)

[52] Spawforth, 82.

[53] Ibid, 83.

[54] Ibid, 84-85.

[55] Ibid, 84.

[56] That pyramid-temples are thought to be analogous to mountains is not unreasonable, considering the common assumption that gods reside in the above and on high. The closest thing to the gods would have been hills and mountains, thus a choice place for contact, the reason sacred structures have been built there, and why the practice of offerings to idols in high places was so resistant to being wiped out by the kings of Israel and Judah. For more on temples as mountains see Jeff K. Kowalski, "Temple Complexes," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, 194-95.

ancient Maya temples or "god-houses" functioned similarly." To contemporary Ch'orti, dimness protects sacred objects and the favored places for supernatural contact are in dark rooms and dark places in the forest.[57] Among the pre-Hispanic Mexica, caves were thought to contain a special sacredness, and shrines and alters were placed there.[58] According to Heyden, at Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan, they were places of communication with the supernatural.[59] The Olmec's contact with deities in caves is amply represented in their art. Access to a cave (where the jaguar god lives) was through a jaguar's mouth. Figures (rulers, deities, or ancestors) are shown to emerge from a cave. One is shown seated on a throne in a cave.[60] Because darkness evokes emotive and cognitive responses characteristic of deity (the un-seeable and unknowable; the mysterious and fearful), it is naturally assumed caves would be considered sacred sanctuaries, and that the same setting would be duplicated in the innermost sanctuary of temples, where deity dwells—the effects of which are accentuated with a contrast of preceding light and openness.

The overview of temple architecture in the ancient Near Eastern world and that of the Greeks and the Mesoamericans reveals a common sequential process with common elements to make happen the desired interaction between the human and divine. Maintenance of the special nature of deity and, consequentially, the hierarchical structure of society, were preserved by incorporating the essential facets of selective approach, elevation, and separation. The process started with the separation of the all-important assembly of believers[61] into designated areas: in open courts for the Egyptians and Mesopotamians; in open plazas for the Mesoamericans, and for the Greeks, outside the temple core. Entreaties to deity required the submitting of offering and approach by a select few. The evocation of awe and submission on approach included the contrasting effects of low to high (elevation) and light to darkness, where deity resides.

The veiled affect

Sometimes in conjunction, sometimes as a part of temple architecture, a commonly used means to separate but accentuate the specialness of deity, yet proffering communication, lay in the "veiled effect." By way of example, in terms of personal physical reality, if someone occupies a shared space with someone or something else (in a room for example or outdoor area where they are in proximate vicinity) they are considered "here." If they are not within vicinity, but at a distance, they are considered "there." Yet, distance and vicinity become relative when a

[57] Karl Taube, "The Classic Maya Temple: Centrality, Cosmology, and Sacred Geography in Ancient Mesoamerica." *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, 90-91.

[58] Henry B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Archaeology of Northern Mesoamerica*, 438.

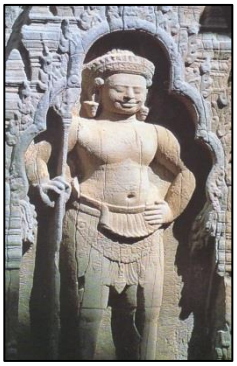
[59] Doris Heyden, "From Teotihuacan to Tenochtitlan: City Planning, Caves, and Streams of Red and Blue Water." *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, 171-72.

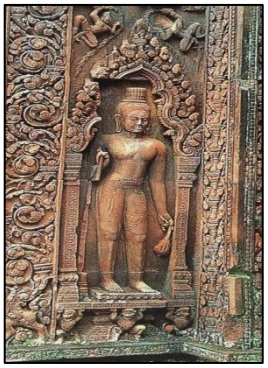
[60] Linda Manzanilla, "The Construction of the Underworld in Central Mexico." *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, 88-89.

[61] Who themselves may have been of rank i.e. non-slaves, family leaders, elders, craft guild heads, and so forth.

structure is made to surround something or someone. For example, if a pet within a room is playing freely about, that pet would probably be considered "here" with us. But, if in the same room, the pet is in a cage, it might be thought of as being "there." Thus, a structure of containment, however lightly or strongly built, with little or more concealment, can create a feeling of separation, or "veiled effect." Such effects are used in everyday life. Curtains separate audience from stage; a confessional screen separates confessor from priest; privacy screens divide space within rooms; partition panels create multiple offices; cordoned areas channel foot traffic at airports and separates crime or emergency scenes for police and firefighters; and glass on storefronts separates but allows the viewing of products within.

When it comes to consideration of divine nature, the concepts of "here" and "there" are also important. Since divine character is not of the present and not physical, but supernatural, it has to be "there." And the "there" is special, because the "here" represents the mutable foibles, travails, and trials involved in the personal present. A "special there" by virtue of the fact it is not "here," represents the possibility of a more or less qualitatively transcendent dimension, which, at the same time, by the nature of a sacred and special "there," will include the implication of a dimension transcending space and time, hence the idea of an eternal dimension where beings are able to accomplish supernatural feats the "special there" makes possible.[62] Architecturally, a special sacred place is built by means of the veiled effect, which creates automatic delineation between the "here" and "there." The niche made to hold statues of gods, saints, heroes, etc., also performs a similar function of creating a special place which draws attention and suggests the object contained within is unique and has or did have special attributes.





Niched Dvarapalas, Cambodia
(Permission: Jon Ortner)

[62] Rudolph Otto used the term *numinous* to describe a divine presence causing feelings of a "peculiar dread" (*tremendum*) which has a "paralyzing effect" and causes an "inward shuttering," and which has "something spectral in it" (13-14). At the same time, it causes an irresistible attraction *(fascinans)* in the believers of a divinity so different and so removed it is thus able to inspire (31-40, 52, 58-9, and 140-41). For the divinity described to have these qualities, a situation of removal from physical and human reality is necessary. This Otto describes as the "wholly Other" (25-30, 36, 49, 59, 65, 70, 72, 80, 82, 141, 167) ". . . which has no place in our scheme of reality but belongs to an absolutely different one . . ." (29). In spatial context, though, and as architectural feature, the "wholly Other" is removed from the "here" and put in a "special there" to be selectively viewed or experienced. Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*.

Thus to contain and retain the special nature of deity, the “there” has to be a “special there” of separated space, the semblance of which is created with any combined use of curtains, pillars, windows, walls, or doors containing the presence or image of deity. The veil thus built is a psychological marker, a physical delineation that tells the person on the outside the area delineated is superlatively special, meriting obeisance and awe. But, at the same time, being a veil, access to deity is suggested.

In the religious world, we see examples of the veiled effect in the tabernacle-like curtains of the Spanish monarch’s traverse, or the draped litter of the Aztec king or in the depiction of a Mayan divinity seated in a doorway on a monument in Copan, Honduras. In the Hebrew text, within the tent-like tabernacle, the most holy place of the holy presence is enclosed “inside the veil,” where approach is fatal unless ritual procedure of dress and sacrifice is strictly observed (Lev. 16:1-34). In Greek temples, the colonnaded perimeter itself becomes a veil delineating an imposing perimeter of authority, while at the same time suggesting access. Borrowing similar architectural motif, we see, in the Lincoln Memorial, an outer veil of perimeter columns and an inner sanctum, where the image of Lincoln resides.

Lincoln Memorial

Architecturally, a common theme of veiled effect is that of deity behind portal. Philistine cult stands and shrines imply a similar theme with anthropomorphic images behind doorways or within enclosures, suggesting an invitation for communication. That the stands and shrines are relatively small and portable bares a desire for access to deity.

Philistine Cult Figures

That the god resides within an enclosure but can be viewed creates opportunity for interaction, while maintaining a veil of separation preserving the character of deity as the god resides in a "special there." As noted, the Greek deity was revealed behind opened doors.[63]

South-Italian Vase Painting, 4th Century BC
Gilt statue of Apollo

At Tiwanaku, near the southern shore of Lake Titicaca in western Bolivia, similar psychology is displayed with surreal affect, where, built by pre-Incan people, the idealized statue of a deity standing behind a portal seems to reside in a far removed ethereal world, but not so far as to sever contact or request.

Deity Behind the Door at Tiwanaku

Unlike the practice of selective approach concerning the daily activity of ruler and the strict selective procedure involved in approaching the divine image, the

[63] Spawforth, *Complete Greek Temples*, 83-84.

architecture of the veiled effect puts more emphasis on a suggestion of separation. The effect accomplishes several things at once. Though ritual sorting appears absent, a cautionary suggestion of selective approach at the subconscious level filters certain feelings and thoughts from others, with awe and submission taking primary place. At the same time, distance is implied, in the sense the designated place thus veiled creates cognitive distance, because the deity is in a place occupying a "special there" and is removed from the viewer's reality. Yet, while the veiled effect accomplishes cognitive space and makes the occupier extra special, it allows at the same time a general viewing suggesting a desire and invitation on the part of deity for connection and communication.

Doors and gateways

To the ancient Egyptians, the symbolic value and probable assumptive reality of the door or gate itself is indicated in the plethora of terms describing them.[64] As Hundley relates, walls and doors are particularly important in relating a building's communicative strategy by delineating lines of separation and access.[65]

The doors and gateways of Sumerian temples were visually impressive, monumental structures. "Their appearance in the mythology, especially as part of divine itineraries, and their occurrence in cult practice suggest that movement through the gate may symbolize the transition from one part of the cosmos to the other." In Mesopotamian cosmology, the east and west gates of heaven were situated in the mountains at the horizon. These were used by the Sun-god Utu and the moon, stars, and planets to enter and exit the sky. The eastern gate enabled the sun to enter the visible sky, and the western gate allowed it to descend into the world of the dead. Several Sumerian myths dealing with journeys to the underworld required entrance through a gate. In the Inana Descent myth, Inana abandons her seven earthly cult centers gathers her divine powers and raiment to enter the world of the dead, depicted as a walled city, to witness the funerary rites of her sister's husband. On her journey, she must pass through seven gates and at each stop must give up part of her clothing or jewelry to gain access. But, in doing so, she is eventually stripped of her powers and ends up vulnerable and lifeless.[66] Besides the cosmological significance of gateways, they were important loci of protection (hence the placement of lion and bull figures at gateways) and recipients of ritual sacrifice during times of festival. Gates were also significant in funerary rituals. Sacrifices and offerings were given to a number of gates belonging to gods and past kings during the funeral ceremony of king Šu-Suen, evidently preparing the king for his entrance into the netherworld.[67] As to the delineating and separating value of gateways in the Sumerian world, Ragavan aptly states,

[64] Patricia Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study*, 179-216.
[65] Hundley, *Gods*, 6.
[66] Deena Ragavan, "Entering Other Worlds: Gates, Rituals, and Cosmic Journeys in Sumerian Sources," *Heaven on Earth,* 201-2, 204.
[67] Ibid, 208-12.

> In mythology, gates are used to symbolize the boundary between worlds: the visible and the invisible; the human and the divine; but most often the worlds of the living and the dead. . . A variety of sources indicate that gates of cities and temples were magically and ritually significant locations, demanding protection against evil influences and necessitating propitiatory measure to enable safe passage. . . If ritual is a performance intended to direct the gaze of its participants, then in this instance, I would argue that these sacrifices and offerings serve to underline the liminal status of the proceedings, emphasizing both movement (from one world to the next) and separation (by marking the boundary).[68]

Thus, while veiled, architecture is meant to create a purely cognitive/emotive statement depicting a separation of worlds, while at the same time suggesting a connection between worlds, since deity is open to view, doors, which can have symbolic value, are more utilitarian in allowing or barring physical entrance to a building. Unlike the veiled effect, which is a statement in itself, the door's statement is that it is a means to a greater statement; it is the threshold to something else and is important because, without it, one cannot get to the desired destination within. Therefore, the door has in itself the potential for symbolic value since it is an important and functional architectural feature and part of everyday life it is thus sometimes representatively adorned and featured in mythological narrative.

False doors

While doors were functional in channeling traffic into and within the temple, and were adorned with representative embellishments and used symbolically in mythical narrative, the false door's purpose, serving no practical function, was purely symbolic and cognitively suggestive, fulfilling the role of assumptive reality. They, therefore, will be considered separately from doors as an architectural feature of approach to deity.

[68] Ibid, 213.

In ancient Egypt, the prototype for false doors in the mastabas (free standing tombs)[69] of the Old Kingdom and in palaces and temples of the 11th dynasty may have originally come from common dwellings with stone slabs set in brick walls. It is suggested these were decorative. But, with any number of decorative options for the household and the door's lack of function, their purpose, like later ones, was symbolic, if not assumptive. Concerning their role, Arnold elaborates, "The false doors in the reception rooms of palaces and in dwelling houses creates the idea of the king's presence 'beyond' while the person in front performs royal functions . . . marking the exit from or his entrance to his otherworldly residence."[70] The false door was also a central feature in the 'houses of a million years' of the New Kingdom, which took over the function of the pyramid temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. With them the kings continued existence in the afterlife was assured in his assimilation with the house's cult god, where the door served as a portal through which the king's *ba* (soul) moved from his fictive palace to connect with the represented deity.[71]

Cambodian and Egyptian False Doors and Tiwanaku Portal
(Source: Cambodian Door, Jon Ortner)

Like Cambodian ones and some portal structures at Tiwanaka, a common characteristic to Egyptian false doors is a type of inset-layering. Starting from the exterior of the door moving in, larger squares and rectangles are offset with smaller ones. This draws the eye in, creating a sense of cognitive motion; a sort of "here to there" effect. In other words, the insets, by the virtue of their redundancy, create a suggestion of continuance toward what lies beyond, suggesting to a believer that, indeed, something or someone exists beyond the door ("the king's presence beyond"), the exact intention of the architect. Like Egyptian funerary rituals thought to help the deceased realize the afterlife, and so many of the ancient's ritualistic procedures thought to accomplish real tasks, the architectural feature of these doors represented an assumptive reality signifying real spiritual presence behind the door.

[69] Dieter Arnold, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, 138-40.
[70] Ibid, 90-91.
[71] Ibid, 90, 112-13.

Infinity in architecture

As we have seen, the use of light and darkness, doorways, walls, and columns within the temple complex were strategically incorporated to produce specific emotive response, not just of awe, but a sharing of divine character. While the nature of the divine my vary in the minds of adherents with more or less anthropomorphic attributes (for example, Near Eastern gods were human-like in their behavior and desires, but could change form and had super-human control over weather and destiny[72]), the main differentiating attribute of deity is the superlative infinite. Deity has to live on and on, since humans do not. And while the infinite characteristic of deity becomes the aim of humans, without it, deity would not exist. It is, therefore, a defining and necessary attribute. In temple architecture, the specialness of deity is represented with the veiled effect. But the infinite nature of deity was also epitomized by ancient architects. Lines of infinity or vanishing points have been known and utilized by artists and architects for some time, and similar results are affected by modern photographers with the endless reflection effect.

Lines of Infinity Effect in Art and Photography

Vanishing Points in Cambodian Temple Architecture
(Permission, Jon Ortner)

[72] Hundley, *Gods*, 363-64.

Similar to the false door with inset intervals suggesting inward movement, the structural use of lines of infinity in temple architecture were designed to create an ethereal effect of continuity and, by way of suggestion, confirm the divine presence. Architecturally, the continuous nature of deity is suggested with side-by-side repetition of like-designed, same-length sections separated by pillars and doorways. That each section mirrors the one before creates a perception of continuity. In Egyptian temple architecture at Khonsu, the floors were gradually raised, the ceilings lowered, and the aisles narrowed,[73] indicating lines of infinity feature. That this was incorporated by design suggests a purposeful intent to evoke a specific emotive response. In Cambodian temples, the use of vanishing points and the suggestion of infinity as architectural feature are clearly evident, and the plethora of repetitive doorways and infinity hallways, exceeding utility, suggests, like at Khonsu, a subliminal purpose. And while the connection between humans and deity cannot be direct, since a state of specialness is reliant on separation and a process of selection, the suggestion imbedded in lines of infinity provide another semblance of means for the individual to share in the experience of divine presence.

Conclusion

Beginning with the evolved condition of physical vulnerability of Homo-vulneare, dependency on others for survival was the natural result. The efficient process for task accomplishment, key to survival, required a cooperative hierarchical structure. Whether it was the early tasks of hunting and providing shelter or the later efforts at planting or building a pyramid, the efficient outcome of any sustained cooperative endeavor lends itself to the assumption of leadership roles. Thus community and its stratified nature are the direct results of the existential situation. With the idea of spirit, soul, and the afterlife established, the hierarchical structure of the spirit world naturally mirrored the hierarchical nature of community. As the superlative nature of rank and ruler-ship is maintained and magnified by the implementation of approach, separation, and elevation for humans, so it is towards deity, the superlative nature of which is made more effectual with a “special there” status, for which the temple served. Therefore, while temple architecture was designed to substantiate the superior nature of deity by winning subscription—through separation, selective approach, and elevation—it, at the same time, preserved the function of human ruler-ship, which garnered legitimation from deity.

Biographical Note

Patrick Scott Smith is a business owner, writer and independent scholar. He has been working on the facet of psychology in religion from an anthropological/existential point of view and has been presenting material for the AAR, ASOR and ASSR in the Central, Southwest and Southeast regions. He is also a member of the Missouri Academy of Science and presents his social-scientific views to that association as well. At present he is working on a manuscript (copyright, 2014) relevant to the anthropological/religious interests mentioned.

[73] Hundley, *Gods*, 29.

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Judges 19 as a Paradigm for Understanding and Responding to Human Trafficking

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Judges 19 contains a seldom read, let alone studied or discussed, story of misogyny, subjugation, rape, murder, and dismemberment. How to handle such atrocities in the Bible makes texts such as these difficult to address. Thirty years ago, Phyllis Trible labeled Judges 19 as one of the "texts of terror" in the Hebrew Bible (along with the stories of Hagar, Tamar, and the daughter of Jephthah).[1] Texts of terror tend to be avoided unless the reader can clearly separate the perpetrators of evil in the text from themselves. David Garber and Daniel Stallings have argued that the church must stop ignoring these sexually explicit texts "because the story of the Levite's concubine and the brutality contained therein speak vividly to issues of sexual violence that persist to this day. The silencing of sexually explicit biblical texts in American churches mirrors the silencing of issues of sexual violence in contemporary society."[2] Today's presentation will begin with a look at various approaches to exegesis of this text and then seek to show that we cannot exempt ourselves from this text of terror by applying the text to the twenty-first century problem of human trafficking, especially sex trafficking.

First, here is the story. A Levite (hence, an apparently important man) from the hill country of Ephraim took a concubine from Bethlehem. A concubine was a woman for a man's pleasure without even the legal protection of a wife, [3] although some would argue that the concubine in Judges 19 is not a "wife" at all, but a "mistress-type relationship."[4] The primary wife is not mentioned in this narrative, which lends a bit of irony to the story. The concubine left the Levite and returned to her father's house in Bethlehem, either because she committed adultery or because of some type of mistreatment of the Levite. The Hebrew text uses the verb *zanah*, which is normally translated "prostitute" or "fornicate." However, the Septuagint Greek Version uses the Greek verb *orgizo*, meaning "to be angry." This could suggest that she became angry or disgruntled and left him. The reason for the sexual unfaithfulness language in the Masoretic Text is unknown, although a couple of suggestions exist. Several interpreters have suggested a metaphorical meaning for "prostitution" or "sexual sin," much like Jeremiah and Hosea use the concept of sexual unfaithfulness as a metaphor for Israel and Judah's relationship with God.

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[1] Phyllis Trible, *Texts of Terror: Literary-Feminist Readings of Biblical Narratives*, Overtures to Biblical Theology (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 65-91.

[2] David G. Garber, Jr., and Daniel Stallings, "Awakening Desire Before It Is Season: Reading Biblical Texts in Response to the Sexual Exploitation of Children," *Review and Expositor* 105 (Summer 2008): 454.

[3] See Trent Butler, *Judges*, Word Biblical Commentary, Vol. 8 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009), 419, for full discussion of the meaning of "concubine."

[4] See Susan Ackerman, *Warrior, Dancer, Seductress, Queen: Women in Judges and Biblical Israel*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 236-237.

Thus, the act of leaving her husband was an act of unfaithfulness.[5] Since neither the Levite, the woman's father, nor the narrator ever mentions any act of unfaithfulness, the metaphorical reading seems justified, perhaps as an act of autonomy, as Ackerman suggests.[6] However, the reader soon learns that the woman had no autonomy.

As the story continues, four months after she left him, the Levite went after his concubine. He took with him two donkeys and a male attendant. After several days of hospitality and negotiation between the Levite and her father—with no input from the woman herself—the Levite left to return to Ephraim with his concubine. The journey began late in the day, so night was closing in before they reached their final destination. The attendant (or male servant) suggested that they stop in Jebus (= Jerusalem), but the Levite refused, preferring instead to get into the familiar territory of the tribe of Benjamin. One was better off with "brothers" than "strangers," after all. A bit further up the road, they entered the town of Gibeah. After no local resident offered hospitality, an Ephraimite who was living in Gibeah offered them the safety of his home (relative safety, as it turned out). After the men had settled in for the evening, some men of Gibeah came to the door demanding sexual pleasures from the stranger who had entered the house. The Ephraimite defended the rights of his guest, the Levite, by offering the men his own virgin daughter and the Levite's concubine for their pleasure, since it was an "outrageous thing" to abuse a visitor (a male that is). Cheryl Exum points out that male rape by another male would have been a "de-gendering" of the man.[7] The Levite threw his concubine to the men, who ravaged her all night. After being gang raped all night, the woman dragged herself to the threshold of the house, and there the Levite found her the next morning. He could not rouse her from her unconscious state, so he placed her on the donkey and made the trip home.

After he arrived home, the Levite took a knife[8] and dismembered her body. Interestingly, the Hebrew gives no clue whether the concubine was already dead when he took the knife and cut up her body. The LXX apparently assumed her death, and the Levite claims that she was dead in his explanation in the next chapter, to which we will soon turn. The Levite cut his concubine into twelve pieces to broadcast the sin of the Gibeahites to his own tribal relations. All the people who saw it (apparently those receiving the body parts) said, "Such a thing has never happened or been seen from the day that the people of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt until this day" (Judg 19:30 ESV). We will return to this statement later in the paper. However, a brief summary of the events of Judges 20-21 is necessary,

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[5] Jacqueline Lapsley, *Whispering the Word: Hearing Women's Stories in the Old Testament* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 37-38. See also Butler, 407, for this discussion.

[6] Ackerman, 237.

[7] Cheryl Exum, *Fragmented Women: Feminist (Sub)versions of Biblical Narratives*. JSOT Supplement Series, 163 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 183. See also Ken Stone, *Sex, Honor and Power in the Deuteronomistic History*, JSOT Supplement Series 234 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996), 81.

[8] Trible, 80, points out the parallel language with Abraham in Gen. 22, suggesting that the text may assume that she was not dead and that no one saved her from the knife, as Isaac was saved.

since as Jan Fokkelmann pointed out, Judges 19 cannot be read apart from Judges 20-21.[9]

In Judges 20, the Levite meets with the representatives of the recipients of the body parts for an explanation. The people of Israel gather at Mizpah to hear from the Levite, asking him "How did this evil thing happen?" The Levite's answer is important, I will quote it in its entirety:

> To Gibeah of Benjamin I came, me and my concubine, to spend the night. And the leaders (lit. lords) of Gibeah surrounded the house at night because of me. They intended to kill me, and my concubine they humiliated and she died. So I grabbed my concubine. I cut her into pieces, and I sent her to all the land of the inheritance of Israel. For they committed a shameful act—a foolish act—in Israel. Look here, you children of Israel, give your word—give counsel here.

This brief account given by the Levite warrants brief comment. First, the Levite leaves out several events found in the earlier narrative. He neglects to say that the men of Gibeah first tried to "humiliate" him and only took the concubine as a last resort. In fact, the same Hebrew word that the Levite uses—*nebalah* translated "foolish act" here—was used by the host in Judges 19 concerning the planned act against the Levite. Gale Yee comments, "The Levite manipulates the *real* outrage against his wife (which he himself caused) to exact retribution for the *attempted* outrage against himself. He could not reveal to the tribes that he was almost raped by dissolute men. He would have incurred dishonor and loss of prestige. Instead, he manipulates his relationship with a woman in order to maneuver his male relations to accomplish his personal vendetta against Gibeah."[10] More importantly, he neglects to tell his fellow Israelites that he himself had sent the concubine out to the men of Gibeah, choosing to have her humiliated rather than himself. Second, the Levite adds elements to the earlier narrative account. He calls the men of Gibeah "lords" or "leaders" (Hebrew *be'aley*). This could have the effect of making the attack an official act of the city, rather than a rabble as suggested by the original narrative account. He also states that the men "planned to kill" him, while the narrative states that they wanted sexual relations with him. Also, he adds in this report that his concubine "died" as a result of the attack. However, the previous narrative does not include her death (except in the LXX translation, probably a later addition to remove the possibility that the Levite actually killed the ravaged woman himself). The results of the Levite's report was both immediate and severe. The Israelites immediately began plans to punish the men of Gibeah for their evil deeds. However, when the people of the tribe of Benjamin refused to surrender the guilty men to the other

[9] Jan Fokkelmann, "Structural Remarks on Judges 9 and 19," in *"Sha'arie Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*, 33-45 (Winona Lake: IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 42.

[10] Gale Yee, "Ideological Criticism: Judges 17-21 and the Dismembered Body," in *Judges & Methods: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. Gale Yee (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 156.

Israelites, a civil war erupted and all the men of Benjamin were killed in the ensuing battles.

If the story ended with the rape of the concubine and subsequent destruction of the men of Benjamin, the results would be tragic. However, the actual end of the story is even worse. The Israelites were remorseful that an entire tribe was destroyed and decided that they needed women to repopulate Benjamin. Their solution to the loss of Benjamin's men was to conquer the town of Jabesh-Gilead—killing everyone except the virgin girls and women—and taking their virgins to repopulate Benjamin. Unfortunately, there were not enough virgins in Jabesh-Gilead for all the men of Benjamin, so virgins participating in a ritual celebration at Shiloh were kidnapped and given to the men of Benjamin. Thus, the punishment of Gibeah for the rape of the Levite's concubine was more rape. As Alice Keefe concludes, "there is an element of dark absurdity in both the horror of the woman's fate at the hands of the Levite and the horror of a war among the tribes which is to no purpose except mass death and more rape."[11] The tragic irony of this reality is an appropriate point of departure to discuss interpretive approaches to Judges 19-21.

Because sex trafficking is a relatively new issue in the social just discussions, no major study of the Book of Judges makes reference to the 21st century human trafficking problems in reference to the events of Judges 19. Several current studies have focused on the topic of rape in the Hebrew Bible. Alice Keefe's study, "Rapes of Women/Wars of Men," leads the way. She points out that the Hebrew word translated above as "foolish act" is also found in the narratives of the rapes of Dinah in Gen. 34 and Tamar in 2 Sam. 13.[12] Other emphases for interpretation include homosexuality, hospitality, and gender inequality. Although some recent interpreters continue to emphasize a condemnation of homosexuality in Judges 19, this does not seem to be the point of the text,[13] but a side issue. In fact, Michael Carden argues that a man penetrated by another man demasculinizes the man, causing the man to lose his position as a male in the male-dominated society.[14] Thus, while gender inequality is certainly a significant interpretive matter in the text, homosexuality is probably tangential to the text. The role of hospitality is important to the text, since the Ephraimite host in Gibeah offers his virgin daughter and the Levite's concubine to maintain the honor of his guest. We will return to this topic later in the study. The studies of Trible, Exum, and Ackerman argue that the primary interpretive issue in Judges 19 (interestingly with little interest in Judges 20-21) is the subjugation of women in ancient Israelite culture. In fact, Ackerman states that the "entire plot concerns the concubine's inability to exert any control over her own fate."[15] That the

[11] Alice Keefe, "Rapes of Women/Wars of Men," *Semeia* 61 (1993): 92.

[12] Ibid., 82. See also Richard Davidson, *Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 521-522.

[13] See, for example, K. Lawson Younger, Jr., *Judges/Ruth*, NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), 359-366; Daniel Block, *Judges, Ruth*, The New American Commentary (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1999), 536-537, 542-545.

[14] Michael Carden, "Homophobia and Rape in Sodom and Gibeah: A Response to Ken Stone," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 82 (1999): 86. See also Ken Stone, "Gender and Homosexuality in Judges 19: Subject-Honor, Object-Shame?," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 67(1995): 87-107.

[15] Ackerman, *Warrior, Dancer*, 237.

inequality of gender is important in reading this text—and exegeting the ancient culture—is without debate, but these authors probably do overstate the "entire plot" of the story. The events represent the downfall of a society, the lack of *shalom* in a community, or a "Canaanization"[16] of Israel, where "there is no king and every one does as he sees fit" (Judges 21:25). One might argue that "every one does as he sees fit" is an appropriate description of modern western culture, with human trafficking an example of this characteristic.

So, we now finally address the purpose of this presentation. How do these events mirror modern human trafficking, and more explicitly sex trafficking? First, as Mitzi Smith wrote in one of the few studies that connects Judges 19 with human trafficking, "travel or journey provides a … framework for … the story."[17] Much of modern trafficking is predicated on the ability of traffickers to transport victims across borders or just across town, normally in circumstances where the victim's travel rights are limited. Typically, this travel often begins with "dreams of a better and different life."[18] The concubine fled from her husband to her father, presumably for a better life. Smith compares the plight of the runaway wife to the 1-3 million runaways on America's streets—the country's most vulnerable population. In the end, however, her travel was restricted by both her father and the Levite. Her father negotiated her back to her husband, and she again travelled. This travel, unfortunately, was completely in the control of her husband. Even as she lay at the threshold, the Levite continued her journey. As Smith commented, "The young woman's terror in the night will not interfere with the Levite's business in the day."[19] Carried even further, her final travel incited a retributory war—even after she was dead and dismembered.

A second similarity between the Judges 19 concubine and sex trafficking victims is anonymity. Actually, all of the characters in the story are anonymous, but the concubine is anonymous, hidden, and silent. She is the only character in the story that never speaks. Keefe states, "Her narrative silence points to the eclipse of any speaking of truth in the midst of this black and bloody comedy."[20] In her silence, the concubine seems to be the only person in the narrative with no identity of her own. In comparison, a modern sex trafficking victim from Cambodia testified that:

> I want you to remember we are not "problems," we are not animals, we are not viruses, we are not garbage. We are flesh, skin and bones; we have a heart, and we have feelings. We are a sister to someone, a daughter, a granddaughter. We are people, we are women, and we want to be treat (sic) with respect, dignity. And we want rights like the rest of you enjoy.[21]

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[16] Block, *Judges, Ruth*, 518-519.

[17] Mitzi J. Smith. "Reading the Story of the Levite's Concubine Through the Lens of Modern-day Sex Trafficking," *Ashland Theological Journal* 41 (2009), 17.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 26.

[20] Keefe, "Rapes of Women," 92.

[21] Kevin Bales and Zoe Trodd, eds., *To Plead Our Own Cause: Personal Stories by Today's* Slaves (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 2008), 103, quoted in Smith, "Reading the Story," 19.

The term "invisible"[22] is often used to describe victims of human trafficking. In fact, a recent documentary on sex trafficking was entitled, "In Plain Sight," because these victims are invisible, even in plain sight.[23] The concubine—like modern sex-trafficking victims—was invisible, except when the men wanted her seen.

This brings into view the third similarity in our story to modern human trafficking—patriarchalism. As Mitzi Smith pointed out, the concubine's "victimization is concealed behind ideas of patriarchal normalcy."[24] In the ancient near east, as in most of the world today, men have authority, power, and often authorization to abuse and traffic women.[25] In Judges 19, the reader sees that "hospitality occurs among men."[26] Andrew Ng has suggested, in fact, that "the rape and murder of the concubine is meant … to indict the patriarchal system and to expose the entrenched sinfulness of the *men*—fathers and husbands who are supposed to function as guardians," but have "renounced this vital role for cowardly self-preservation."[27] Men need not be bothered with the women or servants. When the "brothers" in Gibeah come for the Levite, two women are offered by the host in his place. As Smith stated, "an acceptable substitute for sexually ravishing one man is the offering up of two women."[28] The Levite subjugated and oppressed the concubine and clearly had no problem with other men doing the same—and worse. As Trible stated, the male who could have been protector becomes the procurer.[29] Stone has pointed out that the honor of the man was at least partially dependent upon his ability to control the women in his care—and under his control.[30] In the same way, modern human traffickers control and subjugate victims in this system of patriarchal normalcy. Furthermore, in many family systems (especially in non-western countries, but not exclusively) fathers and brothers in authority over women in the family will sell or trade women into sex-trafficking.[31]

Finally, and not unrelated to the patriarchal issue, in both Judges 19 and modern human trafficking, the myth of familiarity and homogeneity hides the realities of pain, rape, abuse, and treachery. The concubine's father would not protect her. The host in Gibeah would not protect her. The Levite would not protect her. At the end of the night, she is left lying sprawled before the door of safety, behind which all the men slept, prompting one writer say state, "the Knights in Shining Armor inside the house were snoring."[32] In modern trafficking, familiarity often hides trafficking. Modern-day sex traffickers place themselves in relationships with victims, and

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[22] Smith, "Reading the Story," 19.

[23] Noah Lamberth and David Trotter, "In Plain Sight: Stories of Hope and Freedom," documentary DVD, 2014.

[24] Ibid.

[25] This statement does not reflect ignorance of the fact that many trafficked individuals are male.

[26] Smith, "Reading the Story," 26.

[27] Andrew Hock-Soon Ng, "Revisiting Judges 19: A Gothic Perspective," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 32, no. 2 (2007): 201.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Trible, *Texts of Terror*, 74.

[30] Stone, "Gender and Homosexuality," 95.

[31] See Smith, "Reading the Story," 19-20, for example.

[32] E. T. A. Davidson, *Intricacy, Design, & Cunning in the Book of Judges* (np: XLibris, 2008), 176.

potential victims, that appear to be caring, loving relationships. They pretend to love the victims in order to place the victims in positions of vulnerability.[33] Children are pimped by their parents. Women are sold by brothers and husbands. Behind the façade of familiarity lies a web of deceit and destruction.

At the end of the story in Judges 19, the concubine is literally cut into pieces, perhaps symbolizing the destruction that had already occurred in her life. As Trible points out, she has no one to mourn for her. "Passing her back and forth among themselves, the men of Israel have obliterated her totally. Captured, betrayed, raped, tortured, murdered, dismembered, and scattered—this woman is the most sinned against."[34] As Garber and Stallings write, "her broken body communicates far more than her words ever could have expressed: *The nation of Israel is in chaos and something must be done*."[35] Like the concubine's broken body, the oppressed, wounded, and devastated bodies of victims of sex-trafficking in the 21st century cry out. Christine, a survivor who was born into sex slavery in Minnesota, wrote these words:

> It is no small achievement to survive sexual slavery. Survivors are split into pieces, fragmented, broken, filled with despair, pain, rage, and sorrow. We have been hurt beyond belief. We are silent; we are numb. Our eyes see, our ears hear, but we do not tell. Our voices are nonexistent, but even if they did exist, who would believe what we have to say? Who would listen? Who would care? We are dirty, ruined, despised, the whores of the earth. The men who use us throw us away. We are their garbage to piss on, to pile up in the corner. We are their property, they own us. The rest of you turn your backs, avert your eyes, pretend not to see, go on your way. You leave us to the predators.[36]

This quote from a survivor slaps us in the face with a third question: what can we do? First, we can recognize that the conclusion of the Judges narrative is incorrect. The narrator said, "Such a thing has not happened or been seen" before. This statement is simply untrue. These scenes have been repeated for millennia. In scripture, Dinah was raped. Tamar was raped. Jephthah's daughter was sacrificed. The concubine was raped and murdered. The virgins of Jabesh-Gilead and Shiloh were kidnapped and raped, even if in culturally sanctioned marriages. We must stand up for the victimized.

Second, we must recognize the evil as evil. What masquerades as *shalom* is actually evil. The men of the story saw life as *shalom*. The concubine knew better, but those in power were saying with the false prophets of Jeremiah's day, "Shalom, shalom," but as Jeremiah retorted, "There is not shalom here" (Jer. 6:14). As Garber and Stallings concluded, "In a society where women and children are becoming the victims of horrible violence at an alarming rate, all is not well."[37] We must speak up

[33] Smith, "Reading the Story," 22-24.
[34] Trible, *Texts of Terror*, 81.
[35] Garber and Stallings, 454.
[36] Bales and Trodd, eds., 101, quoted in Smith, "Reading the Story," 28.
[37] Garber and Stallings, 466.

for the silenced, for the oppressed, for the victimized. Our world, like that of the Levite and concubine, is broken and filled with evil. We must speak the truth into this world.

Third, to quote Trible, "We must take counsel to say 'Never again.' Yet this counsel is itself ineffectual unless we direct our hearts to that most uncompromising of all biblical commands, speaking the word not to others but to ourselves: Repent. Repent."[38] This repentance must include a confrontation of the evil. No one came to the defense of the concubine. She could get to the threshold of safety but never over that threshold. Lapsley concludes:

> The narrator [of Judges 19] gently encourages us to read this story so that we will evaluate the actions of the characters, yes, but also, and equally importantly, so that we will enter sympathetically into the experience of these characters, to sit and weep and cry out with the Israelites, because they are us.[39]

Yes, the Levite, concubine, father, Ephraimite host, and Gibeahites are us. And the experience of the concubine is the experience of millions of women in our world—even in the "enlightened west."[40] We must act! To remain ignorant and living in blissful (and sinful) ignorance cannot suffice any longer. The expectations of the biblical Creator and the Son Jesus are clear: Care for the oppressed and the captive and the helpless. Repent! And repentance must include action!

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[38] Trible, *Texts of Terror*, 87.
[39] Lapsley, *Whispering the Word*, 66.
[40] Ibid.

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Religion and Social Destiny: A Postmodern Analysis

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" Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of mankind is man.
Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise, and rudely great:
With too much knowledge for the sceptic side,
With too much weakness for the stoic's pride,
He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast;
In doubt his mind or body to prefer;
Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,
Whether he thinks too little, or too much:
Chaos of thought and passion, all confus'd;
Still by himself abus'd, or disabus'd;
Created half to rise, and half to fall;
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all…

--Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man [from Epistle 2]* (1732)

Introduction

The postmodern condition may be aptly and simply defined (in Hegelian[1] terms) as "a state of existence where every *thesis* is valid and so too is every *antithesis*." It is also worth noting that the *synthesis* (the outcome of the dualist conflict between *thesis* and *antithesis*) of Hegel's dialectic does not ever materialize unto itself, as whatever transpires as the result of a dialectical conflict simply and immediately assumes its place as the most recent reigning paradigm—a new thesis to which an antithetical equal arises anew.

[1] Georg Wilhelm Frederich Hegel (1770-1831) German philosopher and graduate of Tübingen Stift seminary, well-known for his Hegelian dialectic, an ongoing process of conflict and change over time, characterized by three components, "thesis, antithesis, synthesis". He was labeled "the Protestant Aquinas" by Karl Barth and his ideas were adopted by both Right Hegelians (politically-conservative Protestants) and Left Hegelians (atheists and political revolutionaries [like Karl Marx]).

As Alexander Pope[2] demonstrates in his (above) work, *An Essay on Man* (1732), not only is human existence imperfect, it is characterized by a series of paradoxical and competing dualisms reminiscent of the religious underpinnings of the Gnostic tradition that oddly, also provide some epistemological foundation for postmodernist theory. In fact, if dualism is the order of all things universal, then perhaps postmodernity is not a new or contemporary schema or even a recent (d)evolution, but has always functioned (under other guises) as the base determinant of all social conflict, change, and reordering in the Hegelian tradition. And, if the dualism that governs everything in an imperfect universe—also a derivation from the Gnostic tradition—then *religion* (or one of its derivatives) has generally always been the central catalyst to social destiny—all dialectical systems, all history, all evolution, even the fate (or for that matter, *the end*) of humanity itself. A common postmodern logical derivation might be that the concept of *morality* cannot exist without an accompanying *immorality*, thereby validating *immorality* as necessary (and thus, supportable—even in some ways, promotionally so) toward the righteous differentiation between them. In other words, moralists, ethicists, and others must acknowledge and even to some degree, encourage that which they abhor, as doing so justifies, validates, and allows them to separate themselves (as Durkheim[3] posited) from those who adhere to oppositional beliefs, ideas, positions, and practices. Furthermore, can the terms *moral* or *ethical* even be defined (for a singular and definitive meaning of either requires the acknowledgement of potential alternative meanings for both)?

Consequently, the "postmodern condition" is often defined as the evolution of society beyond the maturity and decline of the industrial revolution featuring the following characteristics: a) virtually unlimited alternatives (or a condition of incessant choosing); b) uncertainty and insecurity; c) individuality; d) the fragmentation, deconstruction, and reconstitution of the social structure in varied or unique forms; and, e) the powerful influence of all social processes by mass media messaging.

But, when was world history <u>not</u> guided by these prominent influences? It may very well be that in the quest to identify "the postmodern condition" all that was recognized and defined was simply the perpetual social forces that have always steered social evolution and the concept of "postmodernity" is neither new nor unique. In fact, every dialectical stage of history theoretically had its own "postmodern" condition, as while "modernity" today may be defined as industrial society, "modernity" then would have been defined much differently—and what transpired after the most "modern" economic pinnacle of every epoch would have been seen as their "postmodern" age—the causation of which has remained relatively consistent throughout history, and one where *religion* has always been the driving force behind the generic concept of human *progress*, for better or worse.

[2] Alexander Pope (1688-1744) was a Catholic 18th century English poet and essayist best known for his satirical verse and translation of Homer. He was a prominent Enlightenment philosopher and social critic.

[3] Refers to Emile Durkheim's "functions of deviance", in this case, "separation of right from wrong".

The Law of Human ~~Progress~~ Sameness

Auguste Comte[4] (1798-1857) attempted to "restore order" to society in the aftermath of the French Revolution by seeking to establish an equivalency argument between the old religious orders of history and the new Enlightenment Era secular ideas of science, order, and progress.

By paralleling the development of religious evolution (expressed as the transition: fetishism→polytheism→monotheism) to the evolution of the sciences (expressed as the transition: metaphysics→polyscience→monoscience), Comte sought to establish the science of sociology as the new "science of all the sciences" and further, as a "religion of humanity" (or, humanity worshipping itself). As both religion (the thesis) and science (the antithesis) followed the same general pattern of development, Comte contended that religion and science were actually the same thing (and had always been), just with new names and fresh perspective—and for lack of a better expression, certainly a postmodern interpretation of faith. Of course, just as Jesus Christ (and His Crucifixion) had been the figure and catalyst responsible for the development of Christianity, Comte came to believe he was the new messiah that would unite and bring order to the world under his new religion of humanity (now known as sociology). His utopian socialist ideals to equivocate what he believed were "archaic faiths" with modernity and science would not be widely accepted (and in intellectual circles he suffered his own crucifixion to say the least). Still, he recognized that religion was so critically important to the spread of ideas, outcomes, and social progress that he had to cloak science (and himself) in clerical robes.

The Theory of Dialectical and Historical ~~Materialism~~ Religion

Another convenient starting point for exploring the idea that every social destiny has been a religious evolution featuring postmodern forces is a reevaluation of Karl Marx's "Theory of Dialectical and Historical Materialism".[5] What initially appears in Marx's dialectical progression to be a lengthy history of economic exploitation of downtrodden laborers by their wealthy and powerful masters (the haves versus have-nots) is actually a history of how the idea of religion has determined history and the state of all things. To Marx, economic history <u>is</u> religious history—from the Pharaohs who established themselves as earthly gods with their attendant slaves (who volunteered in many cases to serve and please them), to the feudal lords (and Catholic hierarchy that stressed God's order of authority from Pope to king to lord, all deriving their power in that order from God above who coerced serfs to comply and remain holy to their roles and masters), to the Bourgeoisie owners of the means of production exploiting the proletariat labor class, and in many

[4] French polymathic intellectual, considered the Father of Sociology.

[5] Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German historian and economist who was known as a Young Hegelian, although a "Left" Hegelian. His dialectical progressions of history and economy are highly critical of religion and prompting him to conclude that atheism was a necessity for the establishment of a classless society as religion had always been employed by the elites of society to exploit labor. The concept of "dialectical materialism" first emerges from Marx's work, *Capital: A Critique of the Political Economy* (first pub. 1867).

cases, their often deeply instilled Protestant values of hard work, sinless living, achieving Heavenly (not Earthly) reward, turning the other cheek when wronged, and encompassing the doctrine of forgiveness.

It is why Marx saw religion as a fatal impediment to the end of economic exploitation and the establishment of a classless society based upon his socialist ideal, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need."[6] It also prompted Marx to declare that "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people."

And, "We created God in our own image…" and it is nothing more than a source of comfort (or Lenin's, "spiritual booze", as he termed it) for the oppressed working classes. Not unlike Comte before him, Marx believed that the foundation of every society was theism, so it was not surprising that he established a systematic atheism involving the worship of ideological socialism and classlessness as a suitable replacement for traditional religion. He too believed that God was collective humanity that should worship itself.[7] God, after all, had been created by the powerful elites of society to exploit others for selfish materialistic gains throughout history and Marx willed to design a theology that would allow the inescapable function of religion in society but one that would allow the development, adoration, and eventual worship of his communist ideal—a new, (and again) postmodern kind of systematic theology reflected by quotes such as this:

> "Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind."[8]

Marx's friend, financier, and co-founder of Marxist thought, Friedrich Engels, even sounded more postmodern after reading Hegel, that he proposed three laws of dialectics: a) the law of unity and conflict of opposites; b) the law of the passage of quantitative changes into qualitative changes; and c) the law of the negation of the negation.[9] On the other hand, as observed by James Doull in his paper entitled, "Hegel's *Phenomenology* and Postmodern Thought", dialectical laws are not necessarily "either-or" as

[6] Slogan first used by French socialist politician Louis Blanc in 1851 and popularized by Karl Marx in his work, *Critique of the Gotha Program* (1875)

[7] "Marxist Theology—Athiesm." Accessed 2/24/2015. <http://www.allaboutworldview.org/marxist-theology.htm>

[8] *The Communist Manifesto, Chapter 1.* Accessed 2/24/2015.
< https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.

[9] Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) was a friend and contemporary of Marx. His dialectical laws are found in his unfinished work, *Dialectics of Nature* (1883).

people, in reality, live in both simultaneously, giving rise to the perpetual uncertainly and limitless choice indicative of human existence.[10]

The Gnostic Holocaust and Medieval Catholicism (and its Demise)

While Marx used the Hegelian dialectical method to construct his "Theory of Dialectical and Historical Materialism", he proclaimed that his dialectical method was itself in opposition to Hegel's. He claimed that Hegel's process turns "the Idea" into its own entity—the "demiurgos" of the real world (referring to the imperfect creator god of the Gnostics)--the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea". Marx's ideal becomes the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into thought.[11]

It is believed the Gnostic tradition in Christianity predates Catholicism and dates back to the 1st century. Its varying forms, beliefs, and sects throughout its history display such variety that Gnosticism was at best, deeply fragmented. Because of its regional and doctrinal differences, great Gnostic unity never materialized leaving it susceptible to marginalization and persecution from the expansive, larger, more hierarchical, and all-powerful Roman Catholic Church.

Gnostic dualism advanced the belief that there was a true God who could only be experienced internally and another—the imperfect creator god (the "demiurge") that created the flawed universe and the non-divine human world. Centuries before the medieval period, Gnostic dualism had already been declared heresy by the Catholic order, but continued to persist in enclaves throughout Europe. By the beginning of the 13th century, Catholic bishops, who were the "wildly wealthy" political and spiritual rulers of the time, had unified (often forcibly) all disparate Christian churches under its centralized doctrine. However, Gnosticism still provided one of the few alternatives to Catholicism, and despite being pushed underground, their numbers continued to increase presenting a perceived but growing threat to Catholicism.[12]

The case of the Gnostic Cathars probably provides the best example of the Roman Church's reaction to what was concluded to be a burgeoning revolt. In 1209, Pope Innocent III (who had decreed just after his ascension in 1198 that all political power emanates from the Papacy[13]) ordered hundreds of thousands of Crusaders to Cathar villages in the south of France to slay everyone present and raze the

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[10] Doull, James. "Hegel's *Phenomenology* and Postmodern Thought." *Animus* 5 (2000) p. 19. Accessed 2/24/2015. <http://www2.swgc.mun.ca/animus/Articles/Volume%205/doull5a.pdf>.

[11] Stalin, J. V. *Dialectical and Historical Materialism.* Accessed 2/24/2015. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1938/09.htm>.

[12] Scott, Lindsey. *Gnosticism in the Medieval Church". Accessed 2/24/2015.* < *http://people.opposingviews.com/gnosticism-medieval-church-8458.html>.*

[13] Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216) was the most significant pope of the Middle Ages. In his *Letter to the Prefect Acerbius and the Nobles of Tuscany* [1198] decreed that here are "two great dignities in the firmament of the universal church..., the greater on to rule the day, that is, souls, and the lesser to rule the night, that is, bodies. These dignities are the papal authority and the royal power. Now just as the moon derives its light from the sun and is indeed lower than it in quantity and quality, in position and in power, so too the royal power derives the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical authority..." (Source: *Medieval Sourcebook*)

countryside, bringing lasting infamy to the phrase, "Kill them all. God will recognize His own."[14]

The Albigensian Crusade, as it was known, lasted for decades, followed by an Inquisition to root out, convert, or execute any remaining believers, eventually resulting in the total annihilation of the formerly powerful Cathari resistance as well as all copies of their texts and manuscripts. Gnostic sects who managed to persist adhering to their traditional beliefs in secrecy would actually re-emerge to be among the first so-called Protestant sects.[15]

With the annihilation of the Cathars and the elimination or marginalization of other Gnostic sects, the Catholic Church had established a *de facto* monopoly on faith in Europe by the 14th century. Just over a hundred years later, Johannes Gutenberg[16] would develop the mechanical moveable type printing press (around 1439—the first invention of mass production and communication that would characterize the entire Industrial Revolution) and the serendipitous development that would come to define a new age of religious revolution.

Gutenberg's printing press was not invented, developed, and perfected (as has been commonly thought) to provide a means of mass producing Bibles due to a shortage of scribes or an excessive demand for the books for the expansion of Catholic parochial education and outreach. But, it did revolutionize the process. Marshall McLuhan commented that with the Gutenberg printing press, "print culture brought about the cultural predominance of the visual over the aural or oral" which changed the medium, and thus the message at the time.[17] Or, as English Protestant John Foxe proclaimed, with regard to media attacks (printed materials, ballads, pictures, plays, etc.), "Either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing must at length root him out".[18]

Parochial education transformed from the training of priests and nuns to educating the masses, albeit in church doctrine, reading, writing, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The problem was that as the Catholic Church succeeded in teaching more people these admirable qualities, there was never a guarantee that the only thing they would read was the Catholic Bible or what they would write or debate were supportive of Catholic doctrine. It is often proclaimed that "a little education is a dangerous thing" and so it was for the Catholic hierarchy.[19]

Needless to say, the great antithesis known as the Reformation was about to begin.

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[14] Scott, Lindsey. *Op cit.*

[15] Scott, Lindsey. *Op cit.*

[16] Johannes Gutenberg (1398-1468) was a German blacksmith and goldsmith who developed the first moveable type printing press, considered by many scholars to be the most significant invention of the modern age as it influenced and served as a catalyst for the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightment, scientific revolution, and eventually the Industrial Revolution. It was the first invention of mass production and its impact is still being experienced in the era of postmodern mass communication and information technologies.

[17] McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

[18] Briggs, Asa and Burke, Peter. *Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009. p. 63.

[19] "Convent Schools" Accessed 2/24/2015. <http://www.faqs.org/childhood/Ch-Co/Convent-Schools-Cathedral-Schools.html>.

The Protestant Ethic and ~~Spirit~~ Paradox of Capitalism

Max Weber's, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism* (1904-05)[20] explores the transition from the agrarian feudal order of the authoritarian Catholic tradition to modernity (commonly defined as the Industrial Revolution). According to Weber, industrial capitalism evolved in Europe (specifically, Germany and Britain) and recognized that the more Protestant the area, the more the new industrial economy took root. America, for instance, developed almost exclusively as a Protestant colony and thus, developed their industrial economy and capitalist economy in the purest form possible. Weber's general theory employs the use of a method known in sociology as *Verstehen*, or "understanding". He examines the macro, dissects it to ever more micro levels over and over, until he reaches the individual level of daily experience, altruism, and empathy.

The theory begins with the first great Reformer, Martin Luther. Known for his "ninety-five theses", or points of disagreement with the mother Church, Luther was excommunicated (more or less), gathered his following, and formed what came in time to be called the Lutheran faith. He contributed a pivotal concept into the new Protestant doctrine, known as "the calling"—a God-given role for all to perform on Earth. Regardless of occupation or situation, God made it happen, and one always wants to please God. Translating to the value of *hard work* found in what came to be known as the Protestant Work Ethic, it set the stage for the rejection of idleness and promoted industrious behavior.

John Calvin (1509-1564), Protestant reformer in France and Switzerland (with deep influences in Scotland, England, the Netherlands, Germany, and America) introduced the concept of "predestination"—the notion that one's eternity, whether elected to Heaven or condemned to Hell, is decided prior to one's birth. This notion was a brilliant stroke of reverse psychology if nothing else. No one knew their eternal fate, and it was most important that one must be *saved*, so to demonstrate to oneself and to others that one was among the chosen, all worldly behaviors must reflect that one must be among the chosen. If there was any doubt of God's approval for one's choice of behavior, it simply was avoided. The practice of *sinless living* became a norm. And, to insure that the traditional Seven Deadly Sins were averted, the notion of *frugality* emerged as essential. Non-indulgence in luxuries, contentment with necessities only, insured the avoidance of *pride, envy, gluttony,* and *avarice*, while *predestination* prevented *anger* and *lust*. One's calling insured against *idleness* or *sloth.* Hard work, the production of quality products sold at a fair price insured a successful business model. Frugality insured tight budgets and savings of profits. The *calling* insured money only be spent to enhance one's calling, and so a cycle of investment and reinvestment into one's vocation evolved into a capitalist economic system giving birth, in time, to the Industrial Revolution.

But that which began as a religious doctrine to prevent the deadly sins, emerged as a postmodern quandary and a dialectical certainty. Success in one's calling translates to profits and wealth which can best be enhanced by controlling

[20] Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Routledge, 1992. [orig. pub. 1905].

production costs, especially that of labor. When the concepts of exploitation and excessive profits enter into the economic discussion of capitalism, success in one's *calling* begins to look amazingly like greed—and the original Protestant values that were intended to prevent the deadly sin eventually become the very social forces responsible for its inevitable commission. When spiritual values tailored to the avoidance of sin eventually result in industrious actions, behaviors, and practices that can be labeled, sinful, unethical, or immoral, a kind of dialectical and value redefining process has surely occurred that sounds remarkably like what is labeled "the postmodern condition".

As economic materialism in the post-Darwinist age of evolutionary naturalism became the dominant perspective in America and parts of Western Europe, it was only a matter of time until the Protestant-induced era of industrial capitalism would begin to meet its demise. A shift was about to begin marking the decline of tradition (including denominational religions) in favor of earthly pursuits and social and political cause-based venerations, whether they be ideological or utopian, spawning collective movements, touting reliance on government, or by taking direct action (such as attempting to solve social problems such as civil rights, war, poverty, and the environment).

"True-believers"[21] of such movements and social dedications can well be described as "practicing" forms of postmodern pseudo-religions (not unlike Marx's "atheism" which could technically be a "religion") [i.e. belief in nothing] or the worship of humanity and the collective state which he described as "communism" (i.e. the earthly heaven for all).

The ~~Principle~~ Fatalism of Inertia (or, It's Hard to Stop a Speeding Train—but it Eventually Does—One Way or Another)

Whether using the dominance of Catholicism during the feudal eras of agrarianism, or the emergence of Protestantism and subsequent Industrial Revolution, or the rise of Marxist anti-capitalist ideals and socialistic atheism as examples—all are historical movements rooted in religious faith, with specific ideals and value systems that diffuse across groups of people, carrying specific doctrines with some form of universal medium in messaging, often directed by one or only a few individuals, that create a condition of *inertia* that could only be dissipated by an eventual, but equally powerful dialectical change that launches civilization into a new epoch (or cycle of inertia). This endless process always seems to follow a pattern of growth→dominance→dissatisfaction/disillusionment→alternative→collapse and replacement→growth→dominance…and so forth.

Catalysts always intervened to undermine the existing order—like the printing press and parochial education during Catholic domination in Europe, early Protestant values leading to eventual sins of pride and greed, atheism and socialist revolution deconstructing the traditional order to the point of near amorality, and promoting a lack of structure and certainty, and deviant behavior, often as an alternative to tradition…(i.e. marijuana and other illegal drug use, establishment of new forms of marriage and family, etc.), that incurred massive and unrepayable

[21] Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer*. New York: Harper, 1951.

public debts. (In sociology, this is often referred to as "path dependence", or as scholar James Mahoney describes the condition, it occurs when a contingent historical event triggers a subsequent sequence that follows a relatively deterministic pattern.)[22]

Other Examples and Some Final Observations

The cited examples of historical evolution discussed thus far, demonstrating that religion has been the central driving force of history causing dialectical evolution and creating cycles of history also demonstrate that the characteristics of postmodernity have always been extant in human societies, especially regarding the social institution of communication and media. These characteristics and observations are common and not limited to just a few theorists, and are simply most observed in today's post-industrial, post-structural (or postmodern) society.

These same patterns are seen in the works of Nietzsche, in his *transvaluation of all values*[23] perhaps being the best example. They are observed in Durkheim's *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*.[24] They are dissected at length by Vilfredo Pareto in *The Mind and Society*,[25] especially when discussing human *residues* and *sentiments*, as well as his theoretical model known as *the circulation of elites*.[26] And, they are certainly explored by Oswald Spengler in his megahistorical *magnum opus*, *The Decline of the West*.[27]

When universal dualism, coupled with the cyclical and dialectical nature of society, and the characteristics of postmodernity and "the human need to believe in something"[28] (i.e. religion or spiritualism or highly-principled social causes) all considered simultaneously, some common threads emerge concerning human history but the most important is the common factor of *the media*.[29]

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[22] Mahoney, James. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology". *Theory and Society* (29: 4). Pp. 507-48.

[23] Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Antichrist*. New York: Penguin, 1990. [orig. pub. 1888].

[24] Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary forms of Religious Life.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1915 [orig. pub 1912].

[25] Pareto, Vilfredo. The Mind and Society. [*Trattato di Sociologia Generale*]. New York: Harcourt, 1935. [orig. pub. 1916].

[26] Piyra, Rashmi. *Pareto's Circulation of Elites: Characteristics and Criticisms*. Accessed 2/24/2015. <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/paretos-circulation-of-elites-characteristics-and-criticisms/43779/>.

[27] Spengler, Oswald. *The Decline of the West* (2 vols.) New York: Knopf, 1926 [orig. pub.1918 & 1923].

[28] Williams, Tennessee. *The Night of the Iguana*. New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1961.

[29] An excellent discussion of the interrelationship between religion, media, and social (d)evolution may be found in an article by Kristoffer Holt entitled, "Media, Authenticity, and Religion: Søren Kierkegaard as Media Critic". Accessed 02/24/2015. <https://www.academia.edu/2605801/Media_authenticity_and_religion._S%C3%B8ren_Kierkegaard_as_media_critic>.

Conclusion

The final word on the role and function of religion (and it is essentially "postmodern" in nature) is taken from Robert Alun Jones' analysis of Durkheim works.[30] Durkheim came to understand that:

> "The difficulty for a society living through the period of "transition" and "moral mediocrity" described in *The Division of Labor* and *Suicide* was in imagining what form its future symbols might assume....Scientific thought, in short, is but a more perfect form of religious thought; and Durkheim thus felt that the latter would gradually give way before the inexorable advances of the former, including those advances in the social sciences extending to the scientific study of religion itself. In so far as it remains a mode of action, however, religion will endure, albeit under yet unforeseen forms."

Thus, religion has not only been the primary catalyst for all social and historical change, it eternally persists in some reconstituted form beyond its current historical manifestation—a phenomena which could very well be termed, "postmodern". It has actually always been this way, and in a sense, the "the postmodern condition" has been a perpetual (and dialectical) presence in the history of civilization.

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[30] Jones, Robert Alun. Emile Durkheim: An Introduction to Four Major Works. [excerpt] Accessed 2/24/2015. p. 12 <http://crab.rutgers.edu/~wfitz/Durkheim_El_Forms_Jones.pdf>.

The Spiritual Gift of Mediumship—A Qualitative Study of Mediumship Development among Ordained Spiritualist Ministers

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Abstract

This research study focused on Spiritualist ministers and their mediumship. Using a detailed questionnaire, a core group of Spiritualist ministers willing to be subjects were initially contacted and then they were, in turn, asked to introduce the questionnaire to other Spiritualist ministers. The entire study was anonymous in order to ascertain the most authentic and honest responses from the subjects. Regarding personal demographics, a section of the study analyzed the clergies' background (i.e. sex, age, years as a medium and minister). The main part of the study deals with the mediumship of the Spiritualist ministers; the study used a qualitative format to inquire into the specific aspects of the minsters' mediumship. Primarily, the study focused on the ministers' awareness of mediumistic gifts, initial experience with mediumship, fantastic or memorable mediumship experiences, and the use of outside tools in their mediumship work. This ethno-religious study of Spiritualist mediums and ministers offers new insight into mediumship, in general, and more so into the motivations and personal lives of the mediums themselves.

Introduction

Since 1848, when the Fox sisters—Maggie and Katie—first made intelligent contact with an incarnate entity in their modest upstate-New York home through a series of "raps", Spiritualism as a movement has been a part of America's rich religious landscape. One of three purely "American-made" religions (the other two being Mormonism and Christian Science), Spiritualism has seemingly afforded countless adherents the possibility of communication with those whom have passed over to the other side. The early Spiritualist movement eventually evolved into a religion, philosophy, and science that introduced the idea of mediumship to the general public. Eventually, as interest in the movement became more mainstream and accepted, people began to seek the consultation and guidance of mediums in the desperate hope of communicating with loved ones who had passed over to the other side of the veil. As the movement gradually transitioned into a religion, many

common facets of Christianity and Christian church services served as models for the rapidly growing Spiritualist church. One huge departure, however, from the typical Protestant church service was the offering of messages by a Spiritualist minister or medium as part of the regular service.

Not all Spiritualist mediums are ministers, but, as a rule, all Spiritualist ministers are indeed mediums. A common prerequisite today in becoming an ordained Spiritualist minister within the majority of associations and seminary programs (in the United States) that actively ordain ministers within the religion of Modern Spiritualism require a demonstrated ability to communicate with the so-called dead. In other words, to be developed mediumistically to the point of being able to relay information in the form of messages involving "spirit communication" from those entities who have passed to the other side.

> Spiritualism teaches that, those who have passed on are not in an unconscious state of being. The Spirit is very much conscious and well. No longer is that Spirit hampered by the burdensome physical body. No longer is there the tormenting physical pain, the anguished mind. The Spirit is free at last. Free, and yet, with its "will" to do the many things the physical did not allow, or the element of time or weather, that now in the Spirit World can all be accomplished. Indeed, it is a proven fact that Spirit is very much alive and active; even more so in the Spirit World than when on the Earth Plane. (Scher, pp.2-3)

The process in which Spiritualist ministers develop their mediumship, however, varies widely comprising several key components: 1) a natural ability or propensity to connect with Spirit and/or one's personal spirit guides; 2) the opportunity to develop one's mediumship under the concentrated direction of a certified mediumship development teacher; and 3) the amount of time and effort the aspiring medium and/or minister is willing to devote in developing his/her mediumship is equally important.

The largest portion of recognized programs that actively ordain Spiritualist ministers—whether it be through a church-based program, a Spiritualist seminary, or a Spiritualist association which sponsors mediumship and ministerial training—require the aspirants to give public messages in the form of mini-readings

and "platform work"[1] which primarily is clairvoyant or clairaudient-based[2] messages that can be confirmed by those receiving the messages. As with any course of study, mediumship development is largely dependent upon the amount of time and effort students are willing to devote to perfecting public message work through active training and experiential practice.

> From aspiration to attainment, a long road exists—in mediumship as well as in any other highly specialized gift. And in the situation of mediumship, most of the work in traversing that long road rests upon the efficiency of the spirit guides. After all, comparatively little can be done by the aspirant in attaining mediumship goals other than providing "time" and "conditions" necessary for the spiritual people to produce their phenomena. (Bias, p. 30)

As stated above, mediumship development involves connecting with one's spirit guides in order to make contact with disincarnate spirits that want to relay a spirit-communicated message to a loved one or acquaintance. A "gate-keeper" or "door keeper" guide is designated by the medium before beginning to give messages to serve as a go-between between the earth plane and the spirit world. (Greer, p. 7) The gatekeeper spirit, which acts as a screener of sorts, lines up the spirits who wish to relay messages and is often the medium's "Joy Guide" or "Doctor Teacher." This entity serves as a go-between with the spirits wishing to make contact with those on the earth plane.[3] In addition, most working mediums develop a system of "symbols"

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[1] Historically, "platform work" refers to the custom of having the Spiritualist medium stand on a raised platform in front of a congregation or audience to give intuited messages to those in attendance. The term is used widely among Spiritualist mediums that refer to their mediumship as "serving Spirit on platform" or "working on platform."

[2] Referred to as the "clairs," mediums make contact with spirit entities through either one or a combination of clairvoyance (clear-seeing); clairaudience (clear-hearing); clairsentience (clear-sensing or feeling); or clairgustance (clear-smelling or tasting).

[3] Spiritualists believe that every person has five primary spirit guides which are with them from before birth: 1) Doctor Teacher; 2) Master Teacher; 3) Chemist; 4) Indian Protector; and 5) Joy Guide. Each guide has specific duties and assists the medium uniquely. For example, a medium's Doctor-Teacher is closest in that this guide will offer on-going intuition and guidance to the medium, whereas the Master-Teacher is the most highly evolved entity attending to the medium, offering him/her guidance of the highest form and often oversees the other guides in the band. The Chemist serves as the go-to guide for all things spiritual, guiding and assisting the medium's spiritual growth. Mediums are said to draw their strength from their Indian Protector guide because this guide works to ground the medium and assists the medium in daily life activities. Finally, the Joy Guide is the most whimsical of all those in the band of guides in that the Joy Guide often manifests itself as a child (often female). The Joy Guide is considered to be the chattiest of the guides and will often be used as a "control" guide at a séance or while giving messages (meaning this guide will line up the Spirits who want to give messages and will often act as the go-between between the medium and Spirits who

which are personal to them and their spirit guides.

In order to make the best use of time (a seasoned medium can give between 12-15 spirit messages in a fifteen minute slot during a church or all message service), the medium must not only trust his or her guides implicitly, but also must build up directly a system of symbols that serves as a type of "spiritual shorthand" that allows the medium to discern, decipher and deliver the message to the intended person. (Barnes, pp.6-7)

> Symbols are in our lives every day; get a working agreement with you and your guide of what each symbol will mean to you. Example: If you see a casket, does it mean a death or a new birth to you? If you see a bridge, look closely, is this bridge in good condition, is it wood, stone, or rock, is there water under it, is it muddy, dry, is it deep, is the water deep, calm? Can you see how the symbol can be telling you that someone could be crossing into a change in their lives? If the bridge is pretty strong and the water is calm, the crossing could be pretty smooth. If the bridge is strong and the waters rough, the crossing will be difficult, but there could be some undercurrents, etc. (Greer, pp. 17-18)

Narrowing the field of possible meanings is paramount in the delivering of the message. As well, specific names, dates, and any identifying information help the medium tremendously in intuiting the message correctly.

The medium, however, as a human being has to deal with a number of outside stimuli that can affect his/her ability to give an accurate message—one's physical condition (the fact of whether the medium is rested or exhausted); the ego (or the need to interpret too much of the intended message by allowing one's own feelings and ideas to sully the purity of the message); the attendees receiving the messages (energetically they must be open and willing to receive and accept a message from spirit); or the location or atmosphere of the message service (the surroundings, temperature, or comfort level of the venue). It is physically impossible for even the most experienced and developed mediums to be correct 100% of the time due to these personal and outside factors and conditions.

Hence, it is important that mediums develop a code of symbols with their guides who can assist them in interpreting the message in order to direct them more

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want to make contact).

succinctly and clearly to the person for whom the message is intended. (Greer, p. 17)

> When I am on platform giving messages, I will see people, colors, or objects that are shown to me by my spirit guide. This directs me more clearly in determining whom the message is for and what it pertains to exactly. For instance, if I see my own grandmother in spirit in my mind's eye, then this symbolizes to me that the message is from a grandmother. If I hear a name clairaudiently, this helps narrow down who may be able to accept the message. Another example, if I see an American flag folded, this is symbolic of a spirit who either passed during battle in the military or it symbolizes that the spirit had been in the military and this will allow the person receiving the message to recognize who it is.
>
> My guides and I spent years working out symbols through trial and error. It is quite helpful when doing public message work to get to the person who the message is for, allowing me to touch upon more vibrations in order to give as many messages as possible in the shortest amount of time. After all, the message's main purpose isn't so much the content of the message but more to confirm and prove to the person receiving it the continuity of life and to offer solace that the person's loved one is indeed OK. (*Subject L*)

As delineated above, mediums depend upon their guides to communicate to them messages through a series of symbols that mediums have worked out with their guides in meditation, channeling, clairvoyantly, clairaudiently or through mind-to-mind consultation.

Mediumship occurs naturally for all people, but varies greatly in how adept they are at doing it. (King, p. 5) Just as anyone can play the piano to some degree—even if that means randomly hitting the keys to make sounds, to being able to play beautiful music by ear with no formal training, to playing with some level of expertise after years of study and practice—so it is with mediumship. Accordingly, some mediums are naturally gifted and are able to connect with Spirit with ease, while others must develop their mediumship over a period of time.

The Research Study[4]

This study[5] was conducted on Spiritualist ministers who either reside in Spiritualist camps, have their own churches and congregations, or who are certified members in good standing of a recognized Spiritualist association. The participants had to be ordained Spiritualist ministers in order to participate in this study. One hundred questionnaires were distributed to Spiritualist ministers using a variety of methods to contact ordained Spiritualist ministers. Sixty-one of the surveys were completed and returned, with a total of 54 respondents being accepted into the study (N=54).[6] The majority of the subjects were initially selected through referral, meaning that once a core group of ministers was selected through personal contacts, these people then distributed the questionnaire on to other ordained ministers with the above criterion in place. This type of research sampling is referred to as "snowball sampling."

> In snowball sampling researchers identify a small number of individuals who have characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify, or put researchers in touch with, others who qualify for inclusion and these, in turn, identify yet others—hence the term snowball sampling. This method is useful for sampling a population where access is difficult, maybe because it is a sensitive topic or where communication networks are underdeveloped. The task for the researcher is to establish who are the critical or key informants with whom initial contact must be made. (Cohen, *et al*, 104)

A decision was made early on to make the study as pervasive as possible in order to extrapolate the most up-to-date and accurate data reflecting the current conditions of ordained Spiritualist ministers today. Although the primary instrument

[4] An abbreviated version of this paper entitled "A Qualitative Analysis of Mediumship Development among Ordained Spiritualist Ministers: A Research Study" was published in February of 2015 in the *Bulletin of Fukuoka University of Education, Vol. 64; Part I. Language and Literature*. Munakata, Fukuoka: Fukuoka University of Education Press.

[5] A portion of the demographic data included here was previously published in Leonard (e) and (f), 2012.

[6] Seven surveys were discarded for a variety of reasons: 1) it was apparent that the subject had not been properly certified as a medium or was not ordained by a legitimate church or association; 2) the survey was improperly filled out and/or large sections were left blank; or 3) the subject was perhaps a certified medium but had not been ordained at the time the survey was given.

(fieldwork questionnaire) utilized a combination of a Likert scale (*e.g.* "please mark accordingly—strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree") and checklist scale (*e.g.* "please check the items that pertain to you"), several portions of the questionnaire involved more open-ended questions, generating a large amount of research data that needed to be collated and interpreted.

In retrospect, perhaps a survey that encompassed only a checklist or rating method might have made it easier to collocate and analyze the data generated, but ultimately it was decided to combine both configurations in the question design in order not to limit the subjects in their responses. Also, I could not assume to know all the possible responses that subjects might be able to provide—which certainly was the case, as many respondents mentioned areas and experiences that I would never have thought to include in a checklist or Likert format. The responses, in general, were thoughtful, lengthy, and rich with detail.

Statistics on the Gender of the Participants

The genders of the participants in this study were 70% female and 30% male. The research data shows that the religion is predominantly made up of women. Historically, this is also true from its inception. Spiritualism and spirit communication eventually served to offer women an active voice in religion, as well as positions of authority in churches, at a time when women were largely relegated to doing housework and to raising a family. Eventually, Spiritualism would give women a vocation—a career—in which they could nurture a profession that was separate from their dependence upon any male figure (whether it be a husband, father, brother, uncle, grandfather, or son). (See Leonard (a), 2005; Leonard (b), 2005)

Women were expected to accept and be satisfied with secondary and subordinate roles—not only in society, but also in church leadership, church services, and even in church politics. Women were generally not allowed to preach from the pulpit, and were largely forbidden from becoming ordained. Spiritualism as a religion and belief system offered women equality by changing many of the steadfast, traditional rules that had governed women, religion, spirituality, and equality. Goldsmith (1998) points out:

> Perhaps the most startling discovery was the extent to which Spiritualism and the inception of woman's rights were intertwined. At

> a time when women had no power to achieve equal rights, they relied on the "other powers" provided by Spiritualism to sustain their efforts. Through the mouths of trance speakers came words of wisdom from long-dead seers, and from the spirits came the courage to go forward. (xiii-xiv)

The data gathered for this study indicates that Spiritualist women still find great comfort in the religion and enjoy an equality of the sexes still denied many other women who adhere to mainstream religions. Spiritualism boasts one of the highest percentages of female ministers in organized religion. This is due in part to the fact that historically, and even today, Spiritualism not only offers women a voice, but an opportunity to be heard on equal footing with men, as well as to participate commensurately in church-related leadership roles. In most Spiritualist organizations and many Spiritualist churches today, women are the undeniable leaders of the religion. Also, Spiritualism still is "intertwined" with many social issues of the day, offering an alternative view to and acceptance of marginal members of society, from all races, creeds, economic and social backgrounds, and sexual orientations.

Statistics on the Sexual Orientation of the Participants

Through interviews, onsite research, as well as discussions with a number of Spiritualist ministers, I encountered what seemed to be a higher than average percentage of male (and to a lesser degree, female) ordained ministers who are homosexual as compared to mainstream Christian denominations.[7] The survey indicated 72% of the respondents to be heterosexual and 28% to be gay, lesbian or bisexual. Of this percent, 19% were male (gay or bisexual).

The sampling was rather limited, and because this question was not expanded upon adequately in the original questionnaire, these assumptions cannot be

[7] It is difficult to ascertain reliable statistics regarding percentages of homosexual ministers in mainstream Christian denominations because many churches condemn homosexuality so vehemently that a homosexual Christian minister cannot admit his/her homosexuality publicly. Conventional wisdom, however, would suggest that a cross-section of Christianity—which is a group or population—has roughly the same incidence of homosexuality as any other cross-section of society. The difference, however, is that a majority of gay-Christian ministers must suppress their homosexuality in order to participate in the religion; Spiritualism on the other hand embraces diversity and openly accepts homosexual ministers in its churches (which is reflected in its belief system which does not view homosexuality as sinful, but rather as another expression of love toward another human being).

regarded as scientifically sound. But from the data I gathered which can be regarded as significant, it can be generally deduced, perhaps, that this trend can be loosely compared to that of women in the early days seeking out Spiritualism as an alternative to other mainstream religions: it offered no religious or spiritual restrictions based on gender or sex; hence, regarding the issue of sexual orientation, it is also a non-issue in relation to participating in and taking leadership roles in the church. (Leonard (b), 2005)

The idea that Spiritualists are "free thinkers" and place no moral judgment upon the actions or personal lives of other people (this is to be worked out between the individual and God once the person makes his/her transition to the spirit world), allows homosexuals a place in which to develop and nurture their spiritual selves. Spiritualism seems to offer this stratum of modern society, just as it did for women in Victorian times, an avenue in which to practice their religion freely and openly (as homosexuals) without fear of being judged; it allows homosexuals a haven in which to worship and practice their faith, regardless of their sexual orientation.[8] Also, it is interesting to note that since the majority of ministers are women, and many of the male ministers I interviewed and spoke with were gay, it prompted me to hypothesize if "mediumship" work is somehow connected to a type of feminine energy (this is not to suggest the men are "feminine," but that perhaps the spiritual aspect and vibratory energy needed to make spirit contact is somehow feminine in nature). A heterosexual Spiritualist minister explained this to me in the following way:

> When you do this kind of work, we are all electromagnetic, and we all have male/female energy—which is not sexual. When you do mediumship, you use the "feminine" energy more than the "male" energy. Many straight men are uncomfortable with tapping into this female energy. Gay men are more comfortable tapping into it, so

[8] This aspect of modern Spiritualism intrigued me, so I inquired further to a number of Spiritualist ministers, both homosexual and heterosexual, as to the reasons for the attraction of gays to Spiritualism and vice versa. It was pointed out to me that this was not always the case. There was a time when Spiritualist mediums and ministers (who were gay or lesbian) had to hide their sexuality from the majority, fearing they would be asked to leave the movement. Spiritualism, however, does view issues from a more progressive point of view, and usually does precede everyday society in the general acceptance of current issues and controversies. Just as Spiritualism was on the cutting edge working towards the abolition of slavery in the 1850s, and embraced women and women's rights at a time when society was fighting issues of equality with a vengeance, so does Spiritualism today embrace those searching honestly and purely for their own spiritual truth and place in society—regardless of their sexual orientation. (Leonard (b), 166)

> more male mediums tend to be "gay." Straight men are often conditioned from childhood to deny their feminine energy-side, so they do not tap into it very much. Society tends to emphasize to men that they are not supposed to "feel," for instance, "real men don't cry." You can't be a medium without being able to feel deeply. (Brown, 2004 in Leonard (a), 2005)

Conclusive results of this assumption will have to await further research in the future, as data on this aspect was not adequately collected to form a theory in which to make a definitive deduction on the subject.

Statistics on the Age of the Participants

The age of the participants ranged from 35 to over 74 with only 3% indicating they were between the ages of "35-44"; the highest percentage of respondents indicated they were between the ages of "55-64" (39%). The second largest percentage were grouped in the "65-74" age category (35%); and 16% of the subjects indicated they were between the ages of "45-54." Five percent marked the category of "Over 74." Interestingly, no subjects marked the "Under 25" or "25-34" categories.

This data is revealing in that it suggests a very mature group of subjects, which in itself, is not surprising. In general, Spiritualism is an aging religion, with the majority of mediums and ministers being elderly (see Leonard, 2005). The research for this paper uncovered that many of the subjects began studying towards ordination later in life, often as a second career choice after pursuing totally different professions earlier in their lives. This makes sense as only 12% of the respondents indicated they were "life-long" ("cradle to grave") Spiritualists which means that a large percentage followed other religious traditions before settling on Spiritualism as their chosen belief system. It stands to reason that after finding the religion, practicing the religion for a period long enough to decide to develop one's mediumship, requires a bit of time. Then, once a decision was made to pursue ordination, this again adds to the length of education, making the aspiring minister older and more mature. Likely is the case in other mainstream religions, the aspiring minister grew up in the religion and the decision to pursue the ministry occurred earlier, perhaps soon after finishing high school.

Awareness of Mediumistic Gifts

When asked at what age the subject first became aware of his or her mediumistic gifts, the responses were quite varied from the age of 2 to the age of 48 with an average age of 14. This is quite significant in that it suggests that the gift of mediumship is believed to be innately present from childhood.

In contrast, the average age that the subjects became "certified mediums" was much later in life with an average age of the subjects being 43 years old. This suggests that even though the subjects were well aware of their mediumship ability from an early age, it was not until much later that the subjects pursued certification as developed mediums.

Reasons for this gap in time could be related to an inability to accept fully their mediumistic tendencies; no available outlet to develop with a teacher; no core group of like-minded people in order to share their gift(s); an unawareness of a program that would allow the person to develop his or her mediumship; a fear of being ridiculed by others for pursuing mediumship formally; or an inability to devote the necessary time and effort earlier in life to such endeavors due to the need to pursue a career that would be more stable and income producing. Of course, these hypothetical reasons for why subjects tended to be much older when becoming certified as mediums as compared to the early age when they first realized their mediumistic gifts cannot be confirmed categorically as the subjects were not specifically asked to elaborate on the reasons. In a future study, it would be interesting to include several items to ascertain exactly the reasons for this wide differentiation in years between realizing one's mediumship ability and becoming a certified medium formally.

Initial Experience with Mediumship

The survey item dealing with the subjects' first experiences with mediumship was informative in that several of the respondents offered thoughtful answers indicating a more "passive" rather than "active" experience (meaning that they happened upon mediumship as a bystander of sorts which made them recognize their ability, rather than actively experiencing mediumship through his or her gifts).

Subject H: "…during a healing [I received] when I was ill."
Subject K: "…[sitting] in a séance in Cornwall, England in 1973."
Subject NN: "…my first experience was when I was 10 or 11 years old

with a platform message I received."

Overwhelmingly, however, the respondents indicated that they first realized their mediumship as a result of seeing or conversing with a spirit of a relative (usually a parent or a grandparent) that prompted them to realize their mediumship gifts. This type of introduction into mediumship offered them not only confirmation of the possibility, but also closure in most instances, allowing them to pursue mediumship without fear because of the consoling and comforting experience they had with a loved one who eased them into mediumship, allowing them to accept their gifts of mediumship more readily:

> *Subject F*: "…I saw my little guide before school age. A also heard and saw loved ones."
>
> *Subject G*: "…my mother appeared and spoke to me; she had made her transition 5 months before that."
>
> *Subject I*: "…seeing my grandmother [in Spirit] on the day of her transition and after her transition. I was 4-years-old."
>
> *Subject M*: "…communication with my grandmother. While meditating , she would give me information through inspirational writing about Mom and her family which was confirmed by them. This was before I even knew about Spiritualism."
>
> *Subject R*: "…seeing and talking with my father who was killed in an accident 3 months prior to my birth. I cannot remember a time when he was not with me."

Fantastic or Memorable Mediumship Experiences

When asked what was the respondents' most fantastic or memorable experience as a medium, nearly every subject answered this question in detail. The majority of the responses offered very personal, experiential stories of how their mediumship affected them. Some of their responses are as follows:

<u>Personal Experiences</u>

Subject C: "…I was in a séance and my father [in Spirit] said 'hold out your hand' and his wedding ring appeared out of thin air and fell into my hand."

Subject M: "…helping other, non-Spiritualists in the belief 'through proof of continuity.' Especially parents who have lost children. The first reading I received in a Spiritualist church. The medium brought my grandmother to me and said I would be up on platform as a medium someday and I said HA! She was right.

Subject W: "…being able to talk daily with my Mom who passed in 1970. Always my greatest love and guide."

Reading for Someone Else

Subject G: "…a husband coming through to his loving wife."

Subject U: "…I saved the life of a child several times by what I saw and heard—and told the parents. Also, bringing through a 16-year old to his mother so he could tell her about his death. It was a healing experience for her."

Subject V: "…bringing in a son to his mother with very clear evidence and being able to hold his energy in front of her (which she felt) while she told him everything she wanted to say but didn't get a chance to [before he died].

The Use of Tools in Mediumship

A question was asked to ascertain whether or not the mediums used any tools (i.e. tarot, numerology, astrology, etc) to assist them in giving a reading. Sixty-three percent of the respondents said that they never use any outside tools in their mediumship; in fact, many of these respondents indicated quite assertively that they indeed did not use any outside tools to jumpstart a reading, but relied strictly on "old-fashioned clairvoyance" to connect to Spirit. This question was asked purposefully because a widely held and popular image of mediums in society is of a woman dressed in wildly bright colors and eccentric costumes usually involving

some sort of headpiece like a turban or a scarf, while peering into a crystal ball with tarot cards laid out on a table.[9]

Figure 1: Carol Lombard

Figure 2: Joyce Compton

Figure 3: Rita Hayworth

Figure 4: Jane Russell

Hollywood is largely to blame for this image of mediums and psychics which

[9] See Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 [Source: https://www.facebook.com/HistoricLilyDale?fref=ts].

places Spiritualist mediums and ministers in an awkward and often times uncomfortable situation because certified Spiritualist mediums regard their work not as entertainment, but as a part of their religion. Many mediums I interviewed for this study lamented how the popular image of a medium in society is quite different from the reality of what they do and how they do it. Spiritualist mediums consider their work to be sacred, and by offering their gift of mediumship to those seeking closure from the death of a loved one, or by giving a person confirmation from a loved one in Spirit, are serious responsibilities in proving the continuity of life after death to the parishioner or client seeking comfort.

Of those mediums in the study that did indicate that they used some sort of tool, the majority listed "numerology" or "astrology" as ways to connect energetically with the person before embarking upon a reading. Also, "tarot" was listed by several of the subjects as a way to connect with the client during the reading. Here is a sampling of some of the mediums'' responses to this question:

> Subject I: On rare occasions I utilize [the] I Ching[10] to offer additional ancient insight.
>
> Subject O: Sometimes I use psychometry.[11] I am a trance medium.[12]
>
> Subject Q: Astrology, Tarot, past life readings.
>
> Subject U: I use three tarot decks—for a body, mind, spirit reading—but all cards are read clairvoyantly. I am a numerologist and tune into clients by getting their personal year.
>
> Subject V: Sometimes a candle for flame messages[13] and often use crystals and gemstones for healings. I prefer to do trance for readings,

[10] Considered by some scholars to be the world's oldest oracle, the I Ching (also called the "Book of Changes") is a bibliomancy form of divination based on ancient Chinese wisdom.

[11] Psychometry is a form of "extra sensory perception" (ESP) where the medium hold's an object (either from the person receiving the reading or an item belonging to a person who has transitioned into spirit) to sense the energy contained in it; it is believed that objects retain residual energy (an energy field) and this energy can offer insights into the object's history.

[12] Trance mediumship, a form of "mental mediumship", occurs when the medium goes into a trance during a reading (sometimes a full-trance state, but usually a semi-trance state), where the medium is mostly aware of his/her surroundings and remains in a conscious state but allows the spirit to speak through him/her using his/her body. Usually, the spirit with whom the medium is making contact then communicates through the physical organism of the medium, using both the body and mind to communicate to the person receiving the message. While in this altered state, mediums usually do not recall clearly or completely the message given once they come out of trance.

[13] Flame messages, a form of "precipitation," is a type of reading where the medium will use regular notecards waved above a lit candle to allow spirit to form an image from the soot of the candle. The medium then looks at the soot to interpret a message via the image to the client.

but my specialty is healing.

Subject Y: I use tarot, numerology, astrology, flame messages for a small part of the reading—usually just one. I love doing clairvoyance.

Subject Z: In private readings, I use clairvoyance only. In public demonstrations, I use flames and beginning to use spirit painting.

Subject EE: Animal medicine cards

Subject XX: My specialty is a medium and clairvoyant. I can read cellphones, too![14] Separating from this, I read tarot cards with a little numerology for good measure.

For the most part, when a medium chooses to begin a reading with some sort of tool (like numerology or astrology), it is more as a way to connect to the energy of the person receiving the reading rather than as a way to glean information about the person to include in the reading. (Brown, 2014) It assists the reader in focusing more quickly to touch into the right vibration more quickly. After all, the large majority of mediums charge a fee for a set amount of time and the more quickly a medium can get to the message, the happier the person sitting for the reading is. The majority of Spiritualist ministers in this study, however, insisted quite stridently that they used only their mediumship to connect to Spirit and the client, offering messages primarily through clairvoyance.

Conclusion

Being a Spiritualist medium and/or ordained minister requires a certain level of dedication and not mere dabbling. The mediums that participated in this survey are clearly dedicated and believe sincerely in what they do. I was especially impressed with the detail in which the mediums wrote about their experiences in mediumship. Whether rightly or wrongly, mediums have a popular image as being mere “fortunetellers,” but in fact the subjects in this study on the whole seemed quite dedicated and professional in their ministerial work and mediumship.

This study was undertaken, in part, to determine how and when the mediums discovered their gifts of mediumship initially, and when they made the decision to become certified mediums. Also, this study endeavored to find out what personal

[14] This intrigued me as I can only presume that the medium uses some sort of psychometry regarding the cell phone, offering a message or reading based on the energy from the cell phone. Since this was a written questionnaire done anonymously, there was no way for me to consult further on the method of how the person could read a cellphone.

mediumistic experiences the Spiritualist mediums had as they were developing their mediumship formally. Several research questions were examined to offer more in-depth, qualitative analysis on the factors that affect the mediums and their mediumship. All questions consisted of a content analysis approach using a questionnaire.

This ethno-religious study of Spiritualist ministers offers new research into mediumship, in general, and more so into the motivations and personal lives of the mediums themselves. In the end, this study offers new insights and data regarding the ministers as mediums not previously found in the study of mediumship. As evidenced in this paper, for Spiritualist ministers, mediumship is not a game or form of entertainment, but instead a very serious calling that allows them to use their gifts to help others. For many, it is a way of life and they dedicate themselves to offering evidentiary messages to those seeking comfort and consolation to know that their loved ones are around and are all right. A future comparative study including a larger number of subjects from different countries where Spiritualism is practiced would offer even more insight into the religion, as a whole, and the ministers and mediums who practice mediumship around the world.

Biographical Note

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Race, Religion, and the Heresy of Christian Identity

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INTRODUCTION

Heresies are schools of thought that contrast with basic tenets of orthodox Christian faith. They may reflect viewpoints of self-professed Christians that differ quite substantially from what is contained in the Bible. Christianity, a traditional religion based on interpretation of scriptures that have been handed down for centuries, does not deviate from what is generally accepted as the church's reflection on salvation brought by Christ (Olson and English 2005: p. 9). However, many of the things Jesus Christ did and said seemed incredible to people throughout the written history of Christian theology (Brown 1998). As a result, heresies such as Gnosticism cropped up alongside Christian beliefs and helped spur on the sixteenth century religious movement that reformed the Roman Catholic Church and led to the establishment of Protestant churches. The primary concern of many religious scholars is not Catholic Reformation but rather the effect heresies such as Gnosticism, Christian Science, and cults such as Heaven's Gate have had on the image of Christ.

When religious authorities deem a belief heretical, they may make active efforts to eradicate the entire belief system. For example, in the Catholic Church, an errant member can be excommunicated and denied last rites. Christian religious leaders have established several key elements to anchor the faith and reinforce established doctrines. According to Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches, the official pronouncement is that God exists as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (Trinity); Christ was simultaneously human and divine; and believers can be forgiven for their sins and spend eternal life in heaven. Most Christian heresies emanate from issues with the nature of the Trinity and even more specifically, the atonement of Jesus Christ. Highly charged racialized interpretations of theological dogma have produced various pseudo-religious and pseudoscientific ideologies that include Christian Identity, a belief system that supports the idea that whites are the chosen people of God. In the eyes of believers, no other racial groups can achieve salvation. This paper explores how Christian Identity adherents re-interpret Biblical scripture in an effort to prove that racial equality is both a fallacy and a myth. It profiles some of the early supporters of the movement who developed ties with the racist right during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Finally, field data collected over a two year period in Zinc, Arkansas at the Christian Revival Center is presented that reveals a contemporary Christian Identity sect and its mission to block a diversity initiative supported by the progressive mayor in neighboring Harrison, county seat of Boone County.

HOMEGROWN HERESIES

New York Times columnist, Ross Douthat (2012), suggests that a crisis of bad religion has caused the slow collapse of traditional Christianity in the United States resulting in a subsequent rise of destructive pseudo-Christianities and pseudo-religions. He argues that since the 1960s, institutions that sustained orthodox Christian beliefs have steadily declined and lost both members and financial contributions. Religion is becoming intertwined with secular trends that encourage economic recklessness and unbridled materialism among adherents and followers of media ministers such as Joel Osteen and T. D. Jakes. Christian Identity ministers such as Pastor Thom Robb and the late Dan Gayman, while not capitalizing on mega-church dollar support mechanisms, have remade their Jesus into a non-Jew who oversees an all white heaven and restricts prospects of salvation for non-whites, homosexuals, and non-Christian Identity Christians (personal communication with Pastor Thom Robb, December 9, 2012).

Two heretical strains closely aligned with United States society, messianism and apocalypticism, play key roles in the sustenance of contemporary Christian Identity theology. The messianic strain is clearly visible in widespread support for the notion that the United States has a special role to play as God's instrument in history. Christian Identity adherents put their trust in a white Aryan God rather than any earthly power. One version of messianism supports the belief that mankind can construct a heaven on earth while the apocalyptic strain equates this nation's founding with the establishment of the state of Israel (Douthat 2005: p. 255). Christian Identity contains elements of both messianism and apocalypticism. Many contemporary Identity adherents believe that the United States is the Promised Land and Anglo-Saxons are the Lost Tribe of Israel. The Messiah will return to the United States on the heels of a great race war where whites declare victory and the United Nations will be a thing of the past (Swift 1968: p. 20). Since whites are the true Israelites it is inevitable that they will inherit the earth and all other races will be cast out (Ridgeway 1990: p. 17).

During the 1920s and 1930s, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan occurred and many ordinary Americans joined various Klan groups and came to believe that Catholics, under the tutelage of the Pope, were stockpiling weapons to take over the United States. They also believed a cabal of Jewish bankers controlled world affairs and that white people must ready themselves for war with people of color (MacLean 1994). By mid-decade, a movement was on the rise that combined support for ultra-conservative values, enthusiasm for 'old time religion,' along with antipathy toward welfare recipients, trade unionists, immigrants, liberals and people with leftist leanings. Many people in these categories would remain enemies or points of contention for mainstream religious conservatives up to the present day.

The years following World War II are often viewed as an age of remarkable religious enthusiasm. As generally described by scholars of American religion, this was a period where a distinguishing characteristic was the spirit of interfaith cooperation that diminished long-standing theological and racial divides and helped

to usher in an era of social harmony. This cooperative spirit further heightened the emotional and communal appeal of religion for many Americans who, by mid-century, sought relief from endless rounds of social turbulence and wartime violence of the previous half century (Wuthnow 1998).

A spirit of nationalism developed that encouraged the general perception that the United States was distinctly a Christian nation. It was united in its vision to combat secular and Godless communists and preserve the Constitution as originally written. Both world wars had made Americans distrustful of foreigners and many people were grappling with rapid changes in American society that included civil rights initiatives for African Americans, the second phase of the women's movement, and a contingent of new immigrants who were not Christian. Christian Identity ideology was developing on the fringes during this time and although the movement remains small it is still fueled by ethnocentric and xenophobic beliefs typical of earlier eras.

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY: AN OVERVIEW

The Christian Identity movement is loosely organized and based on an extremist belief system promoting white supremacy and anti-Semitism. Adherents generally embrace the British Israelite view that the ten lost tribes of Israel are Anglo-Saxon whites, not Jews. In 1840, a Scotsman named John Wilson claimed that he could prove that the lost tribes of Israel had, in fact, migrated and settled in northern Europe. Touting racial superiority of the Angles and the Saxons, disciples of Wilson's formed British-Israelist associations in London. One of these disciples was an Englishman named Edward Hine who had plans for a full-fledged international social movement. With a focus on the British as God's chosen people, Hine began to consolidate efforts with the United States to fulfill a biblical prophecy that he believed to include territorial expansionism and colonialism (Zeskind 2009: p. 178).

From British-Israelism to Christian Identity

Eventually Hine travelled to the United States to sell his doctrine to what he hoped would be eager converts. Hine's interpretation favored a purely British vision of God's chosen people. British-Israelist ideology was not particularly anti-Semitic and even embraced the belief that if Jews converted to Christianity, they could achieve salvation (Barkun 1994: p. 30). Because of growing distrust of Jews in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s along with discomfort with what many Americans believed were lax immigration laws favoring immigrants from undesirable regions of Europe, traditional British Israelism lost its appeal for many potential American supporters. Eventually the movement was co-opted during the late 1930s and early 1940s by fundamentalist minister Wesley Swift along with his benefactor Gerald L. K. Smith (Barkun 1994: p. 31). They created a synthesis of British Israelism, anti-Semitism, and other racist beliefs which is now known as Christian Identity or Identity doctrine.

Christian Identity theologian, Charles Lee Mange (1998), expanded on the central seed plot of the Bible. According to what he referred to as the two seed theory, Eve was impregnated with the seed of devil with whom she consorted in the

Garden of Eden. The other seed was from her husband, Adam. The devil's seed produced Cain symbolizing the dark forces of evil and Adam's seed, Abel, was the symbol for all things pure and good. After Cain killed his brother, he was cursed by God along with his ancestors. Identity ministers such as Wesley Swift, an influence on Mange and others, believed that the unholy or mud races that came directly from Cain's cursed lineage include Asians, indigenous tribes, Arabs, Africans, and specifically Jews (Ridgeway 1990: pp. 43-44). In the world view of many Identity adherents, all non-whites are pre-Adamic; therefore, they never lived in the Garden of Eden. For that reason they are considered to be social outcasts from the beginning of days and therefore unredeemable.

EARLY AMERICAN CHRISTIAN IDENTITY INFLUENCES

Gerald L. K. Smith

Smith was born on February 7, 1898 in Pardeeville, Wisconsin. He was descended from three generations of Disciples of Christ ministers. In 1918 he earned a degree in biblical studies from Valparaiso University in Indiana. He then joined the clergy and began serving Disciples of Christ churches throughout the Midwest and Southern regions of the United States. In 1929, he took a job as pastor of Kings Highway Disciples of Christ Church in Shreveport, Louisiana. One of his parishioners was Huey Long, a future United States senator. His association with Long, a populist Democrat, angered conservative church directors and Smith eventually resigned from the church before he was fired (Jeansonne and Gauger 2009).

In the early 1930s, Smith began to express anti-Semitic and fascist sentiments which would manifest in many of his writings and speeches. After becoming Huey Long's national organizer for the Share-Our-Wealth Society, a group promoting a wealth redistribution plan, Smith discovered a natural talent for public speaking outside the church. Following Long's assassination in 1935, Smith continued his political activism and briefly joined forces with Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest who became nationally recognized through his radio programs that were widely viewed as anti-Semitic in content. The two men eventually parted ways and Smith continued his fight against communism, liberalism, organized labor and Jews and ran unsuccessfully for the United States Senate and for the presidency on several occasions (Jeansonne 1997: p. 152).

Smith settled in Detroit in the early 1940s and became friends with Henry Ford who was also anti-Semitic. He credited Ford with showing him the connection between communism and Judaism effectively collapsing any distinction between Jews and America's greatest ideological enemy (Milwicki 2014: p. 10). Smith continued his public speaking and began to write pamphlets, and books, and publish a monthly magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*. His writing, like his speaking, was hard-hitting and filled with stories about a world controlled by far left villains and Jewish conspiracies. He founded the Christian Nationalist Crusade, a political movement devoted to preservation of the United States as a Christian Nation

bolstered by warnings about a subversive campaign by Jews to replace Christianity with Judaism.

In 1940 Smith became affiliated with the America First Committee (AFC), a powerful isolationist group that included members such as Charles A. Lindbergh and Robert LaFollette who served as both Governor of Wisconsin and United States Senator. The AFC supported staying out of the war in Europe and influenced public opinion through publications and Smith's fiery speeches. Within a year the group had over 800,000 members. After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, the group dissolved when President Roosevelt threatened to try its members for treason. During this time, Smith met and befriended an up and coming fire and brimstone preacher, Wesley Swift, who would become his spiritual guide and introduce him to Identity doctrine in earnest.

Wesley Swift

Not much is known about Swift's early life other than he was born in New Jersey in 1913 and was ordained a minister in 1930 at the age of 17. In 1931 he became involved with an organization called the Anglo-Saxon Federation co-founded by William James Cameron and Howard Rand. Cameron was employed by Henry Ford and was instrumental in the publication of the anti-Semitic pamphlet, *The International Jew*, bankrolled by Ford. The Federation was based on many of the principles of British Israelism with one major exception: America represented "true Israel" not Great Britain (Barkun 1994). Eventually Swift moved to California where he was floundering without a congregation of his own. He worked various odd jobs and was thought to be a member of a California Ku Klux Klan group (Milwicki 2014). In 1944 he moved to Los Angeles where he established his first church based on Christian Identity dogma, the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation which was later renamed the Church of Jesus Christ Christian.

In 1945 Swift met his mentor and benefactor Gerald L.K. Smith. Impressed by Swift's knowledge of the Bible and commitment to his brand of religion, Smith gave Swift thousands of dollars to support his Christian Identity ministry. Swift eventually convinced Smith that the true Israel (the United States) gave us the Messiah and that Americans were rightful heirs to the covenant that God made with Abraham, not the Jews. Swift's reinterpretation of scripture convinced Smith that Jesus Christ was not a Jew and that God would never grant salvation to the people who were responsible for his son's crucifixion. Smith converted to Christian Identity and because of his political ties, eventually spread Swift's teachings to anti-Communist and anti-Semitic right wing circles.

Swift's theology declassified Jews as members of the human race and labeled them direct descendants of Satan. This helped support Smith's contention that Jews tricked the United States into going to war with Germany and the holocaust was a hoax perpetrated to destroy Hitler, the Third Reich, and Germany – a Christian nation. All of these events surrounding World War II resulted in suffering and hardship for white Christian America – the true Israel. Theological evidence provided by Swift was founded on his belief that modern Judaism originated in the Garden of Eden and is linked to original sin. All the disparate beliefs about Jewish wickedness and deceptiveness acquired a new biblical foundation which was readily

accepted by many in the racist right at the behest of Swift's mentor, Gerald L. K. Smith.

CHRISTIAN REVIVAL: ARKANSAS STYLE

The Christian Revival Center is the name of a Christian Identity church compound pastored by Thom Robb – a follower of the teachings of Wesley Swift. Robb is also leader of the Knights Party, a Klan group he took over from David Duke in the mid-1980s. The Center is the site of annual events such as the Faith and Freedom Conference and the newly developing Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute (SOTC). Robb does not require church members to join the Knights Party although many of them do go through an orientation, pay their dues, and become active in both the church and the Knights Party. Along with Robb, his daughter Rachel Pendergraft is heavily involved in both the Klan and the Christian Revival Center. She is a frequent speaker at events such as the Faith and Freedom Conference. Her daughters form a duo, The Heritage Connection, who sing and play gospel music at events and church services. All of Robb's children and grandchildren have been home-schooled since he and his wife relocated to Arkansas from Michigan in 1972.

As a sign of the times, Robb and Pendergraft now refer to the broader white supremacist movement as the white nationalist movement. In recruitment literature for the SOTC, they specify that even though the school is organized around Christian values, people who do not embrace Christianity are welcome to attend (as long as they are white). The school is scheduled for seven days and students who complete all classes earn a certificate. The institute appears to be a way for Robb to recruit younger members to his group. Observations of church services, meetings, and conferences between 2010 and 2012 revealed that attendance on Sunday was consistently between 30 and 35 people (including children). Attendance at the 2011 and 2012 Faith and Freedom Conference was 80 and 92 respectively (exclusive of children). The conferences drew attendees from as far away as Canada and the average age (estimated) was 40 plus.

Both Faith and Freedom Conferences featured Christian Identity ministers from outside Arkansas. The conferences were a combination of preaching, music, and speeches about gun rights, government suppression of free speech, and uncontrolled immigration. There was also lots of talk about the liberal media and its assault on Christian values. Weekly church services, conducted by Robb, consist of hellfire and brimstone rhetoric. Both he and his parishioners are concerned about perceived changes in their community brought on by the formation of a diversity council in Harrison, the next largest town and Boone county seat. Robb personally believes that city/county officials are using white guilt to change the culture of Harrison and surrounding communities such as Zinc. His position is that if race mixing liberals take over and try to recruit minority citizens, Harrison will become an undesirable place to live and raise children. Pastor Robb ended his sermon on Sunday December 9, 2012 by saying that both Zinc and Harrison are Christian communities and that the real non-Jewish Jesus Christ must reign supreme over both Arkansas and the rest of the nation.

FAITH, FREEDOM, AND RACIAL REDEMPTION

Robb hopes that with the creation of the SOTC Training Institute more people will join his church and Klan group. He plans to build the training center on his property with funds raised from tuition and other fees. In a speech (October 12, 2012) about SOTC Robb had this to say:

> There is a mass distortion of history that has created a generation of Americans that no longer gives value to their blood heritage. This deception is not only an American issue but also a world-wide phenomenon. Our people, the people who conquered the continents and then looked to the heavens and mapped the stars are facing genocide and we are sitting by and letting it happen.

Robb also believes that the founding of SOTC will be a rallying cry for people to become more active for the cause he is promoting: racial redemption for enlightened whites. The formation of SOTC appears to be a way that Robb and the other organizers think they can build a base from which to train young people (ages 16 and older) to be more articulate when confronting teachers about how they teach American history. The institute may also serve as a training ground for future local politicians, school board members, and other county leaders. Some of the classes included in the proposed curriculum include: 1) Community leadership skills; 2) Communication skills; 3) Projecting image; and 4) Establishing white consciousness in a modern society.

His sermons continually refer to the onslaught of non-whites into the United States. In a marketing brochure to promote SOTC, Robb states that more than 100 million non-whites will flood into America in the next 30 years. He laments the fact that most white Americans have been convinced by the media, public education, and their churches that this does not really matter since the United States has always been a nation of immigrants. He predicts that eventually whites will leave the cities behind and migrate to the heartland of America. According to Robb, this is when the nation of our forefathers will be reborn. He hopes that his compound, church, and new training institute will draw crowds of whites who are ready to take back their country.

In October 2012, Robb's organization began a fundraising campaign to get money to build a dormitory for the institute. He estimates it will cost around $40,000 to build and will serve multiple functions. It will not only house a library that contains an extensive collection of books, artifacts, and letters that chronicle the history of the white supremacist movement and the Klan, but it will also serve as a place for people to stay who come to the annual Faith and Freedom Conference. Robb believes that if he can accommodate guests on his property he will be able to double attendance at these meetings and other events his organization sponsors. As with mainstream groups, there is always a need for money to help ensure growth. Robb owns the 300 acres that contain his and his children's homes, his church, and the proposed buildings for his training institute.

CONCLUSION

White supremacist movements adhere to their own unique brand of creationism based on variations within Christian Identity dogma. Many Identity adherents believe that nonwhites are pre-Adamic and never had access to the Garden of Eden because God specifically placed Adam there to partake of the tree of knowledge. Exclusion based on race occurred during the beginning of days as ordained by God (Kaplan 1997). In an attempt to soften racist rhetoric associated with both their religious perspective and group membership, contemporary leaders of extremist groups often use the term 'racialist' to describe people who express love and admiration for their own race. Racial consciousness, buttressed by racially oriented religious perspectives, is important as a means to recruit members to groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and Christian Identity sects. Using the Identity pulpit as a rallying point is part of this strategy along with entities such as The Soldiers of the Cross Training Institute. Christian Identity contains no central orthodoxy and identity ministers offer widely divergent doctrines that are all based on an individualistic approach to interpretation of the Bible. Wesley Swift (1968) predicted that the return of Jesus will occur before the 1000 year epoch. Subsequent pre-millenialist Identity preachers are counting on the final battle (in the guise of a race war) to be waged in North America. According to this view, any misconceptions about who the chosen people of God really are will be laid to rest.

As a doctrinal system of various racist ideas merged into one belief system, Christian Identity reached its most definable form in the United States during the 1970s. Although not considered a paramilitary movement, some Christian Identity adherents were identified as members of the American Patriot Movement. The most notable of these is the Christian Identity compound in Adair County Oklahoma known as Elohim City. Between 70 and 90 people live on 400 acres of a rugged and mountainous tract of land along the Oklahoma-Arkansas border. The sect was founded in November 1973 by the late Robert G. Millar. His son John, now the spiritual leader of the group, advocates racial separation along with social isolation. As with most Christian Identity sects, Elohim City is relatively quiet with few known members. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center there are approximately 38 organized Identity ministries in the United States including Thom Robb's compound in Zinc, Arkansas (http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/intelligence-files/ideology/christian-identity/active_hate_groups).

Messianism and apocalypticism are experiencing an ideological synthesis in the early years of the twenty-first century. Belief systems such as Christian Identity incorporate both heresies in a racist pseudo-religious perspective. Believers state that their race is their religion and CI theology supports the belief in the superiority of the white race over all other races. Not all heresies are this extreme and numbers of CI adherents appear to be relatively small in the scheme of religious life in the United States. However, it also appears that the need for moral renewal and a belief in our nations' ability to advance righteous causes are becoming more and more entrenched in mainstream Republican and Democratic politics. Politicians from both

sides of the aisle claim they are advancing Christian principles in public life, thus sustaining a public and political religion (Douthat 2005: p. 266). The result is a weakening of traditional Christian orthodox faith. In order to recover from the emergence of various pseudo-religions, parachurch communities, and nationalistic versions of theology, Douthat (2005 p. 283) argues for a revival of mainstream orthodox belief systems within American religious communities. The idea is a good one; unfortunately with regard to Christian Identity, the belief system is so inextricably tied to the belief in racial superiority of white people along with demonization of Jews, a return to traditional Christianity is highly unlikely.

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Souljourner[1]: Origen on the Development and Persistence of the Soul

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Introduction

The Alexandrian theologian Origen (c. 185 – c. 254) is generally regarded as the first person to construct a system of Christian theology. And, yet, Origen's thinking and theological legacy epitomize a dialectical tension between philosophy and faith. Indeed, such tension is "the most astonishing sign of contradiction in the history of Christian thought."[2] This tension is nowhere more evident than in his complex, and to some extent, rambling teaching on the soul and its relationship to the human body.

On First Principles[3] appeared around the year 218 and is structured around "particular points clearly delivered in the teaching of the apostles."[4] This paper centers on that relationship as Origen investigates and explains it primarily in Books 2 and 3 of *On First Principles*.[5] The paper discloses that, *contra* his contemporaries, Origen develops a theological construct which demonstrates, *not* a distinction between the material and the immaterial, but a synergistic relationship between a loving creator God and the cosmos he created.

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[1] The term "Souljourner" as used here is a composite term designated to mean a soul on a journey. It has no relation whatever to the religious movement of the same name (more information online at http://www.souljourner.org/), nor to the 2011 novel of the same name written by D. L. Marriott, nor to any other group, organization, blog, or entity using this moniker.

[2] Henri Crouzel, *Origen,* trans. A. S. Worrall (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), xi. William Placher heads up the chapter about Origen in his book, *A History of Christian Theology*, as "An Alliance with Philosophy." See Placher, *A History of Christian Theology* (Louisville: Westminster Press, 1983.

[3] Origen's systematic work is known variously as *On First Principles*, *De Principiis* and *Peri Archon.* In the *Peri Archon*, Origen, who entitled his work as such, transferred the middle-Platonic theory of first principles into his thinking on the Trinity; but, the emphasis behind it would be more appropriately entitled *Peri Triados*. So, Charles Kannengiesser, "Divine Trinity and the Structure of the *Peri Archon*," in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*, Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen, eds. (Notre Dame, IN:: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 247. References here follow the edition of A. Cleveland Coxe, *Fathers of the Third Century,* in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

[4] Origen, *On First Principles,* Pref 4 (*ANF* 4:240).

[5] Origen's stated purpose focuses on apostolically-delivered doctrine; he contends that the apostles "merely stated the fact that things were so, keeping silence as to the manner or origin of their existence." See *On First Principles,* Pref 3 (*ANF* 4:239). They left it up to their theological successors to "investigate or explain the reasons or bases of these doctrines." Cf. Antonia Tripolitis, *The Doctrine of the Soul in the Thought of Plotinus and Origen* (Roslyn Heights, NY: Libra Publishers, 1978), 89. Origen's work is to provide his investigation and explanation.

The Development of the Soul

Origen begins his theological treatise with the notion of God as incorporeal or immaterial: "God cannot be understood to be a body . . ."[6] God, Origen explains further, "is not to be thought of as being either a body or as existing in a body, but as an uncompounded intellectual nature . . ."[7] The phrase "uncompounded intellectual nature" translates the Latin "*simplex intellectualis natura*" by which Origen understands God as "a simple and indivisible intellectual nature, permitting no addition of any kind."[8]

Origen's incorporeal or immaterial God directs not only his understanding of God, but his trinitarian hermeneutic as well.[9] Since God is simple and indivisible, he cannot "directly create a multiple and complex universe."[10] He requires an intermediary who is "one yet shares in the multiplicity and complexity of the created beings."[11] This "being intermediate" is none other than the Son, or the Logos, who is "the only begotten" of God, "the wisdom of God," "without any beginning," "the truth and life of all things which exist," and whose existence owes to the will of the Father and nothing else. That is, the Son's existence is directly linked to the eternal generation of the Father;[12] a link which, at times, Origen employs to describe the Son in subordinate terms as a "second God."[13]

The initial creation of the Father through the Son is the Holy Spirit. Origen asserts that the Holy Spirit is equal "in honour and dignity"[14] to the Father and Son; he concedes, however, that there are many aspects of the Spirit's existence not clearly known. According to Origen, the Holy Spirit "is made known through the Son, and operated by God the Father."[15] That is, he proceeds from the Son and is related to the Son in the same way that the Son relates to and is generated by the Father.

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[6] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.1.2 (*ANF* 4:242).

[7] *Ibid.,* 1.1.6 (*ANF* 4:243).

[8] Tripolitis, 91.

[9] Ronald E. Heine, "God," in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, John Anthony McGuckin, ed. (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 107.

[10] Tripolitis, 92.

[11] *Ibid.*; Origen, *On First Principles*, 2.6.1 (ANF 4:281).

[12] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.2.4-6; 2.6.1 (*ANF* 4:243-244; 281). In some ways, Origen's thinking is at heart an apologetic. Since the Father is outside time and immutable, he begets the Son by an eternal act, "so that it cannot be said that 'there was when He was not'." See J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, rev ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 1978), 128.

[13] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 5.39 (*ANF* 4:561). Origen respectfully explains his title:

> "And although we may call Him a 'second' God, let men know that by the term 'second God' we mean nothing else than a virtue capable of including all other virtues, and a reason capable of containing all reason whatsoever which exists in all things, which have arisen naturally, directly, and for the general advantage, and which 'reason,' we say, dwelt in the soul of Jesus, and was united to Him in a degree far above all other souls, seeing He alone was enabled completely to receive the highest share in the absolute reason, and the absolute wisdom, and the absolute righteousness."

[14] Origen, *On First Principles,* Pref 4 (*ANF* 4:240).

[15] *Ibid.,* 1.3.7 (*ANF* 4:255).

Origen's descending triadic arrangement follows closely the "gods of the Middle Platonists and the principles of Plotinus."[16]

God's first created act was a world composed of "rational or intellectual creatures" limited to a "definite number, predetermined by Himself."[17] Origen calls these creatures *logika* (λογικά); they are "pure intelligences or minds"[18] and thus incorporeal. The *logika* were "created by God in the beginning," meaning that they pre-existed the creation of the material world. They were God's thoughts, "the eternal forms or ideas in the Mind or Wisdom of God, which is the Logos."[19] Initially, the *logika* were "equal and alike"[20] and, at least to begin with, lived in harmony with their Creator.

By virtue of their creation, they did not contain, as it were, an inherent God-like goodness; the good that was in their substance was not natural; rather, it was given them by God. Thus, the *logika* were "necessarily changeable and mutable."

God's desire was that the *logika* would exercise their "free and voluntary action" in order that "the good that was in them might become their own." The *logika*, however, had other notions. Origen explains: ". . . but slothfulness, and a dislike of labour in preserving what is good, and an aversion to and a neglect of better things, furnished the beginning of a departure from goodness." After all, ". . . everything which is a gift, may be taken away, and disappear."[21]

attributed their demise, not to a deliberate action on their parts, but rather to their "inherent changeability, their laziness or weariness which caused them to make the wrong choice, to neglect God and thus to fall into evil."[22]

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[16] Tripolitis, 94. Edward Moore cites a Greek fragment from G.W. Butterworth's 1966 translation of *On the First Principles*, in which Origen explains:

> The God and Father, who holds the universe together, is superior to every being that exists, for he imparts to each one from his own existence that which each one is; the Son, being less than the Father, is superior to rational creatures alone (for he is second to the Father); the Holy Spirit is still less, and dwells within the saints alone. So that in this way the power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and that of the Son is more than that of the Holy Spirit, and in turn the power of the Holy Spirit exceeds that of every other holy being (Fragment 9).

See Edward Moore, "Origen of Alexandria," *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, http://www.iep.utm.edu/, January 21, 2015.

[17] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.9.1 (*ANF* 4:289). This aspect of Origen's theology "has long been regarded as one of the most disagreeable features of his theology." See Peter W. Martens, "Origen's doctrine of pre-existence and the opening chapters of Genesis," *Zeitschrift Für Antikes Christentum* 16:3 (January 2012): 516.

[18] Tripolitis, 94; Origen, *On First Principles*, 2.9.1 (ANF 4:289). Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."

[19] *Ibid.*; for Origen, God's wisdom has an eternal quality; it has always existed. Such being the case, the "outline of all created beings" has also existed in eternity. They were merely waiting for "actualization" by the Wisdom, or Logos, the intermediary known as the Son.

[20] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.9.6 (*ANF* 4:292).

[21] *Ibid.,* 2.9.2 (*ANF* 4:290).

[22] *Ibid.* who explains: "Like Plotinus and other contemporary Platonists, Origen upheld the Socratic-Platonic principle that a rational being would not deliberately and knowingly select evil. . . . Freedom is for Origen the ability of the created spirit to change, to develop and grow by advancing toward God or to neglect the good, and become abased." A free and deliberate act of moving away from the creator and into evil does not fit in Origen's philosophical and theological system.

Having fallen away from God's love and goodness, the *logika* become alienated from God and, in the process, souls. Origen uses the Greek word *psyche* (ψυχή) for souls, a term he appropriated from the verb ψύχεσθαι, which commonly refers to making cold or cool,[23] as found in Plato and Aristotle. Origen reasons that a fallen *logika* has "cooled from that natural and divine warmth, and therefore has been placed in its present position, and called by its present name."[24]

The Persistence of the Soul (and the person)

Defection

By neglecting the divinely-desired good, the *logika*—rational beings created by God—made poor use of their freedom, becoming "immersed in evil."[25] Origen

Since the initial fall away from God, the *logika* or rational beings possess some kind of corporeal nature.[26] The only rational creature to avoid the fall and persist as incorporeal with God is the soul of Christ.[27] God created bodies for the remainder of the rational beings—*logika*—consequent to their fall away from him; afterward, according to Origen, the fallen rational beings "never have lived nor do live without it [= a body]; for an incorporeal life will rightly be considered a prerogative of the Trinity alone."[28]

Still, Origen maintains that bodily substance can be incorporeal: "so pure and refined as to be like the *æther*, and of a celestial purity and clearness."[29] He concedes, however, that such a body will be known only to God and the divine triad. Rather, what a body looks like depends upon "the will and moral development of the individual being."[30] Origen insists:

> As we have remarked above, therefore, that material substance of this world, possessing a nature admitting of all possible transformations, is, when dragged down to beings of a lower order, moulded into the crasser and more solid condition of a body, so as to distinguish those visible and varying forms of the world; but when it becomes the servant of more perfect and more blessed beings, it shines in the

[23] *Ibid*.
[24] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.8.3 (*ANF* 4:288).
[25] Tripolitis, 95.
[26] Tripolitis, 96.
[27] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria." Origen explains: "That the nature, indeed, of His soul was the same as that of all others cannot be doubted, otherwise it could not be called a soul were it not truly one. But since the power of choosing good and evil is within the reach of all, this soul which belonged to Christ elected to love righteousness, so that in proportion to the immensity of its love it clung to it unchangeably and inseparably . . ." (Origen, *On First Principles*, 2.6.5 (*ANF* 4:283).
[28] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.3.2; 2.1.4 (*ANF* 4:271; 268). Martens remarks that, ". . . in Origen's narrative, this sort of embodiment in a corporeal world comes after, and not before, the fall." See Martens, 519.
[29] *Ibid.,* 1.6.4 (*ANF* 4:262). Cf. Tripolitis, 96.
[30] Tripolitis, 96.

> splendour of celestial bodies, and adorns either the angels of God or the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body, out of all which will be filled up the diverse and varying state of the one world.[31]

In other words, the more an individual soul progresses toward God, the more glistening it appears to be; the body in which this soul is enclosed, enjoys a "finer"[32] shape and texture. On the other hand, those souls who resist God undergo a coarse and unattractive bodily form.

God created bodies for His purposes; however, not all bodies are human containers. Bodies are the world or the entire material universe. They became what they are, not because of "any partiality on the part of the Disposer . . ." Rather "the cause of the diversity and variety among these beings is due to their conduct, which has been marked either with greater earnestness or indifference, according to the goodness or badness of their nature . . ."[33]

Their conduct resulted in a hierarchy in the material universe[34]:

1. The *super-celestial* represent those rational beings (*logika,* souls) whose fall or defection was only a short distance from God. They are the ones "placed in happier abodes, and clothed with heavenly and resplendent bodies" existing as angelic beings, the sun, moon, and stars (cf. 1 Cor 15:41).

2. The *earthly* are those rational beings who fell farther away from God and are embodied as human beings. Origen points out the pronounced inequities between human beings politically, socially, economically, and personally, declining to enumerate "all the horrors of human misery."

3. The *invisible* represent the "lower powers [= *inferna*] to which earthly things have been entrusted for administration." These are the rational beings who rejected God outright, turning completely against Him. They became demonic or evil spirits.

Education

Thus, for Origen, the material universe was created by God as a "penitential dwelling"[35] place for fallen rational beings. The world is a cosmic academy, a training

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[31] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.2.2 (*ANF* 4:270).

[32] Tripolitis, 96. Origen [*On First Principles,* 2.1.4 (*ANF* 4:269)] believes that the qualities of "heat, cold, dryness, and humidity" are implanted in matter to "produce the different kinds of bodies."

[33] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.8.2 (*ANF* 4:265). González explains that Origen's understanding of bodies is tri-level. There are "heavenly beings, whose bodies are ethereal; we who have fallen unto this world, with our fleshly bodies; and the demons, whose bodies are even coarser than ours." Justo L. González, *From the Beginnings to the Council of Chalcedon* (vol 1, *A History of Christian Thought*; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 221.

[34] The information is summarized from, *Ibid.,* 2.9.2-3 (*ANF* 4:289-90); with additional comments by Tripolitis, 97.

[35] Tripolitis, 97, 102.

ground "for educating and disciplining the souls, a place through which and from which the souls must rise to apprehend and become once again a part of the world of truth and ultimate reality."[36]

Origen believed the world, the material creation, is a place of both punishment and blessing, or more to the point, "a type of punishment that is itself a blessing."[37] He concedes that "in what is called the 'present world' life is a calamity, or at least the first and greatest struggle of the soul."[38] The soul, enveloped by the body, endures a constant onslaught of punishments, evils, and affliction. Origen refers to the disastrous life of Job—his losses, the dangers he faced, and the inept counsel of his so-called friends. None were accidents; they were part of the divine curriculum:

> The result of all the foregoing remarks [re: Job] is to show, that all the occurrences in the world which are considered to be of an intermediate kind, whether they be mournful or otherwise are brought about, not indeed by God, and yet not without Him; while He not only does not prevent those wicked and opposing powers that are desirous to bring about these things (*from accomplishing their purpose*), but even permits them to do so, although only on certain occasions and to certain individuals, as is said with respect to Job himself . . .[39]

God attempts to educate and train souls for his purposes. Origen rejects both the Platonic and Gnostic concepts of the human soul. Instead, his thinking converges on Paul's dualistic distinction between the flesh and the spirit (cf. Rom 8:3-16; Gal 5:16-26). While residing in its earthly schoolhouse, Origen argues that "the will of the soul is something intermediate between the flesh and the spirit . . ."[40] In other words, the evil endured in the human struggle on earth is the attempt of the flesh and spirit to "gain control of the soul."[41] If the soul obeys the spirit, it relates to the Spirit of God; if, however, the soul follows fleshly corruptions, it demonstrates hostility to God.[42]

God respects, as it were, human freedom as the soul decides which to follow. It is not that God is incapable of persuading and admonishing souls; but, souls (i.e.,

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[36] *Ibid.,* 97.

[37] Stefan Nordgaard, "Body, sin, and society in Origen of Alexandria," *Studia Theologica* 66:1 (May 2012), 21.

[38] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 2.42 (*ANF* 4:448). Indeed, Origen is willing to say, citing the Psalmist (43:20 LXX), that the material world is a "place of affliction."

[39] Origen, *On First Principles,* 3.2.7 (*ANF* 4:334); emphasis mine.

[40] *Ibid.,* 2.8.4; 3.4.2 (*ANF* 4:289; 338).

[41] Tripolitis, 108.

[42] Riemer Roukema, ""Souls," in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, 202. Origen contends that the soul "elects" which of the two (flesh or spirit) it will obey. "And if it yield itself up to the pleasures of the flesh, it renders men carnal; but when it unites itself with the spirit, it produces men of the Spirit, and who on that account are termed spiritual. And this seems to be the meaning of the apostle in the words, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit." See *On First Principles*, 3.4.2 (*ANF* 4:338).

persons) must be willing to submit themselves to the divine pedagogy as disclosed in the canon of Scripture and "by means of those persons who, through God's gracious appointment, are the instructors of His hearers."[43] For Origen, God's training is dialectical in nature; God is, so to speak, the persuader, but he anticipates a response, a submission, a yielding to his persuading. "And therefore it must not be said that it is because God is incapable of persuading men that they are not persuaded, but because they will not accept the faithful words of God."[44]

Accordingly, the struggle continues throughout the lifetime of the human being, the final decision always hanging in doubt. But, if the human decision is in doubt, Origen himself has no doubts about how God will resolve the issue. Most of all, Origen could not fathom a God who would create souls and assign them to bodies, only to watch as the soul dissipates "into the oblivion of evil (non-being) for all eternity."[45] It may well be that one lifetime is not sufficient for a particular soul to achieve salvation.

Thus, in death, education and training continues. For Origen, even venerable saints like Peter and Paul required additional training to achieve purification.[46] The location of this divine "school of the soul" is "in some place situated on the earth, which holy Scripture calls paradise."[47] Origen believes that these souls will receive instruction about their past lives on earth as well as certain future events. Faithful learners—the pure in heart and holy of mind—will progress quickly and come "to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven . . ."[48] There they will enter the mansions of heaven, a place analogous to Greek globes or spheres, and "in each of which he will first see clearly what is done there, and in the second place, will discover the reason why things are so done: and thus he will in order pass through all gradations, following Him who hath passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, who said, 'I will that where I am, these may be also'."[49] Origen's thinking is similar to the "popular doctrine of astral or celestial eschatology found in many of the writings of the second-third centuries."[50]

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[43] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 6.57 (*ANF* 4:599).
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."
[46] Tripolitis, 113, referring to Origen's commentary on Numbers 25.
[47] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.11.6 (*ANF* 4:299).
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] Tripolitis, 113; in particular, Tripolitis refers to the writings of Numenius, the so-called father of Neoplatonism. George Karamanolis notes that Numenius was well-received among Christian scholars of his day, not the least of which was due to his respect for the Jewish tradition, and through his allusions to Plato as being like Moses speaking Attic Greek and to Jesus. See his "Numenius", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), http://plato.stanford.edu /archives/ win2014/entries/numenius/. Origen was regularly "in company" with the works of Numenius as well as Plato, Cranius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, and Nicomachus (see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.19). That Origen had an impressive knowledge of Numenius' work is evident from the various citations by him in *Against Celsus* (1.15; 4.51; 5.57; 5.38), a remarkable fact considering that Origen usually cites from Scripture (see Angelos Kritikos,

However, the souls of the evil are "unable to make the ascent" into "the sphere of the planets, which Scripture calls heaven." They remain beneath the earth where indeed they undergo punishment by fire. But, according to Origen, the fire is not material; it is, rather, a mental state, as it were, during which the soul views by God's educative powers a visual history "of all the foul, and shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done . . ."[51] These souls experience the fires of hell as mental states of disorder, dissolution, and dissension. Only God's healing fire can solidify the disintegration of the soul and return it a lasting restoration. The judgment fire of God is not punitive in nature, but healing like a physician's balm. It educates and purifies.[52]

But, how long will it take for souls who have followed and obeyed the wicked commands of the devil and participated in "persistent and inveterate wickedness"[53] to be purified? Origen concedes that it may take "many ages . . . improved by this stern method of training . . . [to advance] to a better condition . . ."[54] This is the genesis of Origen's doctrine of multiple ages, in which some souls would be re-born in order to undergo the training and education of God all with "a view to ultimate salvation."[55] Because souls develop "at different levels and speeds,"[56] Origen believes that "after this age," there will be "other ages" and "other ages again to follow" . . . [until] the whole universe will come to a perfect termination."[57]

This aspect of Origen's teaching has been historically troublesome, since it seems to imply some form of transmigration of souls (*metempsychosis*) from one age to a subsequent one due to their incorrigible nature. But to what? An animal? Another human being? Origen rejects those possibilities. In his *Commentary on Matthew* he flatly denounces the "the dogma of transmigration, which is foreign to the church of God, and not handed down by the Apostles, nor anywhere set forth in the Scriptures."[58]

"Platonism and Principles in Origen," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies;* Supplement No. S94PART2: *Greek and Roman Philosophy 100 BC - 200 AD* (June 2007): 406-7 [403–417].

[51] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.10.4 (*ANF* 4:295); cf. Tripolitis, 113-14.
[52] Tripolitis, 114.
[53] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.6.3 (*ANF* 4:261).
[54] *Ibid.*
[55] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."
[56] Tripolitis, 114.
[57] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.3.5 (*ANF* 4:273). Origen argues elsewhere that "there were ages before our own, and that there will be others after it. It is not, however, to be supposed that several worlds existed at once, but that, after the end of this present world, others will take their beginning." (3.5.4)
[58] Origen, *Commentary on Matthew*, 13.1 (*ANF* 9:474). See also, *Contra Celsus*, 7.32, where Origen affirms: "Our teaching on the subject of the resurrection is not, as Celsus imagines, derived from anything that we have heard on the doctrine of metempsychosis . . ." (*ANF* 4:623).

Rather, Origen maintains some continuity between one's present body and the body in the age to come. Only those who are ignorant of Christian teaching would dare to say that human "souls pass from the bodies of men into the bodies of dogs, according to their varying degree of wickedness . . ."[59] To Origen transmigration was nothing less than paganism; he argued fervently:

> . . . but we, who do not find this at all in the divine Scripture, say that the more rational condition changes into one more irrational, undergoing this affection in consequence of great slothfulness and negligence. But, also, in the same way, a will which was more irrational, because of its neglect of reason, sometimes turns and becomes rational, so that that which at one time was a dog, loving to eat of the crumbs that fell from the table of its masters, comes into the condition of a son.

Unlike those in the Platonic tradition, Origen did not denigrate the physical body. Rather than an evil mass of *soma* imprisoning the soul, Origen viewed the body as "providing each soul with a unique identity."[60] The body, however, is in a state of constant flux, but always looking to the time of resurrection when the soul will reshape it "by whatever matter then exists" into a new body.[61]

Restoration

The time will come, however, when all souls will be purified and return to their original state of perfection, a time of "the perfection and completion of things."[62] The completion is thoroughly directed by the judgment of God and comprehensive in nature, including human souls, angels, celestial beings, and demons.[63] The restoration of all beings, or *apokatastasis*, ranks as one of the most important, if again troublesome, concepts in Origen's philosophy—"the touchstone by which he judges all other theories."[64] Indeed, it was this teaching upon which Origen's later opponents largely based their charges of heresy. None was considered more heretical that Origen's notion that even the devil himself will evidently turn of his own free will to God.[65]

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[59] *Ibid.*

[60] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."

[61] Briane E. Daley, "Resurrection," in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, 184. Moore, "Origen of Alexandria," comments: "This is an important point for an understanding of Origen's epistemology, which is based upon the idea that God educates each soul according to its inherent abilities, and that the abilities of each soul will determine the manner of its knowledge. We may say, then, that the uniqueness of the soul's body is an image of its uniqueness of mind. This is the first inkling of the development of the concept of the person and personality in the history of Western thought."

[62] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.6.1 (*ANF* 4:260). Origen admits that his statements on this topic are not to be taken with dogmatic certainty. Rather, he approaches the topic "in the style of a disputation rather than of strict definition."

[63] Tripolitis, 114; cf. Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.6.1; 2.10.8 (*ANF* 4:260; 292-3).

[64] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."

[65] *Ibid.*

Origen bases much of his thinking on this matter on biblical texts. As a biblical scholar, he appeals in particular to 1 Cor 15:25-28:

> 25 For He must reign until He has put all His enemies under His feet. 26 The last enemy that will be abolished is death. 27 For He has put all things in subjection under His feet. But when He says, "All things are put in subjection," it is evident that He is excepted who put all things in subjection to Him. 28 When all things are subjected to Him, then the Son Himself also will be subjected to the One who subjected all things to Him, so that God may be all in all.

Origen focused special attention on v 28: "so that God may be all in all." The evil souls who were initially unable to make the ascent to heaven "will arrive in due measure and order at that land and at that training which is contained in it, where they may be prepared for those better institutions to which no addition can be made."[66] So powerful is the Word of God that it "shall prevail over the entire rational creation, and change every soul into His own perfection; in which state every one, by the mere exercise of his power, will choose what he desires, and obtain what he chooses."[67] The "entire rational creation" presumably includes the demonic and even devil himself.[68] Origen explains to Celsus:

> For although, in the diseases and wounds of the body, there are some which no medical skill can cure, yet we hold that in the mind there is no evil so strong that it may not be overcome by the Supreme Word and God. For stronger than all the evils in the soul is the Word, and the healing power that dwells in Him; and this healing He applies, according to the will of God, to every man. The consummation of all things is the destruction of evil . . .[69]

Origen's restoration or *apokatastasis*, however, did not align with the church's teaching at that time on the resurrection of the body. The notion popular during Origen's lifetime was that the human person will be resurrected with the same earthly body inhabited on earth. To some extent, Origen agrees. The body does upon death experience a change, but not to its essential substance. The body, created from dust, will upon death return to dust, and will one day experience the resurrection; but, with a distinctive difference. Origen contends that the body will "advance to the glory of a spiritual body."[70]

In other words, at the *apokatastasis*, the soul "will have become pure spirit, [and] the body which will continue to serve the spirit, will be purified and attain a

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[66] Origen, *On First Principles,* 3.6.9 (*ANF* 4:348).

[67] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 8.72 (*ANF* 4:667).

[68] Tripolitis, 114. See footnote 5 (*ANF* 4:346). For an overview of this aspect of Origen's thought, see: Lisa R. Holliday, "Will Satan Be Saved? Reconsidering Origen's Theory of Volition in *'Peri Archon'*," *Vigiliae Christianae* 63:1 (Jan 2009): 1-23.

[69] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 8.72 (*ANF* 4:667). The destruction of evil would presumably include the devil and his demons. Origen admits that "although as to the question whether it shall be so destroyed that it can never anywhere arise again, it is beyond our present purpose to say."

[70] Origen, *On First Principles,* 3.6.5 (*ANF* 4:346).

spiritual quality and nature."[71] As a spiritual body, the resurrection body will be more ethereal or "celestial" in nature and thus suitable to its new heavenly environs.[72] That does not mean that souls lose their distinctive or characteristic form. Rather, it is the soul which provides the body with "substantial continuity, and that imposes on it the unique perceptible 'form' (*eidos*) by which features remain identifiable despite the changes of age, growth, and illness."[73] But, it is not the celestial body that enables persons to persist; rather, persistence is anchored in the soul due to its eternal nature and linkage with God.

Persisting on the Persistence Question

A recurring motif throughout this paper, and indeed all the way through Origen's *On First Principles,* is the relationship of the soul to the body. This becomes even more significant as Origen describes the postmortem resurrection of the body. He is particularly attracted to the Pauline notion of the "spiritual body" as referenced in 1 Cor 15. He utilizes this passage as a proof-text for his explanation of the resurrected body and how it relates to physical or earthly bodies. The passage also has eschatological significance for Origen as he explains "how human bodies achieve consummation in God (I Cor. 15.28)."[74]

Persistence conditions relate to the sorts of changes a person (or a thing) can undergo or survive without ceasing to exist.[75] Origen's writings, in particular *On First Principles* and *Contra Celsus*, teem with persistence issues. Specifically, Origen makes a sharp demarcation between physical and resurrected bodies without sacrificing the "unique identity between them"[76] and that ensures they remain numerically identical.

Substantial Change

Fundamental to Origen's understanding of persistence is his view of the human body. Origen insists that "bodily nature admits of diversity and variety of change, so that it is capable of undergoing all possible transformations . . ."[77] The material of the human body is in a constant state of flux based on material needs. In

[71] Tripolitis, 114.

[72] *Ibid.* Origen contends: " . . . but when [the body] becomes the servant of more perfect and more blessed beings, it shines in the splendour of celestial bodies, and adorns either the angels of God or the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body . . ." See Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.2.2 (*ANF* 4:270).

[73] Daley, 184.

[74] Brandon Morgan, "'We Will All Be Changed': Materiality, Resurrection And Reaping Spiritual Bodies In Origen's *Peri Archon*," *American Theological Inquiry* 7:2 (Aug 2014), 13.

[75] Kevin J. Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature: A Christian Materialist Alternative to the Soul* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 70.

[76] Morgan, 13.

[77] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.1.4 (*ANF* 4:269).

other words, the body is in "a continual state of change and transformation, caused by the food which is eaten, absorbed by the body, and turned into tissue."[78]

Origen contends that the bodily or

> . . . corporeal nature admits of a change in substance; whence also God, the arranger of all things, has the service of this matter at His command in the moulding, or fabrication, or re-touching of whatever He wishes, so that corporeal nature may be transmuted, and transformed into any forms or species whatever, according as the deserts of things may demand.[79]

Thus, the body is in service to God and to the soul, a "fixer-upper" so to speak, which God uses in accordance to the "deserts" or merits of the person as the soul makes its journey back to God. Because bodies are subject to change, and particularly a change into resurrected bodies that are substantially different, Origen concludes:

> . . . so also, with respect to the state of the body, we are to hold that this very body which now, on account of its service to the soul, is styled an animal body, will, by means of a certain progress, when the soul, united to God, shall have been made one spirit with Him (the body even then ministering, as it were, to the spirit), attain to a spiritual condition and quality, especially since, as we have often pointed out, bodily nature was so formed by the Creator, as to pass easily into whatever condition he should wish, or the nature of the case demand.[80]

For Origen, God creates bodies that accord with their specific environment; since "the heavenly environment is radically different from the present earthly environment," the result is that "souls require an alternative sort of body that can accommodate one's surroundings."[81] Against Celsus, Origen argues:

> Our teaching on the subject of the resurrection is not, as Celsus imagines, derived from anything that we have heard on the doctrine of metempsychosis; but we know that the soul, which is immaterial and invisible in its nature, exists in no material place, without having a body suited to the nature of that place.[82]

Substantial Continuity

Since Origen posits a radical difference between the physical and resurrection bodies, how does he go about establishing that particular body's

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[78] Morgan, 14; see Henry Chadwick, "Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body," *Harvard Theological Review* 41:2 (April 1948), 86. Chadwick refers to a fragment of Origen's commentary on Psalm 1, quoted by Methodius of Olympus in his own work, *On the Resurrection*, and preserved in Greek by Epiphanius of Salamis in his *Panarion*. These works appear in a volume translated by Frank Williams (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishing, 2013).

[79] Origen, *On First Principles,* 3.6.7 (*ANF* 4:347).

[80] *Ibid.,* 3.6.6 (*ANF* 4:347).

[81] Morgan, 15.

[82] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 7.32 (*ANF* 4:623).

identity? If, as Paul writes, the physical body "is sown a natural body, [and] it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor 15:44), what causes the identity of a person to cross over from one to the other and remain numerically the same?[83]

Above all, it is the soul, the ultimate principle of persistence. Thus, while the physical body experiences constant transformation "as its components are assimilated and discharged"[84] during its sojourn on earth, the soul is the anchor that provides the body with substantial continuity. To demonstrate how this happens, Origen employs the philosophical constructs of principle and form:

Principle Origen makes use of the Stoic conception of σπερματικός λόγος or seminal principle, "a philosophical explanation for the link between the physical and spiritual bodies which Christian doctrine proclaimed."[85] The notion also reinforces Origen's confidence in I Cor 15, where Paul compares the resurrection body to the growth of "bare grain, perhaps of wheat or of something else" (1 Cor 15:37b). The grain of wheat sown in the ground sprouts and matures by means of its *seminal principle,* the power that causes the maturation process.[86]

Form Origen asserts that the soul impresses, as it were, on the body the distinctive and distinguishable "form" (*eidos*) by which human features remain perceptible notwithstanding advances in age and physical growth, and the incapacitating effects of disease.[87] When the resurrection occurs, the soul will produce this distinctive *eidos* anew with the result that this new body "shines" like celestial bodies, and "adorns . . . the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body."[88]

Abounding in confidence, Origen asserts:

> We ought not, however, to doubt that the nature of this present body of ours may, by the will of God, who made it what it is, be raised to those qualities of refinement, and purity, and splendour (which characterize the body referred to), according as the condition of things requires, and the deserts of our rational nature shall demand.[89]

In his commentary on Romans 1, Origen argues that "the real Peter and Paul, so to speak, is always the same . . . even if the nature of the body is in a state of flux, because the form (*eidos*) characterizing the body is the same…" There is, however, one salient difference: the form (*eidos*) is now changed "for the better."

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[83] Corcoran, 130.

[84] Daley, 184.

[85] Joseph Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third-Century Church* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press,1983), 114.

[86] Chadwick, 101; see also Morgan, 15-16. Trigg, 114, explains: "It is the seminal principle which will *persist from the physical to the spiritual body*, producing, of course, a very different body in new conditions of existence" (emphasis mine).

[87] Daley, 184; Morgan 15.

[88] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.2.2 (*ANF* 4:270).

[89] *Ibid.,* 3.6.4 (*ANF* 4:346). Daley, 184, adds that, for Origen, the resurrection reveals "the unknown future form of glory lurking within our present material limitations."

And even though the change or transformation is "very great, . . . our present form will be the same in the world to come."[90]

For Origen, the application of principle and form is far more than philosophical musings. Together, they convey specific theological implications since the σπερματικός λόγος is associated with God's providential care over the mutable nature of the human body. Therefore,

> For in the same way also our bodies are to be supposed to fall into the earth like a grain; and (that *germ* being implanted in them which contains the bodily substance) although the bodies die, and become corrupted, and are scattered abroad, yet by the word of God, that very *germ* which is always safe in the substance of the body, raises them from the earth, and restores and repairs them, as the power which is in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, repairs and restores the grain into a body having stalk and ear. And so also to those who shall deserve to obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, that *germ* of the body's restoration, which we have before mentioned, by God's command restores out of the earthly and animal body a spiritual one, capable of inhabiting the heavens.[91]

Here, the Creator God implants the σπερματικός λόγος. Via his sovereign will, God exercises command over the constantly-changing body up to and including the resuscitation of the body at resurrection. In the same way, divine providence ensured that "the mortal quality of the body of Jesus" was changed by the will of God into a body "that was ethereal and divine."[92]

Thus, the body, with its distinctive and characteristic form (*eidos*), undergoing constant change, nevertheless maintains its identity throughout its earthly journey. The ability of the body to endure the changes and mature is a product of the divine *logos* within both the created material world and within the eschatological journey of the soul back to God.[93]

Origen's explanation of the "end of the world" takes him back to its creation. At the "first creation," humans received the image of God. But, the defection resulted in the soul's being clothed with a body in the material world. By exercising diligence, however, the seminal or life principle is at work producing growth and maturity. The image of God granted humans at the beginning is the guarantee that "the perfect realization of the divine likeness [will be] reached in the end by the fulfilment of the

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[90] Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Against Origen also called Adamantius, Books II and III*, 64.14.5-6.

[91] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.10.3 (*ANF* 4:294). The word translated "germ" (italicized) is the reference to the σπερματικός λόγος or life principle.

[92] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 3.41 (*ANF* 4:480); see Morgan, 16.

[93] Morgan, 17.

(necessary) works."[94] In the end, the image of God conforms humans to the likeness of God, "because undoubtedly in the consummation or end God is 'all and in all'."[95]

Origen and Personal Identity

An assessment of Origen's view of personal identity among competing views of the persistence problem takes me into muddy waters and may leave me struggling there to get myself out! In general, four views dominate scholarship pertaining to the mind-body problem or persistence: substance dualism, emergent dualism, non-reductive physicalism, and the constitution view.[96]

If Origen's position could be assigned to only one, which would it be? Or, can he be singularly assigned? Origen understands the composition of human beings in a trichotomous way—soul, body, spirit.[97] His strong emphasis on the ethereal nature of some "bodies," would push him out of any purely physicalist camp.

However, Origen views the body in a way that makes personal identity contingent on characteristics and capacities of the material object humans currently possess. Epiphanius calls attention to Origen's notion that "the form which identifies the body is the same, just as the features which characterize Peter's or Paul's bodies remain the same—characteristics <like> childhood scars, and such peculiarities <as> moles, and any others besides."[98]

His emphasis on physical criteria is a significant marker, but what does that suggest about Origen's thinking on other physicalist qualities, such as morals or character, memory, socialization, and other "somatic markers"?[99]

To be sure, Origen refers to the "memory" in his chapter "On the Resurrection, and the Judgment, the Fire of Hell, and Punishment." For him, memory is closely connected to "the mind itself, or conscience" which, through God, is shown "a kind of history" of the body's "foul, and shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done."[100] The person remembers the sins of the body in a horrifically vivid manner. The person is, obviously, known to God; but, for Origen, personal

[94] Origen, *On First Principles,* 3.6.1 (*ANF* 4:344).
[95] *Ibid.,* (*ANF* 4:345).

[96] It is above the scope of this paper to define these positions. Resources abound on this topic; the four mentioned in this paper are defined in detail with critical responses in Joel B. Green and Stuart L. Palmer, eds., *In Search of the Soul: Four Views of the Mind-Body Problem* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).
[97] Among many, see Origen, On First Principles, 3.6.6 (ANF 4:347).
[98] Epiphanius of Salamis, 64.14,1.
[99] See Nancey Murphy, *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies?* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), 138-9.
[100] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.10.4 (*ANF* 4:345).

identity is established not only by the soul encased in a human body, but also by high-level capacities that having a body supports: consciousness, memory, moral character, relationships, and, most importantly, one's relationship with God.[101]

It would appear that in the crudest of ways, Origen demonstrates a tendency toward the non-reductive physicalist view. In other words, the life principle cannot be reduced to pure physicalism; the memory is crucial to his understanding of the mind-body relationship and the persistence of the person eschatologically. But, the memories accrue from bodily existence and are thus key components in his thought.

The soul has thus made its journey, all while maintaining a God-given bodily existence of some sort. From a pre-existent soul, to defection (or fall), experiencing and maturing through the myriad of learning opportunities provided by God, to the resurrection, and back to a kind of ethereal body in God's presence. The unity of form (*eidos*) and the principle of maturity (σπερματικός λόγος) conspire to produce "a unity of identity amid the radical transformation of material bodies into spiritual bodies."[102]

Biographical Note

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[101] Murphy, 6.

[102] Morgan, 18.

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The Paradox of American Civil Religion: When Conflict Exceeds Cohesion

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American civil religion seeks to incorporate religious elements into the state and civil society. In the ideal, such a belief system claims to produce a sense of social cohesion among the various factions of American society, yet in reality "American Civil Religion" contains a dysfunctional element such that it innately reinforces ideological polarization. There lies a significant amount of inconsistency behind the meaning attached to the religious "Exodus" account in the Revolutionary War in which colonists escaped from British tyranny led by the "messianic" George Washington, the "death", "rebirth", and "sacrifice" narratives of the U.S. Civil War with Abraham Lincoln as America's savior. Ultimately, the element of martyrdom through Memorial Day and Veterans Day commemorating Americans who served sacrificed and died in war.

This paper will examine how postmodernity has contributed to "American civil religion's" inability to produce a collective conscious, a common sense of the sacred, while further fueling ethical impatience, hysteresis, the extermination of meaning, and Jean Baudrillard's concept of "obsessional society" and "phobic society".

Cultural Dissent

The paradox of American civil religion rests in the idea that it claims to produce a sense of social cohesion; however, in reality it falls significantly short of such an ideal. Rather, American civil religion provides a "smoke screen" for cultural dissent. For starters, civil religion itself functions as a by-product of the institution of politics which appropriates religion in order to suit its own purpose (Beiner). "A cynical observer might even say that an American president has to mention God or risk losing voted. A semblance of piety is merely one of the unwritten qualifications for the office" (Bellah, 41).

American civil religion has a way of masking authentic religious expression because it reflects the proliferation of the institutionalization of the "ethic of niceness" (Mestrovic). At the surface American civil religion professes its embracement of all religions, races, and ethnicities under the umbrella of a multicultural "Americanism". The ideal culture of Americanism typifies multiculturalism entails the idea that multiple ethnicities, religions, and factions co-exist on equal terms without pressure to suppress or alter one's true identity. However, Americanism's real culture embraces and encourages assimilation, especially in terms of ethnicity and religion.

One paradox lies in the idea that ethnic groups of all races in varying degrees have a common experience of toning down one's ethnicity when convenient due to constraints from direct or broad and subtle social pressure. At best American civil religion attempts to transcend all faiths, racial and ethnic constraints, it lacks

the ability to reconcile its manifold factions with its "polite religion" (Emerson, 61-62). Although the American civil religion considers the U.S. flag a sacred object of devotion, it can be regarded as a sign of hegemonic nativism among marginalized members of the U.S. moral community. Likewise, the U.S. Constitution functions as the equivalent to the most sacred book in American civil religion has only a superficial consensus in terms of its interpretation and application. Polite religion encourages conformity and going through the motion in terms of America civil religion's ritualistic and sentimental practices, while ignoring inquiry into its original purpose and meaning. Furthermore, the First Amendment (1791) from the sacred document of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution which legally gives provision to freedom of expression, which includes expressions which may be deemed as blasphemous in American civil religion.

Just as all formal religions have rituals which reinforce beliefs through the distinction between the sacred and the profane elements of life shared by a moral community, American civil religion contains rituals which function in a similar matter. As an example, when color guards march down an isle in a distinct order and formation, the procession caries the semblance of priesthood led by acolytes in a worship service or mass. Once the U.S. flag has been properly placed, as the melody begins to play for the National Anthem, individuals will tend to rise if they haven't already, many will place their right hand over their heart, and men typically will remove their hats. Even fewer will sing along the words of the National Anthem. A strong majority of American citizens do not know the meaning of the words to the song. Typically, the ritual consist of the singing of the first verse which very few American know with exception to the opening and climatic closing phrase which sometime invites a brief moment of celebration. Even fewer members of the moral community know all of the verses or are consciously aware of the existence of additional verses. Nevertheless, upon hearing the melody most Americans know the proper etiquette or the appropriate response. Therefore, inauthentic religious expression can become normative at the subconscious level in contrast with individual and collective beliefs.

Although violations of the appropriate response has been legally protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (1791), such actions range from mild transgressions such as not covering one's heart nor removal of hats to blasphemy in American civil religion such as making excessive noise or refusing to stand if able. Some religious traditions prohibit pledging allegiance to the flag, not because they are unpatriotic but because according to their tradition pledging allegiance to the U.S. flag has been regarded as a form of idolatry.

Thanksgiving can be considered a major holiday in American civil religion. However, some Native Americans may understandably so have a unique understanding and interpretation of the sacred day which does not conform to the expectations of the consensus of the moral society. Independence Day is another sacred day in American civil religion. Nevertheless, Africans in the Diaspora in America were not collectively included in the number in terms of free despite the fact that African American blood was shed along with patriots in the

Revolutionary War. Americanism itself at times can be too American for racial and ethnic minorities, 19th and 20th Century European Immigrant groups, religious minorities, and women because they are equally American but collectively lack a voice in terms of determining their narratives and place in the construction of American civil religion. True American civil religion is constructed from the "bottom up" rather than aristocratically instructed.

There lies a thin veil between the "ethic of niceness" and what is known in prison jargon as "the convict code". The ethic of niceness derives from Riesman's concept of the "other-directed" cultural type which embraces and encourages tolerance. However, American tolerance "has blossomed into the full-blown and highly organized cults of multiculturalism and political correctness" (Mestrovic, 43). The cult of political correctness accompanies the strict requirement of not to offend anyone. When the commandment of offense becomes breached whether deliberately or accidentally, then a following commandment required a swift apology, explanation, or some form of rhetorical means of neutralization. Nevertheless, sincerity or conviction does not rank as one of the requirements. At the surface, such actions appears as essential in order maintain peace and social order as requisites for functional social cohesion. However, such codes of avoidance of offense discourage assertiveness. Instead of an honest and possibly painful confrontation regarding racial, ethnic, or political dissent, the "ethic of niceness" encourages a nice, superficial, and sanitized dialogue about race (Mestrovic, 1997). As a consequence of the hidden dilemma of the cult "political correctness", (1) offending becomes inevitable because its avoidance lacks substantial possibility however (2) accountability instead becomes dismissed. The end result rest in the boundaries between malice and frankness become fluid rather than concrete.

On the other hand, the "convict code" entails "be tough", if you feel hurt or pain, simply "take it" and don't let it show. Likewise, the convict code discourages assertiveness and therefore leaves aggression as the default means for honest confrontation.

Beaudrillard's describes postmodern America as on a trajectory of increasingly becoming an "obsessional society" (Baudrillard, 40). American civil religion legitimizes a culture that values the idea of protecting and containing everything in order to prevent the sacred from becoming defiled. Furthermore, Baudrillard's diagnosis of postmodern America is that of a "phobic society" (Baudrillard, 40) highly consumed with saving time. Such evidence rests in the idea of increased efficiency of time and money as the basis for all major decisions which can explain a diversity of social problems such as suppressed wages to truncated legal processes at the expense of a fair trial.

Unreconciled Religious Diversity

The United States is the world's most religiously diverse nation. "The separation of church and state has not denied the political realm a religious dimension" (Bellah, 42). American civil religion has a hidden religious bias. In light of the American creeds of "freedom of religion" and "separation between church and

state", some religions have been regarded as more or less "American" than others. The best of American civil religion has not extinguished religious xenophobic tendencies within the national borders. Even within American Christianity, there lies enough diversity within, and across denominational and sectarian lines that some Christian groups many not consider another Christian group really Christian. The best of ecumenical dialogue as a manifestation of American civil religions vision of tolerance has at best a modest effect on reconciling the theologically and ideologically polarized factions of Christianity ranging from fundamentalism to progressive. The various theological camps often find themselves not only the object of scorn and ridicule by the other but unable to relate to one another beyond a surface level. The emerging church functions as an exception which has encouraged true diversity in terms of religious expression over conformity and has adopted Michel Maffesol's concept of "neotribalism" which values tolerance among socially distant ethnic, religious, and political groups.

Robert Bellah describes the U.S. Civil War as a time of trial, and a period of testing which results in bloodshed. The Nineteenth Century war entailed the religious elements of sacrifice, martyrdom and rebirth. By-products of the U.S. Civil War include the Thirteenth Amendment (1865) which resulted in legal slavery abolition, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 which gave former slaves citizenship, the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) which ended the sixty-percent compromise, clarified citizenship by naturalization, and equal protection for all citizens. In addition, the U.S. Civil War clarified the relationship between state level and federal levels of government. Collectively, the U.S. as a nation was reborn.

As the nation was reborn there remain sectors of the U.S. population who remain dissatisfied with the results of the Civil War. "Civil religion at its best is a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendent religious reality as seen in or, one could almost say, as revealed through the experience of the American people" (Bellah, 49). However, the best of civil religion provides a poster of cohesion, but a spirit of conflict underneath the surface often beyond appearances.

American civil religion lacks the ability to extinguish social polarization, culture wars, or religious xenophobia. However; it does function as a stabilizing institution. Yet, stability fall short of true patriotism, beyond its ethnocentric undertones. True patriotism entails love for one's country, beyond mere tolerance of its people. Just as individuals who do not love their fellow human creatures who they can see, cannot honestly love God who they do not see (I John 4:20 appropriated). In the same way, same like and same manner, one cannot honestly say they love their country if they do not have love towards those people make up the country.

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Theology's Turn to *Jus Post Bellum*: Reconsidering Just Cause and the Phases of War

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Introduction

The air was crisp and cool, and the sky was clear and deep blue. It was just after dinner. I sat on the front porch drinking tea with my SF ODA (Special Forces Operational Detachment Alpha) team commander. We were discussing the day's events and what lay ahead for tomorrow. My team had just completed a combat tour in Afghanistan. Now we were in Uzbekistan on a training mission. Both of us were anxious to return home to our family and friends.

Amidst the discussion that evening was the then possible U.S. led invasion into Iraq. Looking up at the clear night sky that evening in late March 2003, we both knew it in our gut. If we were going to invade Iraq, tonight would be the perfect night to do it. The next morning we watched the live news broadcasts of U.S. tanks advancing towards Bagdad. Our prediction was proven correct. The U.S. was now engaged in combat operations in both Afghanistan and now Iraq.

Both of these wars were of course precipitated by the events of September 11, 2001. It has been well over a decade since the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and the failed attempt that ended in a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. While questions concerning how such horrific events could transpire on U.S. soil have not totally abated, other increasingly pressing questions are persistently being asked.

The U.S. has pronounced an end to the war in Iraq and has subsequently executed its withdrawal of troops from the region and continues to seek an end to its presences in Afghanistan.[1] Yet, as President Barrack Obama indicated in a speech given at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, ceremonially marking an end to the nine-year Iraq War, ending wars is an especially precarious business: "It's harder to end a war than begin one."[2] While there are the obvious logistical, economic, and political concerns about ending wars, there are also important ethical and moral questions that need to be addressed. In recent years, the category of *jus post bellum* has resurfaced to address the moral considerations of post war justice and peace. While the literature on *jus post bellum* continues to grow within various academic fields

[1] Melissa Ryan, "Hagel Says U.S. to Leave 1,000 Extra Troops in Afghanistan," *The Washington Post*, December 6, 2014, www.washingtonpost.com/world/hagel-pays-final-visit-to-afghanistan-as-pentagon-chief/2014/12/06/e6cf5c2c-7d17-11e4-9a27-6fdbc612bff8_story.html; Mark Landler, "U.S. Troops to Leave Afghanistan by End of 2016," *The New York Times*, May 27, 2014, www.nytimes.com/2014/05/28/world/asia/us-to-complete-afghan-pullout-by-end-of-2016-obama-to-say.html?hp&_r=0.

[2] For the full text of the President's speech, see http://www2.nbc17.com/news/2011/dec/14/complete-text-president-obamas-speech-fort-bragg-ar-1713958/.

including political philosophy, international relations, and military science,[3] Christian theology, however, has been relatively slow in addressing this important component of just war thought.[4]

The question I seek to address in this essay is not, why theology has been so late in reengaging this important ethical topic. Rather I seek to address what are the results, at least initially, of theology's engagement with *jus post bellum* discussions. The answer I propose is two-fold: 1) enhanced scrutiny regarding just war criteria, especially the *jus ad bellum* criterion of just cause, and 2) a more developed understanding of the relationship of the phases of war (*ad bellum, in bello,* and *post bellum*) are among the results of a growing number of theologians' growing engagement with the burgeoning concept of *jus post bellum.*

The increased scrutiny concerning the *jus ad bellum* criterion of just cause runs in varying directions. In one direction, there have been attempts to limit just cause by way of implementing *jus post bellum* principles as a kind of litmus test for *ad bellum* claims and justifications. However, the resulting emphasis on the relationship of the phases of war likewise provides a caution against the strict partitioning of the phases of war, which is required to execute such a test. In another direction, there have been efforts to broaden the *jus ad bellum* criterion of

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[3] For some of the pertinent scholarship from political philosophy, see Gary J. Bass, "Jus Post Bellum," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 32, no. 4 (October 1, 2004): 384–412; Brian Orend, *War and International Justice: A Kantian Perspective* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000); Brian Orend, "Jus Post Bellum," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 117–137; Brian Orend, "Justice after War," *Ethics & International Affairs* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2002): 43–56; Brian Orend, "Jus Post Bellum: A Just War Theory Perspective," in *Jus Post Bellum: Towards a Law of Transition From Conflict to Peace*, ed. Carsten Stahn and Jann K. Kleffner (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2008), 31–52. For international relations, see Alex J. Bellamy, "The Responsibilities of Victory: Jus Post Bellum and the Just War," *Review of International Studies* 34, no. 4 (2008): 601–625; Inger Österdahl and Esther van Zadel, "What Will Jus Post Bellum Mean? Of New Wine and Old Bottles," *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 14, no. 2 (June 20, 2009): 175 –207; Carsten Stahn and Jann K. Kleffner, *Jus Post Bellum: Towards a Law of Transition From Conflict to Peace* (The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press, 2008); Robert E. Williams and Dan Caldwell, "Jus Post Bellum: Just War Theory and the Principles of Just Peace.," *International Studies Perspectives* 7, no. 4 (November 2006): 309–320. For an introduction to the literature in military science, see Ricard P. DiMeglio, "The Evolution of the Just War Tradition: Defining Jus Post Bellum," *Military Law Review* 186 (2005): 116–63; Rebecca Johnson, "Jus Post Bellum and Counterinsurgency," *Journal of Military Ethics* 7, no. 3 (November 2008): 215–30; Davida E. Kellogg, "Jus Post Bellum: The Importance of War Crimes Trials," *Parameters*, Autumn 2002, 87–99.

[4] "Ethicists have also recently proposed that moral reasoning about war must consider the *jus post bellum*, that is, postwar justice," Matthew A. Shadle, "What Is at Stake in the Debate over Presumptions in the Just War Tradition," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 32, no. 2 (2012): 134.

"Since then [1994], mostly philosophers, political theorists, international law scholars, and military scientists have treated this neglected dimension of just war, while bishops and theologians have largely been silent on the issue (12)…Missing from these discussions [of *jus post bellum*] has been a theological voice" (177), Mark J. Allman and Tobias L. Winright, *After the Smoke Clears: The Just War Tradition & Post War Justice* (MaryKnoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2010). Allman and Winright are referring to an article by Michael J. Schuck published in 1994, Michael J. Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," *The Christian Century* 111, no. 30 (October 26, 1994): 982–84. Schuck's article marked a significant turning point concerning theological reflection on *jus post bellum* concerns.

just cause in light of the increased frequency of genocide and humanitarian interventions over the past decades.

Theology's reengagement with *jus post bellum* discussions is a welcomed development, though post war ethical concern is not a novel concept in the just war tradition. Looking back in the tradition, Augustine addresses issues surrounding what we would now call *jus post bellum* ethics most generally under the rubric of the criterion of right intention. He writes, "For you don't seek peace in order to stir up war; no – war is waged in order to obtain peace."[5] Elsewhere he writes, "It is therefore with the desire of peace that wars are waged…peace is the end sought for by war."[6] He does not advocate that the pursuit of peace is a just cause for war, as such a notion would conflate just cause with right intention. *Jus post bellum* discussions help to concretize or give evidence of the "indiscernible and immeasurable" criterion of right intention.[7]

Theology's Turn to *Jus Post Bellum*

In tracing theology's reengagement with *jus post bellum*, I begin with Michael J. Schuck. He is notably one of the initial voices in the contemporary dialogue surrounding post conflict justice. He wrote a short article in 1994, after the conclusion of the 1991 Persian Gulf War, noting his dismay concerning the "scandalous trivialization of war" displayed by General Norman Schwarzkopf's victory march that paraded down the streets of Disneyworld with Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck.[8] The scandalous display compelled him to ask, "If Christians are called upon to probe the moral propriety of entering [*jus ad bellum*] and conducting [*jus in bello*] war…should they not also be called upon to monitor the moral propriety of concluding a war through some set of *jus post bellum* principles?"[9]
He responds to his own question, asserting, "postwar behavior must come under moral scrutiny."[10] In fleshing out his proposal he offers three *jus post bellum* principles, which seek to provide this needed "moral scrutiny." The first principle is that of repentance, the "centerpiece" of *jus post bellum* criteria, and it calls for a postwar posture of humility by the victors. Echoing Augustine, Schuck notes that the suffering and bloodshed that occurs even in a just war is a mournful occasion. The pain and suffering endured on both sides of the conflict must be given due respect. While it may be appropriate to celebrate the return of sons and daughters from the field of battle, this principle rules out any ostentatious nationalistic celebrations of

[5] Augustine, "Letter 189: Augustine to Boniface," paragraph 6 in Augustine, *Augustine: Political Writings*, ed. E. M. Atkins and R. J. Dodaro (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), page 217.

[6] Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods, The Modern Library Classics (New York: Modern Library, 2000), book 19.12 and page 687.

[7] Allman and Winright, *After the Smoke Clears*, 100.

[8] Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," 982.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

victory. Schuck's insistence on a posture of humility and sensitivity to all parties involved in the conflict establishes the preliminary foundation to allow postwar healing to occur.[11]

Schuck's second principle is the principle of honorable surrender, which seeks to minimize the possibility of future conflict and protects the fundamental human rights of the vanquished. To this end, Schuck believes, "Victors would be expected to construct the terms and method of surrender in a manner that protects the fundamental human rights of the vanquished."[12] The ending of a war should have built into it mechanisms that seek to minimize the possibility of future conflict. For example, overzealous terms of surrender could foster feelings of strife and disgrace on the part of the vanquished. Therefore, terms of surrender should seek to foster the hope of a peaceful and harmonious future.[13]

Connected with the terms of an honorable surrender is Schuck's third principle, the principle of restoration. He notes, "The horrible effects of war on the former fields of battle continue long after the surrender."[14] The defeated, many of them innocent non-combatants, are left to contend with the aftermath of a war torn landscape. For example, there may be unexploded ordinance, unspent shell casings, and landmines remaining throughout the countryside. At a minimum, the principle of restoration would entail returning to the field of battle and removing the implements of war (landmines, etc.). In some cases, the victors would be called upon to assist in rebuilding the social infrastructure of the defeated nation.[15]

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[11] Schuck inquires, "Did Augustine not say that even a just war constitutes a mournful occasion?" (982). Precisely what constitutes this mournful occasion and the connection with repentance is not a settled matter. For instance, for a critique of Schuck's reading on Augustinian repentance in connection with a just war, see Darrell Cole, "War and Intention," in *International Studies Association* (presented at the International Studies Association, New York, NY, 2009), 20–22. For Cole's own position on the matter, see Darrell Cole, "Just War, Penance, and the Church," *Pro Ecclesia* 11, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 313–28. Likewise, some find "the criterion of repentance (as distinguished from humility) problematic…So repentance is an inappropriate criterion if the decision to go to war met *jus ad bellum* criteria and if the fighting itself compiled (for the most part) with *jus in bello* criteria. The victor might regret war had become necessary, but the victor should not feel a need to repent of doing the right thing," McCready, "Ending the War Right," 71. A contemporary classic concerning "penance" is Bernard J. Verkamp, "Moral Treatment of Returning Warriors in the Early Middle Ages," *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 16 (Fall 1988): 223–45. This work was later expanded, see Bernard J. Verkamp, *Moral Treatment of Returning Warriors in Early Medieval and Modern Times* (University of Scranton Press, 2006).

[12] Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," 982.

[13] For difficulties associated with building a case for humanitarian intervention exclusively on abstract, universal conceptions of human rights, see Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Just War and Humanitarian Intervention," *Ideas: The National Humanities Center* 8, no. 2 (2001): 1-21. Daniel Philpott argues for the superiority of "religious traditions, particularly the Abrahamic traditions, Judaism, Christianity, and Isalm" over "the liberal human rights tradition" concerning post war reconciliation. See his "Religion, Reconciliation, and Transitional Justice: The State of the Field," *Social Science Research Council Working Papers* (October 17, 2007): 1-46 and "An Ethic of Political Reconciliation," *Ethics & International Affairs* 23, no. 4 (December 2009): 389-407.

[14] Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," 983.

[15] Ibid., 983.

Schuck believes these three *jus post bellum* principles could serve to achieve two goals. First, the principles "could expand – like the already existing *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* principles – the moral sensibilities of people who believe that war, while evil, is sometimes necessary for the protection of human life."[16] He does not elaborate upon this important and positive functioning element of just war thinking, but he rather moves on to the second desired goal.[17]

In the second place, he writes, "the principles could serve as a litmus test for the sincerity of the just war claims made before and during the conflict."[18] He introduces this litmus test at two levels, the national and individual. Concerning the national level, he places emphasis upon the relationship between the various phases of conflict. He writes,

> According to existing just war theory, disproportionate and indiscriminate violence in the conduct of war discredits moral claims for entering the war. Abuse of the *jus post bellum* principles would do the same. Would this not establish for subsequent discussions of war a higher moral standard, one that would probe deeper into the victor's actual motives?[19]

Thus, for Schuck, how one wages a war (*jus in bello*) may reveal one's true motives leading up to the war (*jus ad bellum*). The moral justifications presented for having entered into a war may become tainted or diminished if in the prosecution of the war one utilizes disproportionate and indiscriminate violence. One's actions in the war may speak loudly concerning one's true motives for entering the war. The moral conduct in one phase affects the conduct in other phases.[20] As such, how one understands the relationship between the various phases of war (*jus ad bellum, jus in bello,* and *jus post bellum*) is important as it can influence one's understanding of the *telos* of just war reasoning.

The litmus test for the individual soldier centers around the just war criterion of right intent. Schuck notes, "the critical factor [for Augustine] in determining the

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[16] Ibid.

[17] That Schuck does not emphasize the goal that adds to the positive function of the just war tradition is perhaps due to his opinion towards the just war tradition as a whole. Later in the article he questions the moral adequacy of the tradition as a whole, but nonetheless concludes, "the theory is with us and will no doubt remain so for some time to come" (984). He also notes "the surprising editorial in the Vatican-connected Jesuit publication *La Civiltà Cattolica* which, soon after the gulf war, called for the abandonment of the theory" (984). For a rebuttal to the claims of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, see Patrick J. Dolan, *Just War Theory in the Gulf War Debate: A Review and Assessment* (Romae: Pontificia Studiorum Universitas a Sancto Thoma Aquinate in Urbe, 1997).

[18] Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," 983. See also Carsten Stahn, "The Future of Jus Post Bellum" in *Jus Post Bellum: Towards a Law of Transition from Conflict to Peace*, where Stahn writes, "the anticipated '*post bellum*' must coincide with *ad bellum* obligations" (233). Stahn is writing within the context of a discussion concerning what is the appropriate transition between phases. That is, when does *ad bellum* end and *in bello* begin, and when do *jus post bellum* issues begin/end? Likewise, concerning the importance of *jus post bellum* concerns, Stahan writes, "*Jus post bellum* can no longer be seen as a mere annex to *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*" (233).

[19] Ibid., 983.

[20] Ibid.

possibility of a person's involvement in a war *as a Christian* is attitude…As a result, Augustinian thought may well accommodate the *jus post bellum* principles as a test for discerning the warrior's true attitudes before and during war."[21] Schuck's goal to implement *jus post bellum* principles as a kind of litmus test seeks to narrow the criterion of just cause and offers a first glimpse into the significance of the connection of the various phases of war.

Writing in the aftermath of the first Persian Gulf War, Schuck's concern, in a post war context, was how to govern morally one's actions after the war. A little more than a decade later, on what would turn out to be the eve of a U.S. led invasion of Iraq, Kenneth R. Himes drew upon the emerging category of *jus post bellum*. Himes, this time in a pre-war context, looked to the usefulness of *jus post bellum* moral considerations.

Himes noted that the just war tradition was being employed to argue for both support and opposition to the war. As he understood the debate, those arguing in favor of the Iraq war did so by appealing to *jus ad bellum* "in a new way," a broader conception of just cause, namely regime change. He further notes, "One formulation of opposition to the war also offers something new, a style of argument suggesting the need for a third category of just war principles, a *jus post bellum*, to govern right action after war."[22]

Himes began his historical reconstruction of just cause, therefore, with Pius XII.[23] In the wake of the wreckage of two world wars, questions concerning the legitimate use of force came under heavy scrutiny. Force itself was perceived as a problem. Catholics came to agree increasingly that just cause should be narrowly conceived, almost exclusively in terms of self-defense.[24] In the ensuing Cold War, threats of nuclear war tended to reinforce the narrowly conceived criterion of just cause to self-defense.[25]

At the same time, some begin to make appeals to revolution and secession as a means of liberation from harsh regimes. At times, it was difficult to make a case for revolution in the shadow of the superpowers of East and West (the Soviet Union and the United States). However, Paul VI and others eventually affirmed that not all revolutions were in violation of the just cause principle. Thus, the recognition of the possible justness of revolution constituted the initial widening of just cause beyond self-defense exclusively.[26]

In the 1990s, understandings of just cause would widen even more. Given the atrocities and genocide in Bosnia, Rwanda, and other nations, there was increased pressure placed upon the U.S. and other countries to stop this horrific killing. A pressing moral argument emerged, namely, despotic rulers should not be

[21] Ibid., 983 and 984.

[22] Himes, "The Case of Iraq and the Just War Tradition."

[23] Ibid.

[24] Himes notes in this regard, John Courtney Murray, *We Hold These Truths*, 2nd ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Image, 1964).

[25] Himes, "Intervention, Just War, and U.S. National Security," 142.

[26] Himes, "The Case of Iraq and the Just War Tradition."

allowed to hide behind international law and the notion of national sovereignty, understood largely in geographic terms.

Therefore, this argument resulted in the conclusion that a country no longer had to wait to be attacked in order for there to be a just cause, self-defense. This paved the way for a new argument for the justification of war, namely humanitarian intervention. As Himes notes, "The most obvious and agreed upon example of humanitarian crisis is genocide."[27] Thus, John Paul II endorsed humanitarian intervention as a just cause for war in the case of genocide.[28]

Further, Himes notes that in the run up to the Iraq war, there were arguments being offered which sought to move the category of just cause wider still. A new case for just cause emerged, namely, what came to be termed "regime change," which falls within the category of pre-emption.[29] In this context, Himes highlights what columnist George Will characterized as "The uniquely virulent constellation of four factors – Hussein's character, the terrorists' culture and apparatus of terrorism, and the technologies of mass destruction developed in the last 57 years – constitute of new kind of casus belli."[30] However, Himes goes on to argue that all of the "four factors," save one, are present elsewhere in the world. Himes claims the only factor unique to the Iraq situation is "the character of Saddam Hussein." Therefore, Himes concludes, the real issue is what to do with an evil dictator.[31]

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[27] Kenneth R. Himes, "The Morality of Humanitarian Intervention," *Theological Studies* 55 (1994): 100.

[28] In the case of genocide, humanitarian intervention is rarely questioned. However, there remains debate concerning the just cause of humanitarian intervention in matters of "abuses of lesser magnitude" than genocide. Himes, "The Case of Iraq and the Just War Tradition."

[29] In itself, regime change is not a totally innovative policy for the United States. In operation "Just Cause," the United States military removed Manuel Noriega from power in Panama. Himes notes other "covert means" employed in the 1950s into countries like Guatemala and Iran to implement changes in regimes. "What is new," Himes continues, "is the rationale. In the past the explanation for United States intervention was the establishment of regional stability or the defense of human rights, or, rarely admitted, protection of economic interests. Now the 'casus belli' is that unless we act a country will obtain weapons of mass destruction that will embolden a tyrant. The cause for war is a future danger," Ibid.

[30] Ibid. Himes is quoting George Will, "Unprecedented Yet Defensible," *Sun Sentinel*, September 1, 2002, www.articles.sun-sentinel.com/2002-09-01/news/0208290889_1_regime-change-second-world-war-iraq.

[31] Himes is not along in his assessment. James Turner Johnson, "Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq: Just War and International Law Perspectives," *Journal of Military Ethics* 5 (June 2006): 114–127, identifies three arguments for the use of force against Saddam Hussein in Iraq presented by President George W. Bush: "to preempt the likely use of weapons of mass destruction that regime either possessed or was actively seeking; to punish the Iraqi dictator for his repeated flouting of a number of UN Security Council resolutions dating to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait in 1990, the military action to restore Kuwait, and the cease-fire that ended that military action; and to halt and punish the Hussein regime's numerous and egregious violations of basic human rights of both Iraqis and citizens of neighboring states" (114). Johnson goes on to contend that "any claim of humanitarian intervention [by the Bush administration] was never taken seriously; it was mere window-dressing for the real aims defined by power politics" (116). The real aim, Johnson argues, of the invasion of Iraq was the "use of force to oust Saddam Hussein and his regime" (115).

To summarize Himes' narrative, then, just cause was narrowly conceived as self-defense with Pius XII. In the decades following World War II, advocates for political revolution argued their case for justifiable wars of liberation. As such, Paul VI and others in the Catholic hierarchy did not rule out all such revolutions as comporting with the criterion of just cause. Then came the issue of humanitarian intervention in light of the genocides of the 1990s. Pushing the boundaries of just cause even further, some called for pre-emption and even preventative wars.[32]
The intensified discussion concerning humanitarian intervention being a just cause has prompted a new set of concerns. As Himes notes,

> One result of the debates over humanitarian intervention has been greater attention to the aftermath of war. The question of what was achieved by humanitarian intervention is important, especially since the purpose was to enhance the well-being of people rather than punish or vanquish them. The humanitarian basis for recent armed conflict has pushed a new set of issues into the forefront, issues which the just war tradition must take into account.[33]

From the above quote, one can see that Himes links the post-war situation with the *jus ad bellum* criterion of just cause. Himes supports Schuck's three principles and adds one of his own. He argues that, in the aftermath of war, the establishment of "civil society" is necessary to foster the repairing and re-growth of the societal infrastructure. With such an infrastructure in place, citizens of that country are then able to begin to restore the life of the nation. Securing domestic peace and reestablishing policing and judicial bodies will aid in the protection of human rights and civil liberties, and establish "the human infrastructure for peaceful communal life."[34]

Subsequent thinkers offered various lists of *jus post bellum* criteria and began to move beyond general principles to offer specific recommendations for action. Like Schuck, Reverend Louis V. Iasiello, OFM, Rear Admiral (Ret), former Chief of Navy Chaplains, also believes the current just war theory needs to be supplemented by certain precepts that address the moral and ethical responsibilities of the post war situation. Iasiello grounds the need for further development in the just war theory, namely *jus post bellum* principles, in his understanding of the nature of just war theory itself and his emphasis upon right intention.

Concerning the nature of the just war theory itself, Iasiello writes, "Taken together, the categories of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* define what is traditionally considered the theory of just war. It is a theory that transcends creed, culture, and politics, an ever-evolving philosophy historically adapted and revised to reflect the ever-changing geopolitical realities faced by those who apply its principles."[35] It is

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[32] More recently, the boundaries have been stretched even further in attempts to proffer counterproliferation as a just cause, Kenneth R. Himes, "A New Casus Belli? Counterproliferation in an Age of Terrorism," in *Applied Ethics in a World Church: The Padua Conference*, ed. Linda Hogan (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2008), 126–33.

[33] Himes, "Intervention, Just War, and U.S. National Security," 156.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Iasiello, "Jus Post Bellum: The Moral Responsibilities of Victors in War," 37.

his emphasis on the historical adaptability to the changing geopolitical environment that sets the agenda for the need for *jus post bellum* criteria.

He recalls the protean nature of the just war tradition and highlights its dismal track record in this and the past century to adapt itself to the "ever-changing geopolitical realities."[36] Similar to Schuck, he notes the lack of post war vision in the punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The changing geopolitical reality includes the rise of humanitarian intervention. He likewise notes the swift and decisive military victories in both Iraq and Afghanistan, and further notes the post conflict turmoil that persisted and persists still in these countries. The new challenges faced in these conflicts have further necessitated the need for robust reflection upon the post-conflict situation. Thus, the macro observations concerning the West and modern warfare and the more specific micro observations concerning the current wars in the Middle East have served to hasten the need for post-conflict reflection.

Post-conflict deliberation does not pertain only to the end of war. Iasiello writes,

> From war's inception (*jus ad bellum*) and throughout its prosecution (*jus in bello*), the goal of all should be the establishment of a just and lasting peace. Therefore, the long-term consequences of even a justified use of force require that just intention extend into the *post bellum* stage, thus demanding our consideration of a third category of just war theory (*jus post bellum*).[37]

In short, nations must begin to recognize the need to exercise foresight in their war planning. Even before a war begins, leaders must begin to plan for the termination phase of the war. Likewise, throughout the execution of the war, it is essential that nations fight wars in a manner that is conducive to a positive post war environment. The planning and execution in one phase influences the success, planning, and execution of other phases as well.[38] Thus, Iasiello emphasizes both the connectedness of all phases of war and just cause in terms of humanitarian intervention and genocide in relation to *jus post bellum* discussions.[39]

Similar to Iasiello, Doug McCready, a retired Army Reserve Chaplain, emphasizes the importance of recognizing the connectedness of the various stages of war. He writes,

> The prewar and combat phase elements of the just war tradition are not independent…If peace is the desired end of every war, is it not incumbent upon the political leadership to consider what that peace might look like, whether it is attainable, and what means of prosecuting the war is most conducive to achieving it?[40]

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[36] Ibid., 37.

[37] Ibid., 39.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Iasiello goes on to enumerate seven *jus post bellum* criteria: (1) a healing mind-set, (2) just restoration, (3) safeguarding the innocent, (4) respect for the environment, (5) *post bellum* justice, (6) warrior transition, and (7) the lessons of war, Ibid., 40–51.

[40] McCready, "Ending the War Right," 72.

What McCready is driving at is the reality that when wars are concluded poorly the risk of future carnage is often amplified. The reasons a nation decides to enter into a conflict may influence how that same nation determines its actions in prosecuting that conflict. And further, the way a nation conducts itself in war, including the choice and implementation of weapons and tactics, treatment of prisoners of war, consideration of noncombatants, and environmental concerns, has the potential to enhance or degrade the possibility of post war peace.[41]

More recently, there have been attempts to call for closer scrutiny of just cause while also emphasizing the importance of the relationship of the phases of war. Mark J. Allman and Tobias L. Winright offer one of the first book length engagements with *jus post bellum* from a specifically Christian theological perspective. Noting the lacuna concerning theological material in this regard, they write, "Since [Schuck's article], mostly philosophers, political theorists, international law scholars, and military scientists have treated this neglected dimension of just war, while bishops and theologians have largely been silent on the issue."[42] They give attention to just cause in the articulation of their *jus post bellum* principles and call emphasis to the relationship of the phases of war in their critique of Brian Orend.

Allman and Winright model their *jus post bellum* just cause principle on the *jus ad bellum* principle of just cause. They, like others already mentioned, believe actions *post bellum* can affect the moral standing of the larger war project, and, more specifically, they suggest that "the 'good' of a just war (*ad bellum* and *in bello*) can be undone *post bellum*."[43] They offer three objectives for the *post bellum* just cause. The first objective of the *post bellum* just cause principle is accountability and the authors have two primary issues in mind. Accountability serves to ensure that the victor achieves the stated objectives of the *jus ad bellum* just cause. If the victor fails to follow through in accomplishing the stated *jus ad bellum* just cause, the morality of the war may be in jeopardy. This facet of accountability seeks to ensure that victors follow through and accomplish *post bellum* what they claim they will do *ad bellum*.[44]

The second and third objectives of the *post bellum* just cause principle are "a means of restraint" and "proportionality." With these principles, the authors are seeking to ensure that no unjust gains are taken by the victor. The authors note, "To go beyond what was identified as the just cause would be an act of aggression" and "Once a nation has achieved its declared mission, the conflict must end."[45] The authors give as an example the 1991 Gulf War, noting that had President George H. Bush ordered U.S. troops to march on Bagdad after the liberation of Kuwait was accomplished, it would have been an "act of aggression," as "additional gains would be unjust."[46] The third objective, proportionality, calls for "measured and restrained"

[41] Ibid.

[42] Allman and Winright, *After the Smoke Clears*, 12.

[43] Ibid., 86.

[44] Ibid., 87.

[45] Ibid., 88.

[46] Ibid.

post war actions on the part of the victor. For example, unconditional surrender and demonizing the enemy are ruled out.[47]

One of the important aspects of positing a *post bellum* just cause principle and its close relationship with the *ad bellum* just cause principle, is that it serves to highlight the significance of the relationship of the phases of war (*ad bellum, in bello,* and *post bellum*). To illuminate the importance of these relationships, I briefly rehearse Orend's account below, which serves as the foundation against which Allman and Winright critically develop their own account.

Allman and Winright give examples of what they discern to be, on the one hand, a too loose association of the phases of war, and on the other hand, a too rigid association. Michael Walzer's work is representative of a loose association of the phases (e.g. Walzer does not believe that soldiers should be held accountable for *jus ad bellum* concerns, only *jus in bello* concerns). Therefore, Allman and Winright find his position to be disquieting. Orend, on the other hand, discerns such an intimate connection between each of the three phases that he claims that to fail in one area (*ad bellum, in bello,* or *post bellum*) constitutes a moral failure of the entire endeavor. Allman and Winright find this approach troubling as well.[48]

To make room for their constructive project, Allman and Winright highlight areas in which Orend seeks to link the three phases of war.[49] First, for Orend the *jus ad bellum* criterion of just cause ties all three phases or categories together. Just cause is *the* criterion. If the just cause is tainted, then it in turn taints the rest of the moral categories involved. In other words, while meeting the moral demands of a just cause does not ensure the morality of the rest of the war categories, to fail at the fountain of just cause is to pollute the moral waters of the rest of the categories of just war.[50]

Second, Orend believes that a nation should set out *jus post bellum* and *jus in bello* criteria as part of the *ad bellum* justification. Allman and Winright agree with this approach as long as it aids in minimizing just war language being used as "moral camouflage for political realism."[51] They understand the precarious nature of warfare, that things on the ground change, often times frequently and quickly.

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[47] Ibid., 89.

[48] Ibid., 90–91.

[49] Orend's work includes: Brian Orend, *The Morality of War* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2006); Brian Orend, "Jus Post Bellum: The Perspective of a Just-War Theorist," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 20, no. 3 (September 2007): 571–591; Brian Orend, "Jus Post Bellum," *Journal of Social Philosophy* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 117–137; Brian Orend, "Kant's Ethics of War and Peace," *Journal of Military Ethics* 3, no. 2 (2004): 161–77; Brian Orend, "Kant's Just War Theory," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 37, no. 2 (April 1999): 323–53; Orend, *War and International Justice*. Concerning the relation of just cause and right intention, Orend defines right intention as such, "A state may go to war only with the intention of upholding its just cause," Orend, "Kant's Ethics of War and Peace," 170. On this point see also, Orend, "Kant's Just War Theory," 346; Orend, *War and International Justice*, 49.

[50] Allman and Winright, *After the Smoke Clears*, 92. Orend uses images of a virus and the crucial opening notes of a musical performance that set the tone to illustrate the polluting effects of a faulty just cause.

[51] Ibid., 93.

Therefore, they recognize the difficulty in requiring a nation to make *post bellum* predictions in the *ad bellum* phase.

In sum, Allman and Winright are critical of Orend's account for two basic reasons: Orend's over emphasis on just cause and his ethical purism. First, Orend privileges the criterion of just cause by making all the other just war criteria contingent upon just cause. While Orend privileges the *jus ad bellum* criteria, particularly just cause, Allman and Winright affirm the equal importance of all the criteria. Second, Orend's ethic purism asserts that failure in one area (*ad bellum, in bello,* or *post bellum*) constitutes a failure in all areas and this renders the moral prosecution of war virtually impossible. Allman and Winright note that while Orend's ethical purism may be theoretically neat and tiny and somewhat satisfying, it does not comport with practical reality. In response, Allman and Winright draw upon Reinhold Niebuhr's conception of imperfect justice and assert, "a dose of realism takes just war theory out of the ivory tower and brings it down into the mud and blood of human existence."[52]

They posit a "sliding scale" of just war. On the high end of the scale is a perfectly just war, which would be one that fulfills all the just war criteria in all phases of war (*ad bellum, in bello,* and *post bellum*). On the lowest end of the scale would be the perfectly unjust war, one that fails all just war criteria in every phase of the war (*ad bellum, in bello,* and *post bellum*). In between the two extremes are imperfectly just wars and unjust wars. The authors claim to aim for imperfectly just wars.[53]

Thus, while Allman and Winright emphasize a thick relationship between the various phases of war, they also recognize that perfect justice is not possible this side of the eschaton. However, as their sliding scale indicates, there are better and worse instances of "imperfect justice." Therefore, "'imperfect justice' is not synonymous with 'unjust.'"[54]

Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter, I mentioned the presence of nascent elements of *jus post bellum* within the just war tradition. There is, however, variance within the tradition as to how these elements are to be appropriated in the contemporary context. On the one hand, there are those who believe that *post bellum* responsibilities are encapsulated within the classic just war tradition, particularly with the criterion of right intention.[55] On the other hand, there are those

[52] Ibid., 95. They also draw upon the phrases of John Dilulio ("tolerably just"), John Langan ("imperfectly just"), and Evans ("suboptimal acceptable peace") , 95.

[53] Ibid., 98.

[54] Ibid.

[55] For instance, James Turner Johnson writes, "That means coming to terms with what is necessary to rebuild such societies after the fighting has been ended. Sometimes this is described as the problem of *jus post bellum*, though in my judgment it is already implied in the classic just war conception that the use of armed force is justified only when it aims at restoring or establishing peace. However it is named, though, the implications for such rebuilding are already present in the idea of the end of peace as a necessary justifying cause for resort to armed force," James Turner Johnson,

who, while not denying the presence of elements of post war responsibility already within the just war tradition, are calling for a new third category of just war reasoning with its own set of distinct criteria.[56] Whether a new third category is required remains unclear. What is clear, however, is that the category of *jus post bellum* is present and yet not articulated or emphasized sufficiently in the tradition as it stands.

Furthermore, care needs to be taken so as not to distort the tradition by making post war ethical considerations simply another *jus ad bellum* criterion to check off the laundry list of requirements. It is difficult at best in a pre-war context to envision what the post-war environment will look like, much less set concrete criteria in place before the conflict even begins. However, there is a real responsibility to take accounting of within the just war tradition. James Turner Johnson keenly underscores this responsibility. He writes,

> Recognizing such responsibility [moral responsibility after conflict] and the reasons for it, moral and material, is not to specify particular kinds of action for particular kinds of parties that would cover all situations. Not only would this be impossible to do in any detail because of the diversity of situations, but trying to define the responsibilities in this way would necessarily get in the way of drawing out the implications of the broader moral and political considerations that already point to such responsibility. For this reason I am no fan of the term *jus post bellum*, because the term *jus*, literally "law," it seems to imply that reflection on responsibilities after an armed conflict can be reduced to specific rules. It may be possible to draw up such rules specifying certain kinds of behavior after certain conflicts, but this should be the result of decisions made on the basis of moral and political considerations of the conditions in each situation. Responsibility after armed conflict is real, but its nature should be assessed anew for each concrete case.[57]

While I do not necessarily share his aversion to the term *jus post bellum*, I am sympathetic with his reasoning. As I have argued in this essay, moral responsibility after conflict, whether specifically articulated in terms of *jus post bellum* or note, has

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Ethics and the Use of Force: Just War in Historical Perspective, Justice, International Law and Global Security (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 166. Elsewhere, he writes, "When we consider it closely, the just war thought sets a high bar for a contemporary conception of responsibilities after armed conflict. Just as the classic conception of just war includes both what came to be designated *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*, it also includes what is now being called *jus post bellum*," James Turner Johnson, "Moral Responsibility After Conflict: The Idea of Jus Post Bellum for the Twenty-First Century," in *Ethics Beyond War's End*, ed. Eric Patterson (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 21. See also, "In the shadow of the invasion of Iraq in 2003, some would now add a third class of criteria regarding justice in the aftermath of war (*jus post bellum*). Since I think that these are already implicit in the *ad bellum* requirement of right intention, I do not accept the proposal," Nigel Biggar, *In Defense of War* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3.

[56] Allman and Winright, *After the Smoke Clears*. In a more recent account, in addition to a third category of *jus post bellum,* Allman and Winright have argued to add an additional fourth category dealing with issues of prevention, *jus ante bellum*. Mark J. Allman and Tobias Winright, "Growing Edges of Just War Theory: Jus Ant Bellum, Jus Post Bellum, and Imperfect Justice," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 32, no. 2 (2012): 173–91.

[57] Johnson, "Moral Responsibility After Conflict: The Idea of Jus Post Bellum for the Twenty-First Century," 32.

not been taken adequately into account in just war reasoning. To reemphasize *that* a responsibility does exist is a step in the right direction.

What has been taken into account, at least in these initial encounters, is a closer scrutiny of just cause and a heightened awareness of the relationship of the phases of war. Beginning with Michael J. Schuck's instigation for a theological turn to *jus post bellum*—"postwar behavior must come under moral scrutiny" [58]—this essay traced the move from the prioritization of the most prevalent categories concerning entering and conducting war (i.e. *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*) toward the demand for moral principles dealing with postwar justice. To that end, I introduced Schuck's three *jus post bellum* principles: (1) repentance (i.e. a new posture of humility for the victors), (2) honorable surrender (i.e. an attempt to protect the human rights of the vanquished), and (3) restoration (i.e. assistance in rebuilding the social infrastructure of the defeated nation) which, together, "serve as a litmus test for the sincerity of the just war claims made before and during the conflict"[59] and subsequently, offered an impetus for reexamining the partitioning of the phases of war.

By beginning with the end in view, *jus post bellum* discussions reemphasize the *telos* of action, moving beyond attempts to simply limit or justify the use of force, while also highlighting the reality that *ad bellum* deliberations and *in bello* actions have *post bellum* consequences. Therefore, *jus post bellum* discussions critically challenge the non-contingent ideals and traditional understanding of the relationship of the phases of war often assumed by those participating in the discussion.

The essay then turned to the further developments offered in the run-up to the U.S. led invasion of Iraq by noted Catholic moral theologian Kenneth R. Himes, critically examining how he discerned a connection between the trend towards widening just cause (usually a *jus ad bellum* concern and initially rooted in its limited expression as self-defense in the pre-WW II era) to include humanitarian intervention in light of the genocides of the 1990s, and post war concerns. In a second direction, part of the critical analysis on this section focused on Himes's further widening of the principle of just cause to include "pre-emption" because, while Himes agrees that there may be cases where pre-emption may be morally justified, he also warns that "An international order where pre-emption becomes more commonplace is not a stable future."[60] Himes illustrates, therefore, both the broadening of just cause beyond self-defense but also the need to discipline the expansion.[61]

Iasiello and McCready both highlight the close relationship between the various phases of war. Allman and Winright evidence elements of both emphases: closer scrutiny of just cause and the relationship of the phases of war. Their *jus post*

[58] Schuck, "When the Shooting Stops: Missing Elements in Just War Theory," 982.

[59] Ibid., 983.

[60] Kenneth R. Himes, "The Case of Iraq and the Just War Tradition."

[61] He is also correct in asserting, "One result of the debates over humanitarian intervention [as a just cause] has been greater attention to the aftermath of war," Ibid.

bellum just cause principle seeks to establish accountability and restraint in relationship to the *jus ad bellum* criterion of just cause. While affirming the close association of the *post bellum* just cause and the *ad bellum* just cause they further highlight the significance of the relationship of the phases of war in their project. What is more, they seek to temper the expansion of just cause by introducing post war concerns at the outset and also seek a balance concerning the relationship of the phases of war, evidence in their account of "imperfect justice."

The just war tradition serves to guide ethical deliberations concerning decisions to wage war, but also actions during the conflict. The new *jus post bellum* criteria encourage pre-war thoughtful reflection concerning the aftermath of war. New ideas and practices, however, are not to be feared because the just war tradition has a long history of adapting to new challenges. "It is our responsibility, as citizens and as disciples," Himes writes, "to insure that the tradition develops in ways that lead to greater not less justice in the conduct of nations."[62]

Biographical Note

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[62] Himes, "The Case of Iraq and the Just War Tradition."

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A Scholarly Trinity: East Texas Baptist Historians' Scholarly Contributions

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Abstract

During the years from about 1954 to 1998 three historians came together at East Texas Baptist College to teach and advance the study and practice of history. Professor Seth Walton, Dr. Polly Davis, and Dr. Sheridan Nichols each contributed uniquely to advancing the study of history at ETBC and in East Texas. This is a study and presentation describing the focus, personal study and individual contributions of this scholarly trinity during the years of their faculty association with East Texas Baptist College (University).

Institutional histories often focus on presidents and academic leaders and what they have achieved and contributed to the school overall and do not get to the faculty's individual contributions to the institution or to the faculty member's subject or professional associations. The focus of this paper is primarily on the role of three faculty members at East Texas Baptist College (University) from 1954 through 1998 with some discussion of the academic and professional relationships with other ETBC/ETBU colleagues.

This is a story that portrays a strong collegial and scholarly commitment over many decades and at many different levels. As in most situations the three individuals studied were not isolated or independent because there were others within the history department, other academic departments and in the institution's administration that contributed to their scholarship and professional accomplishments.

Presidents, Vice Presidents, Deans and other administrative leaders often overshadow the routine, regular and "behind the scenes" contributions of teachers relating to students and to their academic subjects. This is the story of three individuals who touched hundreds of students and a broad group of readers, scholars and hearers through their scholarly contributions. Seth Walton, Jr., Polly David and Sheridan Nichols came together in ETBC's history department to make individual and public contributions that deserve to be recorded and remembered.

SETH WALTON, JR. (1954-1988 ETBC/U YEARS)

Seth Walton, Jr., came to ETBC in the fall of 1954 as an instructor in history and would stay until 1988 teaching history to several generations of students. He made significant contributions in both local and regional history through membership and work in the East Texas Historical Association (ETHA), the Texas State Historical

Association (TSHA), the Longview History Club and the Harrison County Historical Society/Museum (HCHS/M) and the Marshall Depot Historical Group.

In his March 1965 presidential address to the assembled membership of the ETHA Walton presented a summary explanation as to how the ETHA came into being in 1961 at a regional meeting of the County Survey Committees of East Texas held in Nacogdoches. The group unanimously endorsed reorganizing the ETHA that had essentially ceased to exist. Then in the Fall, September 29, 2961, a group of over 100 formally met to organize, adopt a constitution and elect officers and a board to oversee the development and promotion of the ETHA. Walton became a member of that original organizing board in 1962 and then would become the president for a term in 1964 and 1965.[1]

Daily Sentinel 1 Oct 1962

ELECTED — Leaders elected Saturday by the East Texas Historical Association are shown left to right, back row, Lee Lawrence of Tyler, president; Seth Walton of Marshall, director; and John T. Duncan of Texas A. and M., Bob Patton of Jasper, V. H. Hackney of Marshall, and Dr. Robert Maxwell of Nacogdoches, vice-presidents. Seated, left to right, C. M. Langford of Henderson, vice-president, and J. L. Clark of Huntsville, Mrs. W. H. Bridges of Jasper, and Mrs. Lois Blount and Dr. Ralph W. Steen of Nacogdoches, directors.

East Texas Historical Association Formed

(mfat, 29 Sept 1962)

Lee Lawrence, Tyler attorney who is a leader in historical circles over the state, was named president of the East Texas Historical Association at the organization meting of the group Saturday in the Student Center of the Stephen F. Austin State College.

Mr. Lawrence is president of the Smith County Historical Association, secretary-treasurer of the Texas State Historical Survey Committe, and a member of the Civil War Centennial Commission.

Five local persons were named as officers of the group.

Dr. Robert T. Maxwell, member of the historical faculty at SFA, is one of five vice-presidents, and elected as directors were Dr. Ralph W. Steen, president of the college, and Mrs. Lois Blount, a member of the history faculty.

Dr. C. K. Chamberlain was named editor-in-chief for the associa-

Duncan of Texas A. and M. College Station.

The five directors are Mrs. Blount, Dr. Steen, J. L. Clark of Huntsville, Mrs. W. H. Bridges of Jasper, and Seth Walton of Marshall.

The president is elected for one year and may not succeed himself. The vice-presidents are elected for one year. The directors are elected for three-year terms, the terms to be staggered.

Dr. Chamberlain, who is head of the history department at SFA, presided at the meeting for the adoption of the constitution and the election of the president, when Mr. Lawrence took over the session.

Miss Mildred Wyatt, librarian at SFA, showed journals of an earlier East Texas Historical Association, printed in 1926 and 1932. The journals are part of the East Texas Collection in he SFA Library. Miss Wyatt invited those attending the

DOTS AND DASHES

by Victor B. Fain

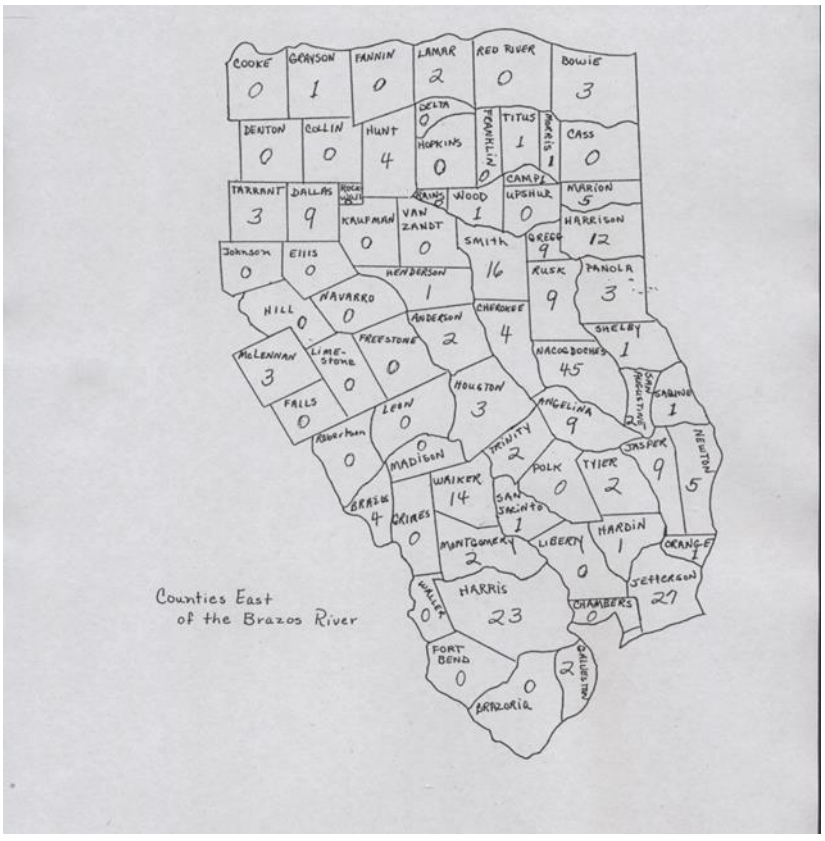
● JUST THINKIN': A smile is about the only thing we know of that isn't damaged by frequent cracking.

● SMALL WONDER: As October is "Biscuit and Muffin

[1] F. Lee Lawrence, "The Best Is Yet to Come," *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (1982), p. 3-5. There is a picture of the first officers and board of directors for the ETHA (1962-1963) that includes F. Lee Lawrence (President), John T. Duncan (Vice President), Vivian H. Heckney (Vice President), Robert Patten (Vice President), C. M. Langford (Vice President), Robert S. Maxwell (Vice President), Mrs. W. H. Bridges (Director), J. L. Clark (Director), Ralph W. Steen (President), Seth R. Walton (President), and Mrs. Guy Blount (Director).

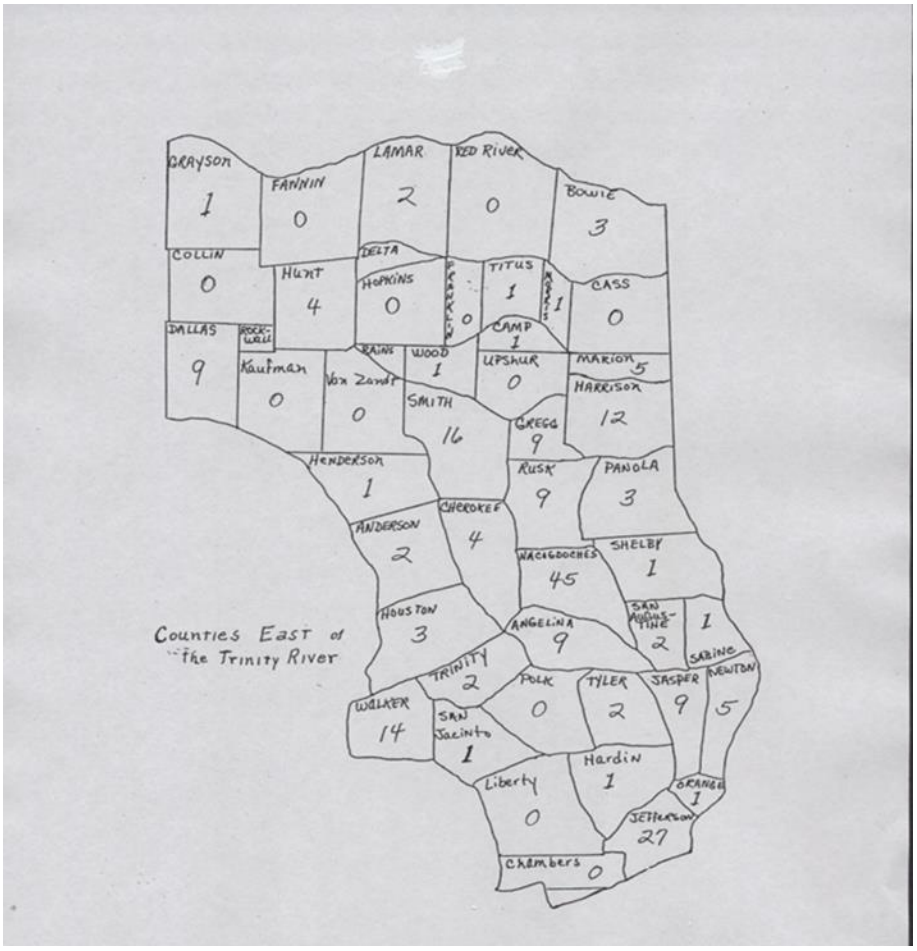
Early leadership of the ETHA, Walton second from left back row

In his presidential address to the Spring 1965 ETHA meeting, Walton gave a statement regarding his participation in the reorganization of the Association beginning in 1961. In his message published in the *East Texas Historical Journal* in the fall of 1965, Walton stressed the importance of the organization, the membership's role in recruiting and encouraging new members and supporting the publication of the *East Texas Historical Journal*. He commented on the editorial leadership and management of the publication, saying, "If there is no vast store of publishable articles ready several months in advance of our next publication date it is because we have not taken the opportunity afforded us to provide material." He recognized "the unwavering support and assistance of Dr. Ralph Steen and the History Faculty of Stephen F. Austin State College" and that group's critical role in maintaining both the organization and the publication. He stressed the distinct difference between the Texas State Historical Association and the ETHA. In making this distinction Seth argued, "we are deliberately and intentionally different from that fine organization because we must, if we survive, have the support of everyone interested in the history of our East Texas area—non-professional as well as professional."[2]



[2] Seth Walton, "President's Address, March 1965," *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. III, No. 2 (October 1965), pp. 169-172.

In his presidential address Walton concluded his remarks with a strong case for recruiting new members for the ETHA. He emphasized the entire region, detailing the geography of the East Texas area and using the census information collected in the 1960 National Census that had determined there were 4,936,476 people living in the seventy counties east of the Brazos River. He stated, "Surely this is a vast reservoir from which to draw considerably more than our present 310 members." He then used two maps portraying first the counties east of the Brazos River and those east of the Trinity River. In the area east of the Trinity River he stressed a population of 2,357,895 in 1960. He concluded, "It seems reasonable to me that our organization should be able to reach a strength of four or five hundred members from these counties alone without much effort or difficulty."



Seth's study of the geographical location of members was very important. He said, "In the twenty-two county area between the two rivers we have a total of fifty-one members if my calculations are correct. This means there are sixteen counties between these two rivers with no members in our organization and we have members in only six." He pointed out that in the forty-eight county area east of the Trinity River the greatest strength in membership was in Nacogdoches, Jefferson, Harris, Smith,

Walker, and Harrison Counties. In this area there were fifteen counties without members. He
then challenged the membership, "Do you know someone in any one of these counties, or anywhere else, who may be interested in joining us? If you do, please let us know today."[3]

Walton concluded his presidential address with this rousing challenge, "Again may I reiterate that our organization needs you as members to encourage your friends to join us, send us publishable manuscripts, documents, and information about your activities on the local level which will encourage an interest in historic East Texas. Someone has appropriately said that 'facts are the foundation of history' and one of our objectives as an association is to assemble and make available as many facts concerning East Texas as possible. Office records in municipal, county, area and state archives must be searched and pertinent information and records published. Newspapers, official correspondence, old letters, pamphlets and diaries are also rich sources yet to be mined as one would discover, polish and cut diamonds." Then in his final and brief paragraph Walton concluded, "As a recruiting poster might say: 'We Want You!' Won't you join us in helping to recruit membership and make East Texas history better known through our area, Texas, and the United States?"[4]

The Association began meeting in the fall in Nacogdoches and in the spring the organization moved around the region meeting in different locations in the East Texas area. Walton arranged the program of three papers for the Spring 1963 meeting held at the Excelsior House in Jefferson on march 16, 1963 with more than 85 attending. Robert Glover (associated with Tyler Junior College) presented a paper titled "Incident at Linn Flat." Susan Miles from San Angelo was to present a paper titled "The Houston-Irion-Ann Raguet Triangle," but due to an illness making it unable for her to attend, Walton arranged for an ETBC senior speech student, Sylvia Jones, to read her paper for the meeting. The third paper in this Spring meeting was given by Dr. Allan C. Ashcraft of Texas A&M University (College Station) titled "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis."[5]

Walton continued through the years his support and cooperation as a member of the ETHA. With the Association holding its Spring 1987 (February 20-21) meeting in Marshall, East Texas Baptist University hosted the event with Seth serving as the chair of the Program Committee. Gail Beil handled local arrangements for this Spring meeting. The meeting turned out to be the largest gathering up to that time for the Association with over 150 members and guests attending.[6]

For the 4th annual meeting held October 1, 1966, in Nacogdoches, Walton presented a paper titled "Civil War Railroads in East Texas" before the luncheon. In 1969 the ETHA met in Marshall at the Panola-Harrison Electric Cooperative Building on East Houston, two blocks east of the old Court House. Seth assisted in

[3] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[4] *Ibid*., p. 171-172.
[5] *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 1963), inside back cover; March 16, 1963 Program, ETHA, General, Vol. 4, Meetings-Programs-1963-1964, 21 items), Box 1, Folder B.
[6] *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol XXV, No. 1 (1987), p. 45; Vol. XXV, No. 2 (1987), p. 95.

arrangements and took reservations for the luncheon that was held in the restaurant in the Hotel Marshall.[7] In the Spring 1971 meeting held at LeTourneau College in Longview, Walton served as the chairman for Session II that included three papers by John R. Rochelle from F. T. Nichols State College ("The Founding of a Port City: Port Arthur, Texas"); Fred Robbins from the University of Houston ("The Origin and Development of the African Slave Trade in Galveston, Texas"); and W. T. Block from Lamar State College of Technology in Beaumont ("Sabine Pass in the Civil War").[8]

Seth continued working and attending the ETHA from the earliest times in 1962. In these meetings he joined with other prominent and important leaders in recording, discussing, preserving and promoting East Texas history and heritage. He joined with such leaders and academic historians as Dr. Gwin Morris who came to serve ETBU as an Academic Dean and as Vice President. Morris was a trained historian and very committed to the promotion of local and state history. In addition to such relationships and associations, Walton also enjoyed working with other historians such as Dr. Fred Tarpley who served East Texas State University in Commerce and Dr. John W. Storey who taught history at Lamar University on the Gulf.[9]

Seth's efforts were not only devoted to the ETHA. He also worked locally to support and preserve local history in Marshall and Harrison County. In addition to his own person involvement in research, preserving and recording local and regional history, Walton also encourage his students to study topics in the local and regional setting. He worked with the Harrison County Historical Museum, Library and Archives to seek out, collect, preserve and use historical materials, including literary, published and unpublished documents and material artifacts. He wrote in one issue of his Museum News, "The museum also contains household implements; weapons such as guns and associated items; children's articles; business aids such as desks, typewriters, checks, letterhead, cash registers, etc.; the T & P Railroad—among the county's oldest businesses—is represented by pictures, books, an extraordinary spike, annual reports, bonds and checks."[10]

Seth's professional membership and activities in addition to the East Texas Historical Association and the Harrison County Historical Society and Museum included the Southwestern Social Science Association, the American Association for State and Local History, Texas State Historical Association, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (later the Organization of American Historians). His special interest was in Texas history with an emphasis on East Texas, Texas Railroads and the Civil War and Reconstruction. He consistently provided leadership, support and inspiration for local and state history projects. He helped setup and worked on the Harrison County and the City of Marshall historical records and archives. In addition to these important achievements Seth and Vera Walton

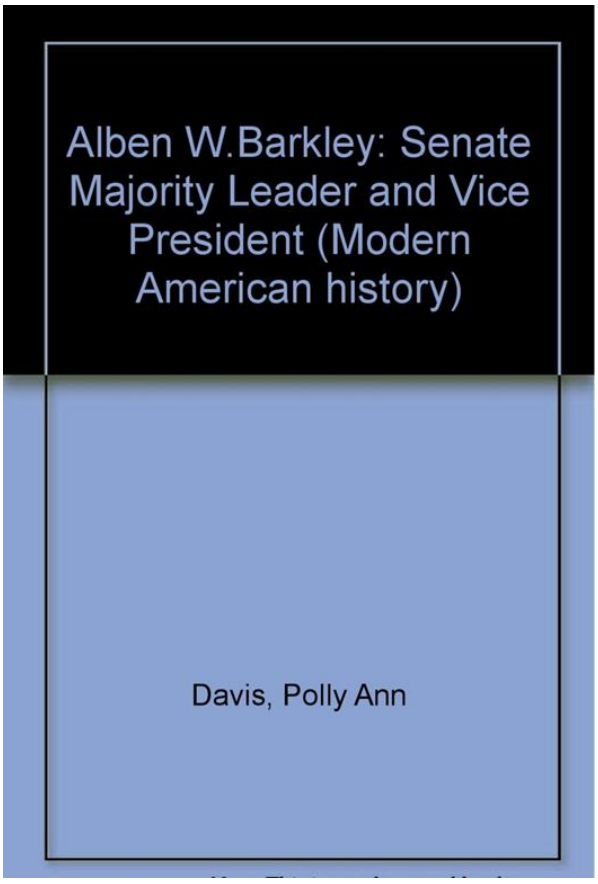
[7] Programs for Fall 1966 meeting in Nacogdoches, 1969 Spring Meeting Program and draft program copy, East Texas Historical Center Archive, ETHA Papers, Box 1, Folder D.
[8] *Ibid*.
[9] ETHA Papers, Program for Spring 1981 meeting held in the Brown Center of Lamar University in Orange, Texas, Box 1, Folder E.
[10] *East Texas Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 57.

established a scholarship fund to aid students in the study of history at East Texas Baptist University.

POLLY ANN DAVID (1963-1998 ETBC/U YEARS)

Polly Ann Davis came to ETBC in 1963 and continued until her retirement in 1998. Most of this time she served as chairperson of the Department of History and Political Science, in addition to teaching and serving in other ways in the University community.

Davis never married, committing her life to scholarship and to teaching at East Texas Baptist College/University. She focused her study on American political history. Her primary contribution was a revision of her dissertation that was on Alben W. Barkley that was titled when published *Alben W. Barkley, Senate Leader and Vice President* in 1979. From this research she produced a number of scholarly studies published in journals such as *The Register of Kentucky Historical Society*, and the *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*. She produced several scholarly book reviews published in professional journals. Davis was active primarily in the Southern Historical Association and in the Organization of American Historians. Both of these organizations were promoted and supported by her alma mater, the University of Kentucky. Her graduate committee, particularly Dr. Holman Hamilton, was very supportive and encouraging of her work on Barkley and in American political history.



Davis focused her attention on teaching and working with students. She enjoyed teaching American history, Southern History and Russian and Soviet Studies. I inherited her much-used textbook on Russian History that reveals her scholarly notes and markings that directed her through the course as she emphasized the crucial events in the long history of the Russian and Soviet empires. Students remember her commitment to scholarship and scholarly detail. Not only did she contribute to her students. She worked tirelessly to assist and encourage her professional colleagues in their research and teaching.[11]

SHERIDAN BURSEY NICHOLS (1977-1983 ETBC/U YEARS)

Sheridan Bursey Nichols came to East Texas in the Fall of 1977 and continued teaching history until leaving in 1983 to become the Chief Executive Officer and Associate Executive Director of the American Enterprise Forum where she would remain until 1993. In addition to serving in this professional role, she also taught as an adjunct professor for Dallas Community College District's Richland Campus from 1991-92.

In 1993 Dr. Nichols left the Forum to become professor of history at Lee College in Baytown, Texas, also serving as Academic Chair for the History Department from 1993 to 1999. Upon leaving Lee College in 1999, Nichols returned to Fort Worth where she became an adjunct professor of history for both Tarrant County College District and Texas Christian University.

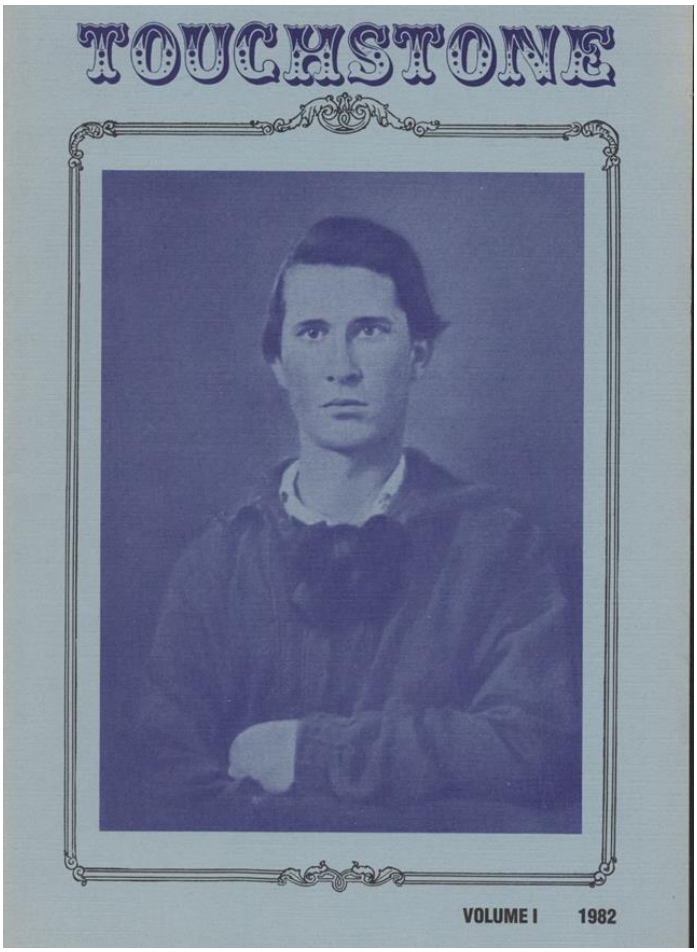
Before coming to ETBU, Nichols served from 1972 to 1977 as Assistant Professor of History for the University of Plano, College of the Air, teaching in Morocco, Egypt, Greece and Turkey. Her teaching experience included being a teaching assistant at Texas Christian University from 1972 to 1975 managing six class hours per semester in this capacity. During this same time, 1972-1973, Nichols also served as an instructor in history for Tarrant County Junior College in Fort Worth.

Nichols authored ten articles/books, including the *Dictionary of Economic Terms* (1988) and *The Handbook: Economics/History/Social Studies* (1988). She has edited four other publications and was the creator and founding editor of *Touchstone*, the student scholars publication now managed by the Texas State Historical Association. Since 1983, Nichols has given over four hundred Invited Papers to scholarly meetings and professional groups.

Nichols' interest and training in history focuses on Middle East Studies, Modern and Early Modern European History, United States History, and World Civilization. She holds lifetime teaching certificates for teaching in public schools in Texas, Illinois and Massachusetts. She holds membership and is active in thirteen professional organizations—American Studies Association, American Studies

[11] Polly Ann Davis, *Alben W. Barkley: Senate Majority Leader and Vice President*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979; "Alben W. Barkley: Vice President," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (April, 1978), pp. 112-132; "Senator Alben W. Barkley's Public Career in 1944," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, Vol. (April, 1977), pp. 143-157; a book review in *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Nov., 1978), pp. 636-637.

Association of Texas, Executive Women of Dallas, French Academy of Arts, Science and Letters, French Colonial Historical Society, National Council for Social Studies, Phi Alpha Theta, Phi Beta Lambda, Southern Historical Association, Texas Council for Social Studies, Texas Historical Commission, Texas Historical Foundation and Texas State Historical Association. She has received numerous awards during her academic career—the Silver Cross Medal awarded by the French government and the French Academy of Arts, Sciences and Letters in Paris, France, May of 1979; State Leadership Award, Austin, 1986; Texas Business Person of the Year, National Convention, Phi Beta Lambda/FBLA, July 1985; Certificate of Appreciation, Phi Beta Lambda, 1982; Texas Historical Commission, Award for Distinguished Service, 1981; Texas Heritage Project, Award of Commendation, 1980; Freedom Foundation Award, Valley Forge, 1979; Who's Who of American Scholars, 1978-79 edition; Texas Outstanding Young Women of America, 1975, 1978; Leadership Award of Merit, Texas Bureau for Economic Understanding, 1975.[12]



Even before completing her graduate studies, Nichols was involved in international education and traveling abroad. She worked with Plano University's

[12] Sheridan Bursey Nichols' Resume.

College of the Air, serving a number of different countries. She has regularly conducted "college abroad" classes traveling to England, Scotland and Ireland with groups of students and teachers. Through her career she has communicated and consulted with prominent leaders such as Governor Bill Clement, Senator John Tower and Texas Governor and President George W. Bush.

Two very important activities that Nichols worked with during her time at ETBU were the Summer Teachers Institute to train and assist public school teachers in teaching history and social studies and the regional competition for National History Day giving students the opportunity to display and discuss "hands-on" history projects. This second program to encourage and inspire "hands-on" history for high school and college students was very successful. Several students in a June 1981 National History Day Competition won First Place recognition for their history projects and demonstrations. One of the most important achievements of Nichols was the creation of *Touchstone*, the scholarly student journal for the Walter Webb Society with the Texas State Historical Association. East Texas Baptist University helped finance the publication in the early years of its founding with Dr. Nichols, Dr. Gwin Morris and other faculty members assisting in its editing and production.[13]

A CONCLUSION

As this paper has suggested, East Texas Baptist College/University has contributed significantly to academic scholarship and professionalism through the years. This contribution has not merely been financial, but has provided untold hours of scholarly endeavor and inspiration. This scholarly trinity of Seth Walton, Jr., Polly Ann Davis and Sheridan Nichols is merely three examples of such devotion and dedication representative of the entire faculty of East Texas Baptist University.

There have been and are still faculty scholars who have contributed to the University through teaching, research and publications. John Vaughn was not only a scholar of literature and poetry. He was a teacher who touched his students profoundly with his faith and love for both his subject and his students. One student has recorded this memory of Vaughn's classroom, "I do not regret a day spent at ETBU because it was where God wanted me. I hear of other folks talking about their college days and they did not have the great things we had! Raise your hand if you had Dr. John Vaughn for English. He opened each class with a devotional, a prayer and trivia. Everyone knew that you signed up for his class the semester you had a birthday because he would give you a present. I have not heard of any other professors that did that."[14] Vaughn was also active in the Poetry Society of Texas, serving as the eleventh president for 1981-1986. Vaughn served as president of the local chapter of the Poetry Society of Texas. He was a regular supporter of the

[13] *Touchstone*, Vol. 1 (1982). ETBC through its Center for American Studies Education published this annual student journal. Sheridan Nichols served as the founding editor. The journal was distributed at the annual meeting of the Webb Society and the Texas State Historical Association. See Sheridan Nichols' explanation published in the first volume on page 3 titled "Touchstone."

[14] This reference is to an article by Mike Midkiff, "East Texas Baptist Graduate now in the big leagues," BPSports, Sept. 23, 2005. http://www.bpsports.net/bpsports.asp?ID=5063 This article was about Jim Tennison, a mascot for the Texas Rangers and a graduate of ETBU.

Marshall Regional Arts Council, the Phi Delta Kappa Education Fraternity, the Marshall Optimist Club and a regional chairperson for the Conference on Christianity and Literature. Dr. Marvin Harris was editor for a time of the American Studies Association of Texas journal and then for several years as the book review editor for the journal. Harris was also chair of the English Department at ETBC/U for several years. Many other ETBU faculty members could be added to this growing story of scholarship and publication.

Biographical Note

Jerry Hopkins, Ph.D., is Professor of History at East Texas Baptist University in Marshall, Texas. He is active in the Southern Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Conference on Faith and History, the East Texas Historical Association, the American Studies Association, the Baptist History and Heritage Society, the African Studies Association, and other professional organizations. He also cooperates with the Harrison County Historical Museum and the Shelby County Historical Society and Museum. Hopkins has traveled extensively in the Middle East, Europe and Asia for research, business and professional meetings. The focus of his research has been on the history and present state of evangelicalism, revivalism, racism and conservative reform movements. He also writes a weekly column on history, social and political issues for newspapers and magazines.

Literally Different: the Divergence between Fundamentalist and Reformation "Literal" Readings of Genesis 1-2

Andrew Kim
Baylor University

Introduction

With its emergence in the early 1900s, American Christian Fundamentalism took shape as a conservative religious movement dedicated to protecting what it believed was the "true faith," from the encroaching forces of modernism and science.[1] These modern forces included, among others, comparative religion, biblical criticism, and social change, which contained the power to corrode, corrupt, and undermine the faith of all Christians. For Fundamentalists of the early twentieth century, one of the most destructive influences was that of evolution, and one of the main battlegrounds was the interpretation of the first chapters of Genesis in opposition to a scientific understanding of the world.[2]

While all Christians faced the issue of evolution, they did not respond uniformly to it. Some Christians saw no conflict between the Bible and evolution and embraced what they saw as a powerful explanatory theory, which in some ways supported the Bible. Other Christians sought ways of harmonizing biblical faith with evolutionary theory. Still other Christians were greatly troubled by the implications of evolutionary theory for their faith. Fundamentalists, however, necessarily saw conflict between them.[3]

Fundamentalists regarded their form of belief to be true to traditional and historical interpretations of the Bible. In regards to creation and evolution, Fundamentalists took the position that evolution displaced God from his place as Creator and, in fact, eliminated God from creation entirely. Because of this, the Fundamentalist position against evolution began to take shape and identify itself as a bulwark against the assaults of modern science. By relying "solely on scripture" and retreating into a literal interpretation of Genesis 1 and 2, Fundamentalists identified with their Reformation forebears and believed that they had formed a traditional, historical, and textual faith that would withstand the forces of evolution and modern culture.[4]

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[1] Nancy T. Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism" in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 2. This is a broad statement that will be more fully explained below.

[2] For a fuller description, see Ferenc M. Szasz, *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002). Szasz's book details the three main challenges for early twentieth century Christianity as evolution, comparative religion, and higher biblical criticism.

[3] Hans Schwarz, "The Significance of Evolutionary Thought for American Protestant Theology: Late Nineteenth-Century resolutions and Twentieth-Century Problems" *Zygon* Vol. 16 No. 3 (September 1981): 261-284. Schwarz's article covers the views of many scientists and theologians that represent a spectrum of responses, including Fundamentalism.

[4] Ibid., 278-279.

In his essay "Christianity, No Fable" Thomas Whitelaw places Fundamentalism in the broad context of church history and places Fundamentalism in a line with the Reformers. Whitelaw writes, "From that time on Christianity applied itself to the task of making nominal Christians into real ones; and but for the mercy of God at the Reformation it might have been defeated. But God's Spirit

This is a broad characterization of the Fundamentalist position against evolution, though, and it is important to understand how early twentieth century American Fundamentalism formed the "true faith" it sought to preserve. This paper seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of American Christian Fundamentalism and its "literal" reading of the scriptures. To draw historical and interpretive contrast, this paper will also examine the way that three Reformers – Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Luther, and John Calvin – read and interpreted Genesis 1 and 2 "literally." Finally, based on this examination of the Reformers' commentaries and lectures, this paper will evaluate how these Reformers' "literal" interpretations differed from a Fundamentalist "literal" reading and whether Fundamentalist claims to a literal understanding of Genesis 1 and 2 were traditional or historical. First we will turn to an examination of Fundamentalism both broadly, and specifically in the early 1900s United States.

Fundamentalism

How to define and understand religious "fundamentalism" is the topic addressed in a hefty volume edited by Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby titled *Fundamentalisms Observed*. In this volume, there is a glossary of terms included in the back, but the term "fundamentalist" is noticeably absent.[5] This is because the book addresses a number of different types of religious fundamentalism, including Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Confucianist, and American Protestant, the latter group being the focus of this essay. The contributors to this volume each describe various "fundamentalist" movements in different religions, and the editors helpfully include a general description and a distillation of five specific traits that help to define fundamentalist groups. The editors quote two of their contributors, who say that the distinction between a "fundamentalist" and a "conservative" member of a religious group is that the fundamentalists "no longer perceive themselves as reeling under the corrosive effects of secular life. On the contrary, they perceive themselves as fighting back, and doing so rather successfully."[6]

Marty and Appleby further delineate this by saying that fundamentalists have taken an offensive position by "fighting" in five particular ways. First, they "fight back."[7] Religious fundamentalists perceive challenges, which threaten their core identity. These threats are not frivolous or peripheral; rather they are threats that are

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brooded upon the moral and spiritual waste as erst He did upon the material in the beginning, and God's Word said-"Let there be light!" and there was light. Luther in Germany, Calvin in Geneva, and Knox in Scotland, with others in different parts arose as champions of the Truth and recalled men's thoughts to the simplicities and certainties of the Gospel; and a great awakening overspread the nominally Christian world." Thomas Whitelaw, "Christianity, No Fable" *The Fundamentals* Vol. III (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910-15): 96.

[5] In this paper, "fundamentalism," with a lower-case "f," will be used for those in the general category of fundamentalists as defined by Marty and Appleby, while "Fundamentalists," with a capital "F," will be used to represent the group of American Protestants from the early twentieth century, described by Ammerman.

[6] Samuel C. Heilman and Menachem Friedman, "Religious Fundamentalism and Religious Jews: The Case of the Haredim" in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[7] Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, "Introduction: the Fundamentalism Project: A User's Guide" in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), ix.

central to the group, and if "they lose on the central issues, they believe they lose everything. They react, [and] they fight back with great innovative power."[8] Second, they "fight for."[9] Fundamentalists will fight for the way of life they perceive to be proper, in contrast to the options represented in the defined threats. They will fight within and through various institutions, and when the threat is perceived to be sufficiently serious, "they will fight for a changed civil polity. If nothing else works, as a last resort they may fight for territory, or the integrity of their social group, by using the instruments of war."[10] Third, they will "fight with."[11] Various instruments of battle are utilized to solidify group identity and counteract the threat. This can include the use of group movement, isolation, doctrinal definition, and creation of particular writings, icons, and rituals.[12] Fourth, they will "fight against."[13] The enemy can be generalized, as in modern society as a whole, or specific to another group. The enemy may also be those who offer "compromise, middle ground, or a civil 'agreement to disagree.'" Interestingly, the moderate may be the focus of more effort than those of the group that is their polar opposite.[14] Finally, they will "fight under."[15] Fundamentalists will unite under the deity or transcendent reference and carry out what they believe to be that authority's purposes against challengers to their group.[16]

From these five characteristics, it is not difficult to apply each of them to the group of American Protestants that arose in the early twentieth century. Sociologist of religion, Nancy Ammerman, describes the historical rise of the Fundamentalists and how their actions accorded with the characteristics that Marty and Appleby provide. She writes: "In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many leaders in American Protestantism were actively seeking ways to adapt traditional beliefs to the realities of 'modern' scholarship and sensibilities. They were met head-on, however, by people who saw the adaptations as heresy and declared that they would defend traditional beliefs from such adaptation."[17]

Ammerman describes how these American Christians developed into the group known as "Fundamentalists" as they adhered to a series of early 1900s scholarly essays titled, *The Fundamentals*, which were collected and issued in a series of twelve volumes over a five-year period between 1910-1915.[18] In 1920 Curtis Lee Laws, editor of the Northern Baptist newspaper *The Watchman Examiner*, wrote that a "fundamentalist" is a person willing to "do battle royal" for the fundamentals of the faith. It was both a description and a call to action, and the name remained.[19] This series of essays, in its title, captured the idea that there were

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., x.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 2.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. It should be noted that Ammerman intentionally defines this term very carefully in the opening pages of this chapter, to allow for variance in classification of the involved groups along with the actions they take. Also, from footnote 2, Laws is referring to "big-F" "Fundamentalists."

certain religious basics being threatened. The targets of the "battle royal" were those who either permitted or welcomed modernist influences into the churches and evolution into the schools.[20] Specifically, in the case of evolution, Fundamentalists worried that their children were being taught that they were descended from apes, and that humans' status as beings specially created by God was being undermined.[21]

Because of this perceived threat to Christian doctrine and understanding, the perceived solution was to appeal to some form of unshakeable authority, which for Fundamentalists was scripture. From scripture, Fundamentalists were able to reconcile biblical interpretations with observed reality to form a coherent worldview. Ammerman writes:

> The more people are immersed in this fundamentalist community of discourse, the more easily they accept the Bible as completely accurate. They are more likely to question the validity of science than to doubt the unfailing Word of God. Some aspects of modern science, of course, are not questioned (the earth's roundness and orbit around the sun, for instance). The interpretive task fundamentalists undertake, then, requires a careful balancing of facts about the world presumed by moderns to be true with the assumption that *the Bible contains no factual errors*…. For those who remained true believers, fundamentalism offered a comprehensive and satisfying explanation for the complexities of life.[22]

Thus, for Fundamentalists, this use of scripture as authority and this view of scripture as inerrant became mutually reinforcing; scripture was authoritative because it had no errors, and it had no errors because it was scripture. Ammerman writes, "Fundamentalist beliefs about the Bible therefore reflect both continuity and discontinuity with the patterns that existed before them. While it is true that most Christians before the nineteenth century had accepted Scripture as a reliable record, it was not until the latter part of that century that a doctrine defending the inerrancy

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Leslie Smith (193-194) defines Fundamentalism as an internalized, psychological experience of perception as the main defining characteristic. Leslie E. Smith, "What's In A Name? Scholarship and the Pathology of Conservative Protestantism" *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* Vol. 20 (2008): 191-211.

Clyde Wilcox notes that the definitions can have serious implications, not only for religious life, but also in socioeconomic status and politics. He emphatically states that the definitions need to be imposed cautiously. Clyde Wilcox, "Fundamentalists and Politics: An Analysis of the Effects of Differing Operational Definitions" *Journal of Politics* Vol. 48 No. 4 (November 1986) 1041-1051.

Further difficulties in legally defining the terms "fundamentalist" as opposed to other religious groups in the United States is historically detailed in David McKenzie, "The Supreme Court, Fundamentalist Logic, and the Term 'Religion'" Journal of Church & State Vol. 33 No. 4 (Autumn 1991): 731-746.

It is not the purpose of this paper to strictly define what Fundamentalism is, but to address the issue of literalist interpretation of Genesis 1-2, which is a characteristic of "Fundamentalist" Christians in the U.S.

[20] Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 11. The battle over evolution in the schools continues even today.

[21] Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 2.

[22] Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 28. Emphasis added.

of the Bible became central to Christian belief."[23] Accordingly, Fundamentalists gradually moved towards an increasingly "literal," or word for word, interpretation of the Bible that, according to Marty and Appleby's third characteristic above, helped to define those in the Fundamentalist movement.[24] For Fundamentalists, the proper "literal" reading of scripture meant that Genesis 1 and 2 was a description of events exactly as they occurred: the six days of creation represented six 24-hour days, and objects and organisms in the cosmos and on the earth were created in the manner and order listed in the texts.

Fundamentalists claimed that in reading the texts in this manner, they remained true to the traditional and historical interpretations of the texts and resisted the speculative readings of modern, German scholars. In his essay titled, "My Personal Experience with the Higher Criticism," J. J. Reeve wrote, "To maintain that the modern view is a development and advance upon the Biblical view, is absurd…. To say that the [higher] critical position and the Biblical position, or the traditional evangelical view which is the same as the Biblical, are reconcilable, is the most fatuous folly and delusion."[25] Reeve is not alone; many of the essay writers, who contributed to *The Fundamentals*, reaffirmed Reeve's views.

Although Reeve claimed that Fundamentalists' literal reading of scripture was traditional, it does not appear that this is true. Upon closer examination of the early Reformation leaders' writings, the same "literal" approach to Genesis 1 and 2 does not seem to appear. Thus while, Fundamentalists might have hoped for a traditional and historical precedent to their literal interpretations of Genesis, it did not exist in the writings of the early Reformers. To see this, it is to their work that we will now turn.[26]

The Reformers and Genesis

One of the distinctives of the Reformation era was the increasing access to the scriptures in the vernacular. For many living during the Reformation era it would have been the first time reading through the Genesis texts for themselves. Within the biblical text, the texts of Genesis would have been fascinating to read simply because "they told of prehistory—not just human prehistory, but prehuman history."

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[23] Ammerman, "North American Protestant Fundamentalism," 15.

[24] For an articulate explanation of how the term "literal" must be defined carefully when speaking of Genesis, see an interview with N. T. Wright at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fxQpFosrTUk. N. T. Wright, interviewed by Pete Enns, September 8, 2010.

This is perceived to be crystallized in the famous Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925. For a fuller description of the gradual moves, see Peter J. Bowler, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity from Darwin to Intelligent Design* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). One also needs to note that William Jennings Bryan held a "modified" Fundamentalist stance, in that he did not believe in a literal six-day creation. Reference the unofficial trial records of statements made by Bryan. See also Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: the Scopes Monkey Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1997).

[25] J. J. Reeve, "My Personal Experience with the Higher Criticism" in *The Fundamentals* Vol. III (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910-15): 101. Reeve is one example among many who give voice to this position.

[26] "Reformers" is used here in a general sense to refer to those leaders of the Reformation movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whether they are properly referred to as "Reformers," and whether it is correct to refer to the event as a "Reformation," continues to be debated.

From the first two chapters of Genesis, Reformation scholar John Thompson writes that there were "enigmatic but fascinating hints about the fashioning of the heavens and the earth, and of the creation of the universe itself. And what better place to stand than 'in the beginning' in order to try to learn something of what God was like or what God was doing before the Deity became the Creator, indeed, before there was time?"[27]

Most people of the Reformation Era would not have been educated or literate enough to form a scholarly or educated opinion of Genesis 1 and 2. It is most likely that the positions they took would align with what their local clergy and clerical leaders would preach and teach to them. To "help" their followers, Reformation leaders published lectures and commentaries to aid in understanding these texts. It almost seems ironic that Reformation leaders who would have desired to read "scripture alone" would compose commentaries. However, Reformation leaders believed that "sound theological writings, including biblical commentaries, could serve Christians very well precisely by explaining Scripture and cultivating the life of discipleship."[28] Calvin wrote, "Since, however, the Lord, with the same consideration by which he illuminates us through his Spirit, has, in addition, granted us aids, which he intends to be of assistance in our labor of investigating his truth, there is no reason for us either to neglect them as superfluous, or even to care less about them as if irrelevant…. Therefore, let those things which the Lord has provided for our use be of service to us."[29] In other words, Calvin believed that the people who studied the scriptures needed help, and his lectures and commentaries, among other resources, provided such help.[30]

Understandably, many people likely would have had questions about the Genesis texts as well as what they had been taught about them. Much teaching to that point had been based in a traditional and allegorical understanding of the texts. According to historian Allan Johnson, traditional teachings about the early chapters of Genesis had been "highly allegorized." For example, the writings of Origen focused upon a threefold structure of the universe that was "in Christ."[31] Origen's threefold interpretation held that the "foundation" of heaven and earth represented scripture, the "two great lights" were Christ and the church, and that the creation of humanity represented the soul and moral living.[32] The early Reformation leaders rejected these allegorical interpretations, though, and Origen's interpretations, in particular, took "a drubbing" for what were seen to be fanciful and highly speculative inventions that had little or no grounding in the scripture itself.

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[27] John L. Thompson, "Introduction to Genesis 1-11" in *Reformation Commentary on Scripture: Old Testament Vol. I Genesis 1-11*. Edited by John L. Thompson. Downer's Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2012, xlii.

[28] Thompson, "Introduction to Genesis 1-11," xliii.

[29] W. Ian P. Hazlett, "Calvin's Latin Preface to His Proposed French Edition of Chrysostom's Homilies: Translation and Commentary," in *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland*, ed. James Kirk (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 141.

[30] Thompson, "Introduction to Genesis 1-11," xlv.

[31] Allan E. Johnson, "Constructing a Narrative Universe: Origen's Homily I on Genesis" *Studia Patristica* Vol. 41 (Paris: Peeters, 2006): 175, 177.

[32] Ibid., 177.

Protestant leaders, beginning with Luther, took pride in the fact that that they followed neither "Jewish fables" nor the "vanity of Origen's allegories."[33] Reformers, such as Johannes Oecolampadius, instead looked for a simpler and plainer meaning: "There are some who try to bring in different allegories for these rivers [in Genesis 2]. Some bring forth the four evangelists, others the four doctors of the church. Avoid such trifles. It is much safer just to know that God wished humankind well, and that he gave all the resources of this world in order that we might enjoy them to his glory."[34] These Reformers provided sermons, lecture, and commentaries to help dispel misunderstanding and, through these, were able to interpret the texts and answer common questions that their students and congregants may have had.[35]

For Luther, unbridled allegorizing only created confusion and "scholastic twaddle." Instead, Luther believed that Christians should "stick to the simply historical and literal meaning (*simpliciter historicam et literalem sententiam*) of the text itself. According to this meaning, the serpent remains a serpent, the woman a woman, and the man a man."[36] Thus, we find that Luther's approach to scripture was also "literal," but in the sense that Luther wanted to avoid unqualified allegorization and grasp the meaning that was presented in the text and affirmed by scripture as a whole.[37]

The remainder of this section will focus on the writings of three of the Reformation leaders: Huldrych Zwingli, Martin Luther, and John Calvin. By examining the writings of these leading Reformers, one can begin to see what was emphasized in their interpretations of Genesis 1 and 2 along with what was not. By looking at the writings of the Reformers in context, a clearer understanding of their interpretations of Genesis 1 and 2 will hopefully result.[38]

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[33] Ibid., lii-liii.

It would be an overstatement to say that the Reformers completely disagreed with Origen. They did agree with Origen on reading the "cubits" in Genesis 6 as a literal unit of measurement, as well as on other general points.

Though the Reformers turned away from this highly allegorical reading, it is important to understand what took its place. Thompson writes, "Protestants are understandably proud of what they regard as the recovery of the literal reading of the Bible in the wake of the Reformation, including the discarding of spurious allegorical readings and the prizing of "Scripture alone." Some would even argue that the great advance of historical-critical exegesis ought to be traced directly to the reformers. However, these are partial truths, at best—and, as we will see, the alleged rejection of allegory was by no means universally practiced or agreed on, and even disfavored figural readings of the church fathers often found ways to re-enter the conversation." Thompson, xlvi.

[34] *In Genesim* (1536), 34r-v Thompson, 86. The four evangelists are Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.

[35] Luther answered a question regarding where the first plants came from if there had been no seeds by saying that the first plants were miraculously made and all subsequent plants emanated from their seeds. (LW 1:38 (WA 42:29) Zwingli answered where light came from on the first three days if the sun had not yet existed by writing that God's nature as light provided the light for the first three days. (ZSW 13:10-11) Calvin answered a question about where the plants obtained water if it had not yet rained by saying "God watered the earth with vapor." (CTS 1:110* (CO 23:34-35))

[36] Theo M.M.A.C Bell, "Man Is a Microcosmos: Adam and Eve in Luther's *Lectures on Genesis* (1535-1545)" *Concordia Theological Quarterly* Vol. 69 No. 2 (April 2005): 175.

[37] Meyer, "Luther in the Garden of Eden: His Commentary on Genesis 1-3" *Word & World* Vol. 4 No. 4 (Fall 1984): 434-435.

[38] This paper only looks at the commentaries and lectures of these three Reformers. There were certainly other commentary writers, such as Andrew Willet in England and Cardinal Cajetan among others, who could have been studied, and there are also sermon collections that could have

Huldrych Zwingli

Zwingli's commentary on Genesis, or what he self-deprecatingly titled *Farrago*, or "mishmash," of annotations appeared in 1527.[39] In it, Zwingli's understanding of the creation account reveals a God who worked to accommodate humanity. Regarding the manner in which Genesis was written, Zwingli says that simple and plain language was used to communicate the essence of what happened rather than the specifics of what occurred. He writes, "Moses wished to depict God's vast undertaking quite clearly to everyone, so he used the clearest and most familiar words: earth, water, air, etc."[40] Thus, in the creation accounts, Zwingli says that Genesis is written in a simple manner that accommodates people's limited understanding.

Additionally, Zwingli also attempted to answer questions for his readers in his commentaries, such as the reason for creating light. Zwingli writes that light was not for God's benefit, but ours, so that we might be able to perceive the "arrangement of his works and their adornment, lest they have been created in vain—and vain they would have been, if they remained unseen."[41] Zwingli also attempts to explain why God created in a stepwise manner, rather than in one dramatic act of creation. He says, "By a single word of his strength—or, better, by the sheer power of his living will—he was able to create everything. But, accommodating himself to our senses so that we might perceive and understand his works more clearly and easily, he did things a day at a time, after the fashion of humans, who are used to doing one thing after another."[42] Through the added explanations in Zwingli's commentaries, it becomes evident that the Genesis accounts are not exhaustive and that they were written to allow humans to see characteristics of their own being as well as the image of God impressed upon them.

It is interesting that Zwingli's writing shows a willingness to speculate about certain facets of creation; however, while this goes beyond the exact letter of the scriptures, Zwingli still tightly adheres to a principle of seeing God as the focus behind the events of creation. In explaining the reasoning for the Genesis accounts, he writes, "We are thus to discern, first of all, the divine nature in the special character of its persons; and, second, we should learn of our own nobility and dignity. For even if man (homo) was made from earth, God nonetheless made him with his own hand, so that we might see how highly God regarded humans, so that humans might serve their creator alone, worship only him, trust and cling to him alone [and] not to the earth, nor to the sun, nor to the water."[43] By seeing creation from this perspective, humans learn how to appreciate God's love and reflect that

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been examined. This, however, would have unreasonably increased the range and scope of the paper. Examining other commentaries and sermons on Genesis could be a fruitful avenue of future research in regards to this topic.

[39] Thompson, "Introduction to Genesis 1-11," lxvi.

[40] Huldrych Zwingli, *Annotations on Genesis* i:i. ZSW13:6 (Thompson 13). The original ZSW was available on the Internet through HathiTrust, but volume 3, which contains the commentaries on Genesis, were not. Again, these are taken from Thompson, and page numbers in Thompson are cited.

[41] ZSW 13:8 (Thompson, 20).

[42] ZSW 13:8 (Thompson, 24).

[43] ZSW 13:13 (Thompson, 42).

same love towards others. It is striking that in his Genesis commentary, Zwingli states, "Therefore, those who attend to justice, who seek God, who imitate God and Christ in innocence of life toward all as well as doing good to them in turn-these are the ones, in the final analysis, who bear that ancient image of God, which has been cleansed and restored by Christ."[44] In other words, rather than focusing on specific events and details, Zwingli says that the Genesis accounts reveal the manner of creation and the image of God in order to point Christians to the kind of life they are meant to live.

Martin Luther

Luther's Genesis commentaries and lecture collections are based on a series of lectures, which took place between 1535-1545. These lectures represent the most "mature" thought from Luther since "they come at the end of Luther's career."[45] His very last work – the fruit of his mature years between June 1, 1535 and November 17, 1545 – was what became widely known as Luther's Great Commentary on Genesis."[46]

In his commentaries, Luther focuses on the creation event, which establishes God's authority over creation in an edifying manner rather than upon the details of creation or biological explanations.[47] Luther writes, "Even if we should engage in endless speculation and debate, these matters [the creation events] nevertheless remain outside our comprehension. And if we do not fully understand even the things which we see and do, how much less shall we grasp those?"[48] Luther, instead, says that contemplation upon the universe leads to a deeper realization of God's imminent presence. He writes, "The more observant among the philosophers drew from this source what is in truth not an insignificant proof: that all things are done and guided, not planlessly but by divine providence, inasmuch as the movements of the masses on high and of the heaven are so definite and unique. Who would say that they are accidental or purely a matter of nature… but [rather] the result of a definite plan and skill?"[49]

Also, in his study of Genesis 1 and 2, Luther is very deliberate about separating scientific inquiry from spiritual inquiry. Lester Meyer writes, "He seems less concerned in this commentary with warning against the threat posed by the

[44] ZSW 13:13-14 (Thompson, 44).

[45] David M. Whitford, "*Cura Religionis* or Two Kingdoms: The Late Luther on Religion and the State in the Lectures on Genesis" *Church History* Vol. 73 No. 1 (March 2004): 42.

See also Mario Farrugia, "Gn 1:26-27 in Augustine and Luther: 'Before you are my strength and my weakness'" *Gregorianum* Vol. 87 No. 3 (2006) 487-521.

[46] Mario Farrugia, "Gn 1:26-27 in Augustine and Luther: 'Before you are my strength and my weakness'" *Gregorianum* Vol. 87 No. 3 (2006) 489.

See also Johannes Schwanke, "Luther on Creation" Translated by John Betz. *Lutheran Quarterly* Vol. XVI (2002): 1-20 [These are] the last lectures of Luther's life. Luther delivered them over ten years, from 1535 to 1545, and at their conclusion on November 17, 1545, he had only three months left to live. Luther's whole theology is uniquely comprehended in these lectures. They are indeed the mature testimony of the late Luther and one could even say that they represent his Summa (1).

[47] Whitford, "Cura Religionis or Two Kingdoms," 45.

[48] LW 1:11 (WA 42:9-10).

[49] LW 1:25 (WA 42:20).

natural sciences than with arguing that each discipline has its own integrity and proper vocabulary."[50] Luther writes:

> One must accustom oneself to the Holy Spirit's way of expression. With the other sciences, too, no one is successful unless he has first duly learned their technical language…. No science should stand in the way of another science, but each should continue to have its own mode of procedure and its own terms. Thus we see that the Holy Spirit also has His own language and way of expression, namely, that God, by speaking, created all things and worked through the Word, and that all His works are some words of God, created by the uncreated Word. Therefore just as a philosopher employs his own terms, so the Holy Spirit, too, employs His. An astronomer, therefore, does right when he uses the terms "spheres," "apsides," and "epicycles"; they belong to his profession and enable him to teach others with greater ease. By way of contrast, the Holy Spirit and Holy Scripture know nothing about those designations and call the entire area above us "heaven." Nor should an astronomer find fault with this; let each of the two speak in his own terminology…. I believe that this maxim is useful: Every science should make use of its own terminology, and one should not for this reason condemn the other or ridicule it; but one should rather be of use to the other, and they should put their achievements at one another's disposal.[51]

Luther believed that scientific studies, such as astronomy, were not meant to conflict with spiritual inquiry, but the two were meant to mutually assist each other in the effort to more deeply understand and appreciate God. In other words, Luther's appreciated technical explanations and saw that they were valuable insofar as they aided people in spiritual growth. Luther writes, "And so here there gleams a spark of eternal life, in that the human being busies himself by nature with this knowledge of nature. This concern indicates that men were not created to live permanently in this lowest part of the universe but to take possession of heaven, because in this life they admire, and busy themselves with, the study of, and the concern about, heavenly things."[52]

John Calvin

Calvin published his commentaries on Genesis in 1554, and for Calvin, just as for Zwingli and Luther before him, the focus of the creation accounts is not the

[50] Lester Meyer, "Luther in the Garden of Eden: His Commentary on Genesis 1-3," 430-431. Meyer uses the term "natural sciences" due to the use of "Astronomo" in the same passage, but Luther's usage should not be confused with what is understood as "astronomy" or "natural sciences" today. See fn. 52 below.

[51] LW 1:47-48 (WA 42:35-36). Luther uses the term "artibus/artem/ars," which has been translated in the LW as "science," but this should by no means be confused with the modern usage of the term "science." Another way of translating it might be "practical skill," "skill in a special pursuit," or "learning, knowledge" (from latinlexicon.org) or perhaps "scholarly discipline." However, since Luther discusses "Astronomo" (astronomers) and astronomical phenomena in the same passage, this does give some weight to translation of "ars" as "science." See fn. 51 above. WA 42 accessed 7 May 2012 online at: https://archive.org/details/werkekritischege42luthuoft.

[52] LW 1:45-46 (WA 42:34).

creation itself, but God.[53] Calvin writes, "After the world had been created, the first humans were placed in it as in a theater, so that by beholding God's wonderful works above and below, they might reverently adore their Author… indeed, that they might direct their course straight towards God, whose image was engraved upon them."[54] Calvin believed that with the Fall, man's ability to recognize God was lost.[55] After coming to faith, though, the writings of Genesis allowed people to understand once more and tie the marvel of creation to God's goodness and provision.

Calvin posited that once one had first submitted to the Gospel, it would then become possible to seek a deeper "philosophical" (i.e. scientific) understanding of nature. Calvin writes, "Truly, it is pointless to reason as philosophers do on the workmanship of the world unless we are among those who, having first been humbled by the preaching of the gospel, have learned to submit the whole of their mind's discernment to the 'foolishness' of the cross…. Yet this does not prevent us from applying our senses to the contemplation of heaven and earth, which is also where we should seek the things that will confirm us in the true knowledge of God. For Christ is that image in which God sets forth for our view."[56] While the biological debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were certainly not an issue for Calvin, the growing astronomical understanding of the cosmos in the sixteenth century and how it accorded with the Creation account was. In other words, contemplation of the universe brought knowledge, but it led not only to a deeper understanding of nature, but also of Christ.

To account for differences in what was observed and what was written in scriptures, Calvin's perspective on Genesis 1 and 2 was that they were not written in an attempt to be literal.[57] Instead, like Zwingli, Calvin believed that the scriptures were written at a level that the Israelites would be able to comprehend. Calvin states, "Moses says 'God planted,' accommodating himself to the capacity of common people by using a simple and uncultivated manner of speech. For since the majesty of God cannot be expressed as it really is, Scripture is accustomed to describe it according to human conventions."[58]

Although scripture was written in a manner that would match what the Israelites were capable of understanding, Calvin did recognize the reality and usefulness of scientific study. In fact, in some ways, he promoted it:

> Moses used a popular style to write about things that all ordinary people perceive with their common sense, even if they lack instruction or literacy. Astronomers, however, painstakingly investigate whatever the acuity of the human mind can comprehend. Nevertheless, such study is not to be

[53] Emidio Campi, "Genesis 1-3 and the Sixteenth Century Reformers" in Beyond Eden, edited by Konrad Schmid and Christoph Riedweg (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 254.

[54] CTS 1:64-65* (CO 23:11-12) (Thompson, 6). Calvin sources were unavailable, so the Calvin commentaries were drawn from Thompson's RCS and will be cited with Thompson's page numbers as well.

[55] CTS 1:58-59* (CO 23:5-6, 7-8) (Thompson, 8-9).

[56] CTS 1:63-64* (CO 23:9-12) (Thompson, 14)

[57] Dirk Jellema, "Genesis and Science in John Calvin" *The Reformed Journal* Vol. 6 No. 3 (March 1956) 17. In his article, Jellema writes "Therefore the idea — held by both "Modernists ″ and "Fundamentalists ″ in this day — that Genesis claims to give scientific statements, is rejected by Calvin" (18).

[58] CTS 1:113* (CO 23:36) (Thompson, 78)

> disapproved, nor is this science to be condemned in the way that some rash and frantic people tend to reject whatever is unknown to them. For astronomy is not only pleasant to know, but also extremely useful: and it cannot be denied that this art unfolds the admirable wisdom of God.[59]

However, with this knowledge came a responsibility. Calvin continues: "Let astronomers possess their more exalted knowledge, then. But meanwhile, all those who perceive the splendor of night by the light of the moon will be convicted of perverse ingratitude by their very use of it unless they acknowledge therein the beneficence of God."[60] Thus, Calvin, like Luther, says that scientific inquiry is useful and beneficial, but only inasmuch as it leads one to a deeper and fuller appreciation of God's provision, magnificence, and love.

Implications for Fundamentalists

Through this analysis of the Reformers' commentaries and lectures, certain common themes begin to emerge. First, the "generosity [of God in creation] is intended to make man recognize the goodness of God and live in the fear of God"[61]; the Genesis account reminds us not only to focus our minds upon nature, but also upon God's graciousness and love for humanity. Second, by recognizing God, humanity is able to see, and even study, the awesome splendor of God's creation, but is simultaneously warned not to lose focus from God.[62] Third, the creation account was given to man to lead people back to God; Genesis was but one part of a whole body of scripture whose purpose was to bring humanity towards God.[63]

What is not evident, though, is that there is no effort to obtain a word-for-word reading as an explanation of creation; any attempt by the Reformers to read Genesis 1-2 "literally" was only as a move away from the allegorical readings of the past. Thompson writes, "The reformers' dissent [from the readings of the Fathers] was anchored in the conviction that Scripture taught no such [allegorical] doctrine and that Scripture's authority trumped that of the church and its tradition, no matter how 'apostolic' that tradition purported to be."[64] Thompson continues, "Early reformers reacted viscerally wherever they saw human traditions, especially ecclesiastical traditions, rivaling or subverting the clear teachings of Christ and the apostles as found in the Bible, particularly when those traditions imposed laws or requirements that had no biblical foundation."[65]

Thus, American Protestant Fundamentalists who claimed to hold to a traditional "literal" reading, even a reading that tied back to the original Protestants, were only partially correct when they did so. Had Fundamentalists read through the Reformers' commentaries, they would not have found the type of "literal" reading they clung to. In fact, any claims to historical ties with the Reformers would have forced Fundamentalists to redefine several of their central characteristics. First, their claim to a traditional "literal" reading would have been weakened because their

[59] CTS 1:86-87* (CO 23:22-23) (Thompson, 32).
[60] Ibid.
[61] LW 1:39 (WA 42:29-30)
[62] ZSW 13:13.
[63] CTS 1:116-117* (CO 23:38) (Thompson, 80).
[64] Thompson, xlvii-xlviii.
[65] Ibid., xliii.

readings did not equate with that of their Protestant forebears. Second, warnings against science are there in the Reformers' writings, but the Reformers do not fear scientific study as a corrupting influence. For the Reformers, science, in its proper place, becomes but a means to understand God, who is partially revealed in creation and fully revealed in Christ.[66] Third, because one of the core identifying characteristics was gone, the identity of the group would have begun to break down; for Fundamentalists to stand, they would have needed to find another source of authority. Fourth, Fundamentalists, through these readings, would have seen that the Reformers' non-word-for-word reading of Genesis still allowed one to fully adhere to God. Thus, unless they had been willing to turn their backs on their spiritual and historical forebears, Fundamentalists would have failed to take a spiritual position that was historical or traditional and clung solely to one that was ideological. In other words, by seeking to preserve their traditional, spiritual Protestant heritage, they had, in fact, cut themselves off from it.

Conclusion

When the characteristics of religious fundamentalists, and American Protestant Fundamentalists of the early twentieth century in particular, are studied closely, it becomes clearer as to why the members of their group strove so vigorously to preserve their beliefs. The manner by which they defined themselves and their faith caused them to react to the potential "threats" that were visible in society. In response to these threats, they energetically sought to restore what they believed to be the "true" and traditional faith. They perceived an affinity between themselves and latter sixteenth and early seventeenth century Protestants, who sought to reform the church by adhering to a "literal" reading of scripture. By improperly applying a literal reading to Genesis, which they believed existed in the Reformers, but did not, Fundamentalists paradoxically severed their ties to the faith held by their spiritual ancestors and distorted the biblical tradition they so vigorously sought to uphold.

Biographical Note

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Virtual Environments as Communication Technologies of Faith

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I. Introduction

Although virtual environments (V.E.'s) could simulate many different faiths, i.e., systems of religious beliefs, the focus here is on Christianity. The Christian faith has been communicated along the historical path leading from New Testament times to the Church of today. That faith needed communication to survive. The Apostle Paul asked the Roman Christians, "And how are they to believe in one of whom they have never heard? And how are they to hear without someone to proclaim him?" (Romans 10:14, [New Revised Standard Version]). Paul sent people to preach. Others since him have used communication technologies to communicate the faith.

Although earlier scholars (Mazuryk and Gervautz 1996) equate V.E. with virtual reality (V.R.), V.E. is the broader term. V.E. technologies are computer-generated, three-dimensional-appearing, multi-sensorial, interactive, graphical simulations. Figure 1 shows that some V.E.'s, such as virtual reality, some augmented reality, and

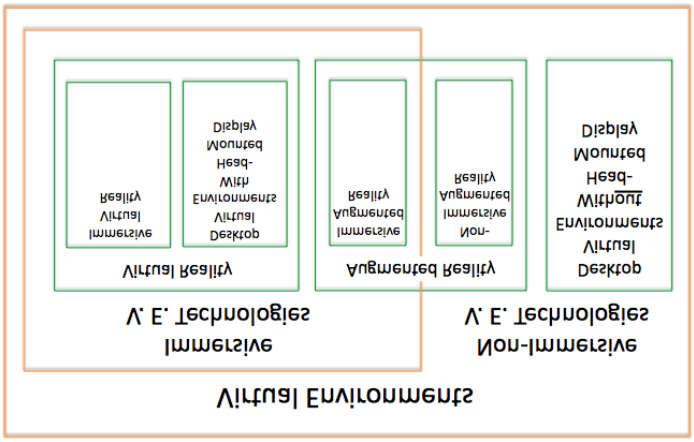

Figure 1. Immersive and Non-Immersive Virtual Environment Technologies

desktop digital games *with* head-mounted displays (H.M.D.'s), are immersive technologies, while other V.E.'s, such as desktop digital games *without* H.M.D.'s and some augmented reality, are not immersive technologies. As this paper will show, *immersive* refers to the technologies rather than the experiences of the users. These technologies may be considered communication technologies because they communicate or represent reality. This paper analyzes V.E.'s as possible communication technologies of Christian faith.

II. Dimensions of faith

What are the dimensions of faith that Christians have communicated? The dimensions are the component aspects of the belief system and the many actions Christians have taken to proclaim that faith. Christians have spoken, written, read, and

heard proclaimed texts about Bible stories and verses, moral teachings, theological teachings, Christian-living examples, and inspiring stories of Christians throughout the millennia. They have read and said the liturgy. They have read and sung words to the hymns and songs. They have heard music of instruments and the voices of worship leaders and fellow parishioners. They have heard church bells announce the start of worship. They have felt the waters of baptism, the handles of the acolyte's candle-lighters and crucifiers, the wood of the communion railing, the cups of communion, the cushions of the pews, the handles of a casket, the sweaty palms of brides and grooms, their own palms touching each other in prayer, the handshakes and hugs of others, the robes of the choir and worship leaders, the ashes on their forehead on Ash Wednesday, and the heat of candles on Christmas Eve. For holy communion/the Eucharist, they have tasted the bread and the grape juice, which Welch originally developed as a substitute for communion wine. They have tasted their own tears in response to an affective sermon or after learning the news of the death of a fellow church member.

They have smelled the scent of the flowers on the altar or the overpowering perfume or cologne on the person sitting in front of them. They have seen a teacher write on the board, a preacher preach while waving his or her hands or not, an usher extend a hand to a senior trying to climb the stairs, people asking for and receiving forgiveness, a homeless person receiving a meal, and a crying child being comforted. They have looked up at the architecture of the sanctuary and seen what resembles the bottom of a wooden boat, one that symbolizes that the worship is to be a worthy-ship to sail the congregation to God in praise. They have seen the liturgical colors of the paraments, such as clerical stoles and pulpit scarves. They have looked at the stained glass windows, which tell stories of the faith through colorful artwork. They have used their whole bodies in church mission projects, in carrying supplies from people's vehicles into the fellowship hall, and in sliding into home-plate at the youth baseball game. As a result the faith that has been and can be communicated is multi-dimensional and consists of sensory information, thoughts, and a variety of emotions. If a virtual environment could be used to communicate the faith, then the V.E. could draw upon many of these dimensions.

III. Virtual environments

A. Inherent qualities of V.E. technologies

For Marshall McLuhan (1994, 34), all media are extensions of people's senses. Most media extend what we see and hear, but some extend other senses as well. Virtual reality and augmented reality extend the human mind and body into the world. Both of these V.E. technologies immerse human users, not their avatars.

1. Of virtual reality

Virtual reality (V.R.) or immersive V.R. is one of three virtual environments (V.E.) on which this research is focusing. The other two V.E.'s of concern are augmented reality and desktop V.E., such as serious games and simulations. Ivan Sutherland developed the idea of the first V.R. system in 1968 (Mazuryk and Gervautz 1996, 2).

Writing a decade before the introduction of the Oculus Rift and other reasonably-priced head mounted displays (H.M.D.'s), Grigore Burdea and Philippe Coiffet provide the following definition:

> Virtual reality is a high-end user-computer interface that involves real-time simulation and interactions through multiple sensorial channels. These sensorial modalities are visual, auditory, tactile, smell, and taste. (Burdea and Coiffet 2003, 3)

V.R. has many beneficial inherent qualities. Immersive V.R. allows users to interact with a virtual environment. Users can transverse the V.E. by moving their feet, their hands, the rest of their bodies, and their heads in physical space by donning H.M.D.'s and wearing haptic sleeves and gloves. The adjective *haptic* refers to the quality of touch.

Virtual reality technology, especially desktop V.E., affords the creation of virtual environments and virtual worlds, which are a type of V.E. Ralph Schroeder (2008, 2) sees virtual worlds as "virtual environments that people experience as ongoing over time and that have large populations which they experience together with others as a world for social interaction." The development of reasonably-priced, commercially-manufactured V.R. head-mounted displays (H.M.D.'s) such as the Oculus Rift, which probably will cost approximately $300 instead of $10,000 for earlier H.M.D.'s, should lead to an explosion of V.R. applications. V.R. H.M.D.'s and headphones allow people to step into V.E.'s and see and hear 3D worlds. The addition of haptic technologies will afford the ability to touch and feel the contents of the V.E. If a worship service were simulated in V.R. with haptic capabilities, for example, the user could touch and feel a virtual holy-communion cup.

2. Of augmented reality

This research is focusing also on augmented reality (A.R.). Like those of V.R., the technologies of A.R. can be immersive. Broll (et al. 2008), for example, presents A.R. games on mobile phones, but these technologies are not immersive. Milgram (et al. 1995, 283) define A.R. broadly as "augmenting natural feedback to the operator with simulated cues" and more narrowly as "a form of virtual reality where the participant's head-mounted display is transparent, allowing a clear view of the real world." Klopfer and Squire (2008, 205) "define 'augmented reality' broadly as a situation in which a real world context is dynamically overlaid with coherent location or context sensitive virtual information." Milgram's stricter definition focuses on the technology, while the definition of Klopfer and Squire lifts the experience. However, Klopfer and Sheldon (2010, 86) refer to A.R. as a "technology that blends real-and virtual-world experiences." As with the recommendations for V.R., the understanding of A.R. should start with *technological* definitions before advancing to the affordances; otherwise, the result is a comparison of incompatibles.

Augmented reality has beneficial qualities that can lead to many interesting applications of the technology. Studying the educational uses of A.R., Wu (et al. 2013) states that A.R. "enables students to use 3D synthetic objects to augment the visual perception of the target system or environment." Wu describes A.R.'s benefits:

> With mobile devices, wireless connection, and location-registered technology, the

pervasive or mobile-A.R. system could enable ubiquitous, collaborative and situated learning enhanced by computer simulations, games, models, and virtual objects in real environments…. The affordances of such a system could include portability, social interactivity, context sensitivity, connectivity, and individuality. (Wu et al. 2013, 43-44)

The benefits found by Arvanitis et al (2009) particularly interest this research. They found that A.R. helps students to visualize complex and invisible concepts. In an example of non-immersive A.R., Rachel Wagner (2012, 89-91) declares that a digital screen at the Abbey at Cluny, France, allows visitors to peer through it and see not war-ravaged ruins but an overlay of how the Abbey looked hundreds of years ago when it was in good repair. She proposes that a temple created in *Second Life* could be located in the physical world. Only people wearing A.R. H.M.D.'s could see the temple. In an example of immersive A.R., a hologram of Christ or biblical characters could be projected into a room. Visitors could see the projected hologram from multiple points of view, or visitors with A.R. H.M.D.'s could see the image, with which they interact via artificial intelligence programs. Such uses of the technologies could help people to learn more about the faith and possibly provide spiritual insights unavailable through other means.

B. Theology of virtual environments

The study of virtual environments raises fascinating theological issues and questions. What is virtual, and what is real? What is the locus of the virtual? Jim Blascovich and Jeremy Bailenson (2011, 22) state, "Historically, virtual reality is perhaps most commonly found in *religion*." French social scientist Emile Durkheim (2012, 381) declares, "But religion exists; it is a system of given facts; in a word, it is a reality." Christianity and other religions believe in the existence of the unseen spiritual realm. C. S. Lewis (1952) wrote, "If we find ourselves with a desire that nothing in this world can satisfy, the most probable explanation is that we were made for another world."

The writer of the Gospel of John contends that Jesus Christ came from God and that after the death, burial, resurrection, and ascension returned to God. Jesus prayed, "I have given them Your word, and the world has hated them because they do not belong to the world, just as I do not belong to the world" (John 17:14). Christians believe that each human began as an embryo, although Jesus pre-existed as the eternal Christ; however, like Christ we humans will be resurrected, and Christ's followers will live with Him for the rest of eternity. Since our earthly lifespan measures only a blip compared with the rest of eternity, Blascovich and Bailenson (2011, 23) ask if this corporeal life really is the virtual. Bryson (1996) reminds the reader that "virtual reality is an effect, not an illusion." Rachel Wagner (2012, 4) states, "Both religion and virtual reality can be viewed as manifestations of the desire for transcendence." Many Christians recite the Nicene Creed, which at the end speaks of the hope for this transcendence, "We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen" (*United Methodist Hymnal* 1989, 880).

C. Non-Immersive Virtual Environment Technologies

N.I.V.E. technologies include desktop virtual environments without H.M.D.'s and non-immersive A.R. Although not immersive these technologies have communicated and may communicate the Christian faith or at least dimensions of it.

1. Desktop virtual environments without head-mounted displays

a. LifeChurch.tv and Second Life: A case study

While the Internet helps congregations to communicate their message and make connections within and without the church, the key communication technology event of

Figure 2. "LifeChurch.tv in Second Life." (Linden Lab 2014).

the creation and use of non-immersive virtual environments (N.I.V.E.'s) has and will afford the user opportunities for more-involved interaction. Linden Lab moved N.I.V.E.'s online with Second Life, but few churches have taken advantage of offering worship there. Even though Second Life (Linden Lab 2014) considers itself "The largest-ever 3D virtual world created entirely by its users" and even though The United Methodist Church (U.M.C.), for example, has eleven-million members worldwide, only ninety-one people belonged to the U.M.C. group in Second Life in 2014. The largest Christian church on Second Life was LifeChurch.tv. Avatars visited that church, which posted their times of worship. During worship services the avatars sat, stood, walked around, or flew around the worship space as a video showed a live-action sermon. People used their church-going experience on Second Life as a supplement to the physical church where they belong, whether that church is one of the twenty LifeChurch.tv locations in the United States or other churches, as their primary church, or in other ways.

A socio-cultural analysis of Second Life churches reveals some foundational changes in what "going to church" means. LifeChurch.tv and other churches have online churches as well. People can "go to church" by attending a church only online. They can watch a video of a worship service, submit prayer requests, and give their offerings online, but they probably use their real name. "Going to church" on Second Life takes the online worship experience to a more-involved level. People's avatars can enter the three-dimensional virtual environment, turn around, see and hear all around them, and interact with other avatars and virtual agents. But having the ability to create their avatars

as people or even things dissimilar to them provides them with different identities with which to interact in a virtual worship space.

Dr. Robert Crossman (2014) of the General Board of Discipleship of The U.M.C. notes that first-time visitors to brick-and-mortar church campuses as soon as they enter the parking lot look at the vehicles and the people walking and make comparisons. For instance, they might drive a sedan, while pickup trucks fill the parking lot. They might arrive in formal attire, while the people they see walking are wearing cowboy/girl boots and Wrangler jeans. Crossman says that visitors prefer to see vehicles and dress similar to theirs. With a church in Second Life, the visitors via their avatars might see avatars who dress like rock stars or have the head of a jaguar. How do such differences affect the comfort level of the people behind the avatars and the seriousness with which they take the worship experience? LiveChurch.tv has discontinued their Second Life ministry, but a few dozen other churches still worship in that online V.E.

Christians over the centuries have been accused of wearing masks to church; for example, critics might see a seemingly-loving family at church but know that abuse occurs in the home. An avatar might provide a person with the ultimate mask for going to church. Sociologically, one might ask if a congregation of worshippers wearing the masks of avatars diminishes the possible construction of trust—an important quality in congregations—among the unknown people controlling the avatars. Christians have viewed church as *the place where people may be themselves before God*, that is, *the location where God relates to the true identity of the members of the community of faith.* Theologically, one might ask if a person's wearing a mask of an avatar in a worship space hinders one's relationship with God.

b. Use in Christian education: Rotational model of Sunday School

The first wide-spread use of N.I.V.E. technologies in churches has been with desktop digital games *without* head-mounted displays (H.M.D.'s). At the end of the twentieth century, some larger-membership Protestant congregations began organizing

Figure 3. "Peter Welcomes." A screen shot from a digital game by Neil MacQueen. 2014. *Faith through the Roof*. Venice, FL: Sunday Software. Accessed October 18, 2014. http://www.sundaysoftware.com/peter/peterwelcome.jpg.

their Sunday School ministries around the rotational model. Instead of having children remain in one classroom during the Sunday School hour, children rotate among rooms from week to week. For example, third-graders might learn in the drama room one week; the next week, in the kitchen; and the following week, in the craft room. Many of the churches following the rotational model installed personal computers in a classroom that serves as a computer lab. Children play the installed Christian digital games, which use N.I.V.E.'s to portray biblical stories and teach life lessons. Figure 3 shows a screen shot of a N.I.V.E. game in which children interact with virtual agents representing disciples and other Gospel characters.

As "digital natives" (Prensky 2001), today's children who have rotated through such computer labs begin to expect that their next church also will have such N.I.V.E. games. These games influence their perceptions of church. They see churches with computer labs as being more relevant to their lives because they spend much time playing digital games. Although children may interact with story through a virtual environment, children who play a digital game may not change the biblical story. Unlike people who use a medical, military, aviation, or other type of simulator, children playing a N.I.V.E. Bible story game may not play "what if," such as by making Noah's flood last eighty days or having Pontius Pilate release Jesus on His own recognizance because church dogma and doctrine have not allowed for such altering of the biblical canon.

c. Use in evangelism: Virtual Faith-Explorer

This research recommends the creation of the Virtual Faith-Explorer (V.F.E.) as an evangelistic tool to reach 18-to-29-year-olds with Christian messages. As the Gallup research indicates by their inclusion of "universal spirit" and "higher power" in their questions about belief in God, Westerners have broadened their definition, if not of God, then at least of spirituality (Barrick 2011). Similarly, Gordon Lynch (2012) prefers to apply his socio-cultural approach to "sacrality" rather than to religiosity. Donald McKim (1996, 266) defines *spiritual* as "pertaining to the spirit or nonmaterial." Such a definition complements V.R. Rachel Wagner (2012) notes that spirituality and V.R. have common goals: to build other desired worlds, to afford the opportunity to play, to enact performance via ritual, to connect with the other, to create order, and to seek transcendence. Hinrichs and Wankel (2011, xiii) contend, "Virtual worlds are indeed worlds." The V.F.E. would be a website with a combination of virtual worlds or V.E.'s representing many faiths. Users could select which faith that they want to explore and then on the screen enter a virtual classroom representing how each faith would teach newcomers about the faith and also enter a virtual worship space to show each faith conducts worship.

By using V.R. the V.F.E. could provide experiences in virtual worlds. Web 1.0 allowed Internet users to learn through text, photographs, videos, sounds, and hyperlinks. Web 2.0 increased interactive learning by allowing the users to upload content. But V.R. offers more interactivity. Since the V.F.E. has the ultimate goal of increasing not only knowledge of, but also, active participation in, organized religion, the V.F.E. needs to deliver levels of interactivity greater than what other technologies can give. This research's desire is for the V.F.E. to serve as an evangelistic tool that would not leave

people in cyberspace but would help them to find a local congregation in the physical world and encourage their involvement in that grounded house of worship.

The V.F.E. would allow people, especially young adults, to anonymously explore various faiths. Instead of investing the time and energy to research numerous faiths and to visit physical churches, temples, mosques, and synagogues, users could enter, not their cars, but the online world to find the majority of faiths conveniently located on one site. No one would know which faiths they select. In comparison to what would happen on a physical campus, no one would see them enter or exit the facilities because they did not physically visit them. In comparison to what would happen in an online church in Second Life, no one would see their avatars because the other virtual characters would be agents rather than avatars. Such anonymity could lower the user's social anxiety level about visiting a new house of worship in either the physical or virtual world. Similar to how college students who are less anxious in class are more receptive to learning in Garner's (2006) studies, V.F.E. users with lower anxiety probably will be more receptive to learning about faiths.

Although *The Handbook of Denominations* (Atwood 2010) identifies more than two-hundred religious groups in the United States, this research recommends a more-manageable number of choices: thirty three. This research recommends that the V.F.E. represent major world religions, seventeen Protestant Christian denominations, other popular faith groups, and even atheism. The inclusion of atheism allows users to learn what atheism proposes and to compare it to other belief systems. Sixteenth-century German reformer Martin Luther saw the value of having more than one choice of possible Christian churches because he believed that having denominations and thus more choices afforded a worshiping community for every German Christian (Duke 1992). Twenty-first century Europeans (Davie 2010, 172) and Americans also value having choices, including choices of where to worship.

The V.F.E. would allow religious faiths to meet 18-to-29-year olds where these young adults are: in front of a screen. Young adults have lived in a time shaped by digital technologies and media, which have shaped especially them. Young people "perceive and interpret reality through screens" (Kinnaman 2011), such as those of laptop computers, tablets, overhead projectors, televisions, desktop computers, cell phones, and other mobile electronic devices. Religious leaders from each faith could write the narratives and design the virtual environments of their respective faiths so that users hear and see messages that those faiths want to present on the screen. Martin Luther utilized the printing press to disseminate his message; for example, as he posted his "95 Theses" on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, a printer made copies of it on a press. Copies were distributed to the German people. Eighteenth-century English reformer John Wesley personally took his message to the coal miners of Bristol and the villagers of Epworth. In the twenty-first century, religious leaders can utilize newly-invented media technologies and follow the examples of Luther and Wesley to respectively take their messages to where the people are.

2. Non-immersive augmented reality

While non-immersive V.R. and non-immersive V.E. show people other worlds, non-immersive augmented reality (N.I.A.R.) technologies provide more information about this world. N.I.A.R. technologies can or could allow people to recognize more dimensions

of reality than they can humanly sense. Such capabilities complement the Christian understanding that two realms coexist: the spiritual realm lies over the physical realm. As described earlier in this review, Christians believe that they are not of this world because their Founder was not from this world. In John 17:14-15, the author of the Fourth Gospel writes a prayer that Jesus prayed for his disciples on the original Maundy Thursday: "I have given them your word, and the world has hated them because they do not belong to the world, just as I do not belong to the world. I am not asking you to take them out of the world, but I ask you to protect them from the evil one." Even though the disciples "do not belong to the world," Jesus did not want them to leave the world; rather, Jesus wanted to send them into it and thus continue his ministry after his death. A.R. gives its users located in this world the ability to see and/or hear information that humans cannot naturally sense.

People have responded to N.I.A.R. mobile applications by their expecting more from a photograph on a mobile device than only a picture. Currently, N.I.A.R. mobile applications allow people to take a photograph with the camera on their smartphone,

Figure 4. "Augmented Reality Super-Vision." A photograph in Alyssa Danigelis. 2014. "Augmented Reality Gives Travelers Super-Vision." *iQ by Intel.*

tablet, or other mobile device and superimpose on the photograph information about the photo's subject. Bolter and Grusin (2000) would label such use as "hypermediation," in which the medium of the screen calls attention to itself. The mobile device knows its location from triangulation among cell towers and/or from a global positioning system (G.P.S.). The A.R. app identifies the subject in the photograph by knowing the geotag of the camera's subject. This identification coupled with connectivity to the Internet give the A.R. app the online information related to that geotag. As a result people with A.R.-equipped mobile devices might have less social interaction with local people because they can read their "hypermediated" smartphones rather than ask people for information.

The information provided by A.R. includes audio as well as video. In fact, Sony introduced the Walkman portable cassette audio-player in July, 1979 (Verma n.d.). Museums began loaning them to their patrons so that the guests could take guided tours and stop at paintings and listen to descriptions of what they were seeing. That

technological system worked well as long as the patrons traveled through the museum along the proscribed path because the Walkman did not know its location. Auditory A.R. on a digital mobile device, on the other hand, knows its location. Applications can say more information about museum items in any order of presentation, direct the blind where to walk, alert drivers, and speak in the dark.

The ubiquity of mobile digital devices and the reasonable cost and multiple affordances of N.I.A.R. technology proffer the church many possible uses of N.I.A.R.. People could take self-guided tours of church buildings. They could aim the phone's camera at the ruins of a cathedral in Europe and see on their screen a representation of how the building looked and how worshipers used it during the Middle Ages. They could aim at an empty piece of land today and see on their screens the architect's vision of a proposed church building. They could take it to the Holy Land and see and hear not only buildings as they appeared during the first century, but also, virtual reenactments of the Bible stories that occurred in the places. United Methodists could take A.R.-equipped devices to Epworth, England, and point them at the parsonage of Reverend Samuel and Susanna Wesley and see on their tablet a virtual reenactment of six-year-old John Wesley's being rescued from the second-story window as the house burned. These uses of N.I.A.R. technology could assist people, especially those who prefer visual and auditory styles of teaching, in their learning about the faith. Also, they could repeat the experiences in order to help them better remember and understand.

Critics could argue that N.I.A.R. technologies promote private engagements with places and things. If they were alive, Plato (1892) and Ong (and Hartley 2012) could levy the same complaint against written materials. N.I.A.R. technologies make possible self-guided tours and solitary learning. Their users turn to the printed characters on the screen or the simulated voice coming from the speakers rather than ask the docent in the museum, the fellow traveler on the sidewalk, or the religious leader in the church. However, they could look at the process in the reverse: the users of N.I.A.R. could become the ones who tell others what they have learned, what their human senses could not impart to them.

D. Immersive Virtual Environment Technologies

I.V.E. technologies add the benefit of immersion. Churches have participated in the event of the creation and use of immersive virtual environment technologies (I.V.E.T.'s) less than they have in all of the other key communication technology events. The high cost of earlier H.M.D.'s, the related-scarcity of immersive virtual reality (I.V.R.) equipment, and the public's unfamiliarity with the application of the technologies have precluded churches and individual Christians from developing and using I.V.E.T.'s. However, the upcoming advent of reasonably-priced and widely-available consumer H.M.D.'s such as the Oculus Rift should open the market for I.V.R. applications.

1. Immersive virtual reality

Widespread use of I.V.R. has yet to happen, but Western culture might be ripe for the church to utilize I.V.R. when the technology is broadly available. Marie-Laure Ryan (2001, 1) observes, "the *idea* of V.R. is very much a part of our cultural landscape," such as witnessed in science fiction books and films and, as this research contends, in the

church. Christians and even non-Christians, especially during times of crisis or turbulence, have sought solace, the sacred, and occasionally political asylum by entering a sanctuary. The worship services, prayer services, and even the room itself have provided spiritual meaning in an environment set apart for worship. Via a "cultural sociological approach," Lynch (2012, 87) argues, "Sacred meanings are not, therefore, free-floating signifiers but materially mediated."

While the physical sanctuary can serve as a material medium, I.V.R. can present a digital version of *sanctuary* because I.V.R. can be defined as "an immersive digital environment that is isolated from the real world" (Rhodes and Allen 2014). I.V.R. made for churches could serve as sanctuary by helping people, especially spiritual seekers, to temporarily escape from worrying about the problems of this world and to explore another world, such as a possible three-dimensional depiction of heaven. Although the possibility exists that users might exchange a hunger for the future heaven for a desire for the immediate simulacrum (Baudrillard 1981), an I.V.E.T. representing a New Testament view of heaven could pique people's interest in the spiritual, provide a respite, and encourage people to learn more about the faith.

Churches could use I.V.R. developed for them so that people could "act within a world and experience it from the inside" (Ryan 2001, 20). Ryan's observation about activity within the virtual world is instructive for the church because her contention prepares a seedbed for ideas for possible future development. She (Ryan 2001, 20) writes, "In V.R. we act within a world and experience it from the inside." Animations on television and film show the viewer scenes, but I.V.R. allows the viewer to enter the inside of a digital scene and interact with that environment from a first-person perspective or as a third-person avatar in what Second Life (Johnson 2014) calls "the third-person object view." The already-described Virtual Faith Explorer could become immersive with the addition of H.M.D.'s. Users of the V.F.E. could "experience [the learning and cultic worship of various faiths] from the inside" (Ryan 2001, 20).

A possible additional feature of I.V.R. technologies, haptic ability could uniquely communicate dimensions of the faith. The "laying on of hands" appears throughout the New Testament, especially in the Book of Acts. In the history of the church, this impartation has signified important events, such as at baptisms, confirmations, ordinations, weddings, and healing services. For those receiving the touch, the "laying on of hands" indicates the congregation's affirmation and the Holy Spirit's activity. A user of I.V.R. could don not only a H.M.D. and headphones, but also, haptic sleeves and gloves, which would afford the sensations of touch. Kinesthetic learners especially might appreciate and/or benefit from using haptic technologies because touching helps facilitate their learning.

If a Christian worship service were simulated in V.R. with haptic capabilities, the user could touch and feel a virtual holy-communion cup, a bound Bible, and the water of a baptismal fount. Haptic clothing, such as vests, shirts, pants, boots, and hats could proffer the wearer the abilities to feel a pat on the back, the hardness of a bare wooden pew, the softness of a pew or chair cushion, the water and towel of a foot-washing, and the imposition of ashes on the forehead. Christians believe that God entrusts humans to care for the divinely-created earth and that the Second Person of the Trinity put on flesh and bones in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. Such theologies of stewardship and incarnation respectively encourage Christians to appreciate the physical realm, which we

humans can lovingly touch. The use of I.V.R.'s haptic features thus could foster an appreciation for creation and the incarnation in ways that other key communication technology events cannot.

2. Immersive augmented reality

As with the relationship between non-immersive V.R. and I.V.R., immersive qualities can greatly enhance A.R. While the graphics of N.I.A.R. appear from only one point of view, graphics surround the user(s) in immersive A.R. (I.A.R.). Google Glass and other see-through H.M.D.'s are examples of I.A.R. Google Glass wearers can walk, drive, and operate in the world while seeing both the physical world and the virtual overlay of information. They can turn their heads, move their bodies, and see from different points of view.

The installation "#Taull1123" in the Romanesque church of Sant Climent de Taüll, Spain, is an example of I.A.R. literally in a church building. Historians researched how the asp of the church appeared when new in 1123. Artists created digital graphics of the saints and other Christian figures. Powerful projectors cast those images on the walls of the asp, as seen in the far right photograph in Figure 5. Visitors to the

Figure 5. "#Taull1123." An immersive A.R. installation in Church of Sant Climent de Taüll. (MW 2014).

"#Taull1123" installation in the church in 2014 then could see that part of the worship space as it appeared, minus the bright electric lights, in the twelfth century (MW 2014). Such examples of I.A.R. could teach people about the faith, promote tourism, cultivate the public's appreciation for Christian art and architecture, raise awareness about church-building preservation, and possibly encourage artists to utilize their gifts and graces to edify the people of the Church.

Churches could follow the lead of theatres in the use of I.A.R. Rhodes and Allen (2014) describe uses of Google Glass in theatre. Audience members wearing the glasses could look at the actors and have their biographical information on the lenses. Select actors could transmit visual imagery from their Google Glass to audience

members so that the patrons could experience the theatre from the actors' point of view. Theatre employees, such as those at the front of house, could wear Google Glass as ways to communicate with personnel behind the stage (Rhodes and Allen 2014). If a church equipped with I.A.R. capabilities had a drama about the nativity, members of the congregation wearing Google Glass could look at Mary and Joseph and on the lenses read biographical information about the actors and bible verses about the characters. If that church presented a play about Christian life lessons, those with Google Glass could focus on actors and read their thoughts and scripture verses that might apply to their situation.

Religious uses of I.A.R. might act as hierophanies within the culture. History of Religions Professor Mircea Eliade (1987, 7) identifies a hierophany as happening when "something sacred shows itself to us." In other words, a hierophany is a "manifestation of sacred realities" (Eliade 1987, 11). Lynch (2012) disagrees with the sacrality's being an ontological reality. For him a group in the culture, rather that the thing itself, determines sacredness; however, that collective could identify a religious use of I.A.R. as a hierophany. Wagner (2012) asks if an I.A.R. projection of Christ into a room coupled with an A.I. interface could be labeled as a hierophany. She (Wagner 2012, 91) contends, "With augmented reality, the virtual world steps out of the computer 'box' and into our lives with incredibly powerful implications for religious experience."

I.A.R. serves well as a metaphor for a Christian understanding of reality. The Apostle Paul wrote to the church at Corinth, Greece, "…we look not at what can be seen but at what cannot be seen; for what can be seen is temporary, but what cannot be seen is eternal" (II Corinthians 4:18). In other words, the seen physical world is temporary in comparison to the unseen eternal realm of God. As the H.M.D.'s of I.A.R. allow the wearers to look *through* the lens into the physical world while reading the writing *on* the lens, a person of faith can look at the physical realm but know that the unseen spiritual realm overlaps what he or she naturally sees. Faith is required to see what cannot be seen.

IV. Conclusion

While reviewing interdisciplinary literature, this research has shown the importance of technologies for the communication of Christian faith. Marshall McLuhan's (1962) insistence that new communication technologies do not replace old ones; rather, new ones add to the repertoire of possible technologies that people, in this case Christians, may use to communicate the faith.

The use of the newest communication technologies, virtual environments, affords communication of dimensions of the faith not possible with earlier technologies. N.I.V.E.T.'s such as N.I.V.R., N.I.A.R., and desktop digital games offer high amounts of interactivity for users, such as students in Sunday School. Since the 3D-graphical representation of Bible accounts, historical events, worship services, and possibly abstract theological concepts in V.E.'s allows them to be experienced "from the inside" (Ryan 2001, 20), students can glean a first-person perspective of the faith. A.R., especially I.A.R., can uniquely represent the Christian understanding that people of faith simultaneously reside in the physical and spiritual realms. As "an immersive digital environment that is isolated from the real world" (Rhodes and Allen 2014), I.V.R. uniquely makes possible the creation of virtual sanctuary and the representation of the

otherworldliness of heaven.

Knut Lundby (2013, 226) realizes, “Religions are to a large extent shaped by their dominant means of communication.” For most of church history, that medium has been the book. Will the faith of the future pin such high importance on the bound book? The first-hand study of I.V.R., I.A.R., and desktop V.E.’s with H.M.D.’s, although not the “dominant means of communication,” might be able to reveal that V.E.’s can communicate dimensions of the faith that other technologies have been unable to do.

Biographical Note

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He holds two master’s degrees from Texas Christian University: a Master of Divinity from Brite Divinity School and a Master of Business Administration with a concentration in marketing from the M. J. Neeley School of Business. Baylor University graduated him with honors with a Bachelor of Business Administration. His double major was Business-Broadcasting.

As ordained clergy he serves as the full-time Pastor of Wesley United Methodist Church in McKinney, Texas. He and his wife Nicole have one son, a teenager named Jonathan.

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The Ancient Atlanders and their Influence on Modern Religions and Cultures

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Introduction: Atland, "The Old Land"

"They are said to be the oldest of the human race," according to Scandinavian myth, "the most virtuous, and the most happy; to dwell for some thousand years under a cloudless sky, in fields yielding double harvests, and in the enjoyment of perpetual spring." [1]

This description brings to mind James Hilton's 1934 novel and the movies, "Lost Horizon."

According to Greek myth, "Hyperborea [Atland] was a fabulous realm of eternal spring located in the far north beyond the land of winter. Its people were a blessed, long-lived race free of war, hard toil, and the ravages of old age and disease."[2]

In Greek mythological history Herakles and Atlas both visited the mystical isle of constant spring. Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Plato, Pindar, Simonides of Ceos, Caesar, Livy, Nero, Strabo, Pythagoras, Virgil, and other ancient classical sources knew of the land to the north, under the aurora borealis.

Contemporary esoteric philosophers Madame H. P. Blavatsky, Rene Guenon, Julius Evola and James McDonald shared the belief that in Hyperborea lay "the polar origin of humankind and a subsequent solidification and devolution. [Hyperborea] was the Golden Age, polar center of civilization and spirituality: mankind does not rise from the ape, but progressively devolves into the apelike condition as it strays physically and spiritually from its mystical otherworldly homeland in the Far North, succumbing to the demonic energies of the South Pole, the greatest point of materialization (see Joscelyn Godwin, *Arktos: The Polar Myth*)."[3]

Hyperborea, also known as Ancient Friesland, Heligoland, and our preference, Atland, was the home of tall people, averaging seven feet, living on a continent in the North Sea, stretching westward toward Iceland and southward past Ireland. The Atlanders, who first moved westward from the Caucasus Mountains about 30,000 to 50,000 years ago, contributed to modern cultures democracy, written and linguistic

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[1] E. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1894, "Hyperboreans," *InfoPlease.com,* accessed Jan. 30, 2015, *http://www.infoplease.com/dictionary/brewers/hyperboreans.html*

[2] The Theoi Project: Greek Mythology, accessed February 1, 2015, http://www.theoi.com/Phylos/Hyperborea.html

[3] Jeffrey Jason "Hyperborea & the Quest for Mystical Enlightenment". New Dawn (58), January–February, 2000). http://www.newdawnmagazine.com/articles/hyperborea-the-quest-for-mystical-enlightenment.

influences, matriarchy, law and order, monotheism, religious rites and celebration. They generated telluric energy for light sources, and knew how to unite terrestrial and cosmic energies for spiritual purposes.

The Continent of Atland: Where was it and when was it?

The earliest extant source that mentions Hyperborea in detail is Herodotus's *Histories* (Book IV, Chapters 32-36),[4] written circa 450 BC.[5] Herodotus also recorded three earlier sources that supposedly mentioned the Hyperboreans. He noted that the 7th century BC poet Aristeas wrote of the Hyperboreans as living far beyond the Kazakh Steppe, and so Herodotus naturally placed Hyperborea somewhere in Northeast Asia.

Ancient writers located Atland in northern Asia, Russia, the Baltic Sea area, and in the North Sea. Modern researchers, including Charles Hapgood, Robert A. Scrutton, Charles Berlitz, and William R. Sandbach, translator of *The Oera Linda Book,* place it in the North Sea, in the Atlantic Ocean, stretching toward Iceland. (See Fig. 1)

Figure 1 Area for the possible location of Atland.

www.world-map.com

[4] The History of Herodotus, parallel English/Greek: Book 4: Melpomene: 30, "Hyperborea," *Wikipedia.org*, accessed Jan. 29, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyperborea
[5] Timothy Bridgeman, *Hyperboreans. Myth and history in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts*, 2005, pp. 27-31, *Wikipedia.com*, Ibid.

Based on our research, we believe that the Atlanders originated in the Caucasus Mountain Region east of the Black Sea. Dates for the early migrations out of the Caucasus Range are still in contention. 30,000 to perhaps 50,000 years ago the Atlanders, as the vanguard, started moving slowly westward. Subsequent migrations continued over hundreds of years, during which the Celts followed the steps of the Atlanders westward toward the coast of Europe and the Druids went southwest toward the Sea of Galilee. (See Figure 2.)

Figure 2. Possible migrations, 30,000-50,000 years ago

Atlanders – Northern Route to the North Sea (red)

Druids – Southwestern Route to The Sea of Galilee (green)

www.maps-continents.com

These migrations out of the Caucasus Mountains included the Indo-European language group that became the Germans, French, Spanish, Italians, Greeks, English, Irish and Scots. Evidence of relationships can be found in linguistic similarities: the Atland language, its closest relative Frieslandic, bears the closest relationship to English. Ancient Greek writing and ancient Atland writing developed from the same source, with the ancient Russians copying the Greek script.

Another significant migration from the Altaic Mountain Range in southwestern Mongolia saw the spread of the Altaic language family: the Picts, Fins Estonians, Magyars, and Hungarians, possibly in the range of 6,000 to 5,000 BC.[6] The distribution of this group followed a northern route to some of the same regions settled by peoples in the earlier migrations. The Celts, Druids, and Picts mixed with the Atlanders, forming one group that included the Northern Atlantic and Norse

[6] Altaic Languages, *Wikipedia.org,* accessed Feb. 10, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Altaic_languages

peoples: Swedish, Finnish, Norwegians, Netherlanders, Friesians, Danes, Irish, English and Scots.

Atland civilization was in existence for tens of thousands of years before any written record appeared. The date of its demise is well known: 2,193 BC, when a meteor or asteroid hit around the North Pole, setting off tidal waves and volcanic activity. Floods, fires, and falling boulders sank the island, broke up the ancient northern continents and changed the topography of the North Atlantic. The sinking of Atland corresponds to the event geologists call the Cimbrian Flood.[7]

Accounts of the event occur in *The Oera Linda Book*, Plato's "Timæus," in Rune 49 of the ancient Finnish epic poem, "The Kalevala," and elsewhere in mythic and classical literature, similar in description and effects.[8]

The Oera Linda Book

The Oera Linda Book is a historical and cultural record of the Atlanders, or ancient Friesian people. It had been handed down generation after generation and in the 1800s was in the care of C. over de Linden. *The Oera Linda Book* is described by its translators, Dr. J.O. Ottema and William Sandbach, as "a very ancient manuscript, which has been inherited and preserved in [over de Linden's] family for time immemorial, without anyone knowing whence it came or what it contained, owing to both the language and the writing being unknown." (iii)

The book contained two letters, one written in 803 AD and one in 1256 AD, urging careful preservation of the book.

In 1848, Dr. E. Verwijis, having heard of this manuscript, requested permission to examine it and immediately recognized it as "very ancient Friese" [Atlandic] script. According to Sandbach, Verwijis believed it was very important and obtained permission to copy it.

Dr. Verwijis was aware that "it could be a fake, invented for some deceptive objective, which he feared." (vii). He examined it carefully and became convinced of the great age of the document. The book starts with a letter written by Hiddo oera Linda in 1256, when he copied the original – 3,449 years after Atland sank. Research showed that the paper and ink used for oera Linda's copy were produced only between 1122 and 1350, supporting Verwijis' belief in its authenticity.[9]

The Oera Linda Book, from a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century was translated from its ancient language into Dutch by Dr. J. O. Ottema, then from Dutch to English by William R. Sandbach, and published in 1876.[10]

The Oera Linda Book provides the greater part of our knowledge about Atland, its people and its interdependent religious and social orders. Geological and historical events correlate with the book's content. Research reports by Robert Scrutton and Professor Charles Hapgood in recent years further investigate,

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[7] William R. Sandback., translator, *The Oera Linda Book, from a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century,* Hardpress Publishing, 2010, xi.
[8] Robert J. Scrutton, *The Other Atlantis*, Neville Spearman (Jersey) Ltd., 1977, 57; and Sandback, ibid., xi.
[9] Sandbach, ibid., vii-viii.
[10] The book is available online for free download at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/40986/40986-h/40986-h.htm

substantiate and expand on many of the events described in the ancient text and on the advanced culture of the Atlanders.

Scrutton writes in *The Other Atlantis:*

> "We may thus accept that we possess in this manuscript, of which the first part was composed in the sixth century before our era, the oldest production, after Homer and Hesiod, of European literature. And here we find in our fatherland a very ancient people in possession of development, civilization, industry, navigation, commerce, literature, and pure elevated ideas of religion, whose existence we had never even conjectured…Here we become aware that these records mount up to more than 2000 years before Christ, surpassing the antiquity of Hellas and equaling that of Israel." (p. 246).

The Atlanders – Their Achievements, Laws, Customs, and Religious and Social Codes[11]

The Atlanders, also known as Friesians, were a tall, blond-headed, blue-eyed people. The name Friesa is an Indo-European word, which means that it can be traced back to Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, the name becomes "Priese," meaning "to love."

Scrutton maintains that the Atlanders invented true democracy and international law. The society as a whole was very structured. The kings and other officials were elected. As a culture, the Atlanders were absolutely opposed to any kind of slavery. The society provided everyone with a house and took care of the sick, disabled and aged. Men were expected to train in arms and serve the country. The married at about age 25. Couples married for love inside their own groups and stayed married for life. Each community was expected to be self-supporting. Atland/Friesian festivals were orderly and highly structured, corresponding to the phases of the moon and sun.

The Friesian totem animal was the cow. Today the Friesians along the northwest coast of the Netherlands are still known for breeding excellent black and white cattle stock as well as the highly prized Friesian breed of horses.

The Atlanders were a matriarchal society, worshipping the moon as a male deity they called "Sin" and the sun as a female deity, "Belle."[12] Their primary god was Wr-

[11] The information in this section originates in *The Oera Linda Book,* is covered generally in all major works on the Atlanders, and much of it recorded over five years in Doug's notes without page numbers. As such, they will not be specifically footnoted. Sources include *The Oera Linda Book*; Scrutton: *The Other Atlantis* (history) and *Secrets of Lost Atland* (science and technology), Charles Hapgood, *Maps of the Ancient Sea Kings,* and Charles Berlitz, *Atlantis.*

[12] As they migrated westward from the Caucasus Mountains, the Atlanders built settlements and towns of stone, often including a version of "Belle" in the name, as in Belgium, Belgrade, and Belfast. In Switzerland, the Marsden/Marsaten people, an offshoot of the migrating Atlanders, built their towns and dwellings on stone piles in shallow lakes as protection against predatory animals. Ancient sources, including *The Oera Linda Book*, and writings of the virgin priestess Apollonia in 540 BC, described these settlements, which were discovered in the mid-1900s when the waters receded.

alda,[13] the One-God, which was a spirit that connected everything. According to Sandbach's Introduction in *The Oera Linda Book,*

> Out of him proceeds everything—first the beginning, then time, and afterwards Irtha, the Earth. Irtha bore three daughters—Lyda, Finda, and Frya [14],—the mothers of the three distinct races, black, yellow, and white—Africa, Asia, and Europe. As such, Frya is the mother of Frya's people, the Frieslanders. She is the representative of Wr-alda, and is reverenced accordingly. Frya has established her "Tex," the first law, and has established the religion of the eternal light. The worship consists in the maintenance of a perpetually-burning lamp, *foddik,* by priestesses, virgins [Maidens]. At the head of the virgins in every town was a Burgtmaagd, and the chief of the Burgtmaagden was the Eeremoeder of the Fryasburgt of Texland. The Eeremoeder governs the whole country. The kings can do nothing, nor can anything happen without her advice and approval. The first Eeremoeder was appointed by Frya herself, and was called Fâsta. In fact, we find here the prototype of the Roman Vestal Virgins. (xix)

After the creation, it is some time before Wr-alda impregnates these women, bringing forth male and female babies. The brown races arise out of the mixing of the white, yellow, and black peoples.

Each of these women, Lyda, Finda, and Freya, oversees her own lands and decides its laws and customs. Each has her own temperament (see Appendix A), out of which comes her effectiveness as political-religious leader and her laws. Lyda was passionate and fiercely protective; Finda was self-absorbed, vain, selfish and came to misfortune; Freya was moderate and reasonable. She established ethical, compassionate, and fair laws, inclusive and protective – for individuals, the community and the good of the whole. It is her laws, or "Tex" that can be thought of as the model and ideal for contemporary life.

The Daughters of Irtha their priestesses, or Maidens, were caretakers of and guided by the Eternal Flame. The energy of the flame imbued the Maidens with special gifts, such as insight, foresight, psychological understandings, wisdom, and special energies – they were Lawmakers, Peacekeepers, Judges, Seers and Healers.

The Eternal Flame, located in Frya's territory, a nearby island called Texland, was supposedly kept lit by the interaction of jet and amber stones, "cosmic" energies (electromagnetic or bioelectric energies, perhaps ley lines?), and telluric/Earth energies. (Telluric currents result from both natural causes and human activity, and the discrete currents interact in a complex pattern. The currents are extremely low frequency and travel over large areas at or near the surface of the Earth[15]). These

[13] "The eternal, unchangeable, perfect, almighty essence of all things; in Atland cosmogenesis, the equivalent of an unknowable God. Literally, 'the Old Ancient,' or 'Oldest Being.'" Scrutton, *The Other Atlantis*, 260.
[14] See Appendix A for the *Oera Linda Book* descriptions Lyda, Finda, and Frya.
[15] "Telluric Current," *Wikipedia,* accessed Feb. 10, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Telluric_current

same interactions of jet, amber, and other stone, with the telluric and cosmic energies determined the location of sacred sites such as temples, citadels, and the King's Stone (discussed below), where the Eternal Flame burned.

Scrutton suggests that the "life-energies" of the Maidens also influenced the flames, as other flames were lit from the sacred lamp at Frya's citadel in Texland.[16] Those fires could be carried to other citadels and on ships for extended sea voyages, each lamp with a Maiden as its keeper.

The Maidens were also the Council. When Atlanders were accused of crimes, they went before the Maidens, who determined their innocence or guilt. If guilty, the Maidens determined their fates. Those who were found to be lazy and not contributing their full value to the community and those who have committed murder, rape, arson, theft or other crimes were removed from the island and sent to White's Island (part of Great Britain) to work in the tin mines.

The punishment for these same crimes committed upon a neighboring state was death, in order to keep peace among the nations. The execution took place in front of the offended party "in order that no war may arise, and the innocent suffer for the guilty. If the offended will spare his life and forego their revenge, it may be permitted." (30)

Frya's religious and governing center in Texland was a round citadel 90 feet tall and perhaps 30 feet in diameter. The citadel was made of limestone and the rules were inscribed on the stone walls for all to see and know.

Citadels such as Frya's were built on the intersections, or cruces, of telluric and cosmic (electromagnetic or bioelectric?) energies. Thousands of years later, sacred structures such as shrines, temples, churches and especially cathedrals would be built one on top of another on these energetically charged sites.

In Texland Freya set and kept the law, or Tex. A few samples of Freya's Tex follow, taken from the online version of *The Oera Linda Book* (p. 23ff). (Appendix B presents selections from the Tex from that source.)

Frya's Tex began with spiritual L;ws and essential social laws. This first section included personal and community relationship with the One God, Wr-alda; treating others fairly; keeping peace with neighbors, as Wr-alda protects all; allowing one's children to marry whom they love; helping those who ask for help, and if they rob you, swift retribution should follow, "then fall upon them with fire and sword." (24) In this section Frya describes the choosing of the Eremoeder, the Mother or governing priestess of the citadel for a community. No actions of kings or governors could take place without the Eremoeder's permission.

One section is "Laws Established for the Government of the Citadels." The citadel was the religious and governing center of the individual communities or districts. The Tex covered the selection and organization of the Maidens and those who would attend them. It listed the required members of the community such as farmers and defenders; local governing bodies such as our equivalent of mayors and decision-making councils and their relationships to the Maidens. This section included as well directions for handling situations in which Maidens or citizens could not or would not serve.

[16] *Secrets of Lost Atland,* 67. Scrutton cites reports of "holy lamps" that burned for years without apparent fuel sources or human maintenance.

The section “Universal Law” covers freedom, equality and provision for all; the right of all persons to select a husband or wife whom they love; housing and land provisions for those who fulfill their responsibilities to the community; private and public lands and their care and conservation, including the management and protection of trees. These laws addressed the trade: fairness, quality control, fair pricing, honest reporting of business transactions and fair distribution of the wealth to those who serve the community; no usury.
Additional laws and regulations outlined training for boys in weapons and the service owed to their country. Frya wrote laws governing war and fighting, treatment of prisoners, and provisions for the injured and families of the dead. The Tex included the rights of the mothers and the kings; laws for navigators; and more.

The Laws for the Security of all Friesians included wisdom for our times: “Whenever new laws are made or new regulations established, they must be for the common good, and not for individual advantage;” and “If [prisoners] are afterwards set free, it must be done with kindness by the Maidens, in order that we may make them comrades and friends, instead of haters and enemies.”

Selections from FRYA’S TEX

This is my counsel:

1.When in dire distress, and when mental and physical energy avail nothing, then have recourse to the spirit of Wr-alda; but do not appeal to him before you have tried all other means, for I tell you beforehand, and time will prove its truth, that those who give way to discouragement sink under their burdens.

2. To Wr-alda’s spirit only shall you bend the knee in gratitude—thricefold—for what you have received, for what you do receive, and for the hope of aid in time of need.

3. You have seen how speedily I have come to your assistance. Do likewise to your neighbour, but wait not for his entreaties. The suffering would curse you, my maidens would erase your name from the book, and I would regard you as a stranger.

These are the Laws Established for the Government of the Citadels.

1. Whenever a citadel is built, the lamp belonging to it must be lighted at the original lamp in Texland, and that can only be done by the mother.

2. Every mother shall appoint her own maidens. She may even choose those who are mothers in other towns.

3. The mother of Texland may appoint her own successor, but should she die without having done so, the election shall take place at a general assembly of the whole nation.

Universal Law.

1. All free-born men are equal, wherefore they must all have equal rights on sea and land, and on all that Wr-alda has given.

2. Every man may seek the wife of his choice, and every woman may bestow her hand on him whom she loves.

3. When a man takes a wife, a house and yard must be given to him. If there is none, one must be built for him.

4. If he has taken a wife in another village, and wishes to remain, they must give him a house there, and likewise the free use of the common.

6. Every village shall possess a common for the general good, and the chief of the village shall take care that it is kept in good order, so that posterity shall find it uninjured.

7. Every village shall have a market-place. All the rest of the land shall be for tillage and forest. No one shall fell trees without the consent of the community, or without the knowledge of the forester; for the forests are general property, and no man can appropriate them.

8. The market charges shall not exceed one-twelfth of the value of the goods either to natives or strangers. The portion taken for the charges shall not be sold before the other goods.

10. The Grevetman and his council shall take twenty parts; the keeper of the market ten, and his assistants five; the Volksmoeder one, the midwife four, the village ten, and the poor and infirm shall have fifty parts.

We suggest that we might live in a fairer, freer, safer, and more wholesome state and world if Frya's laws and ethics were in practice today.

A number of professions supported the Atlanders' activities:

- Ship builders (using oak)
- Masons
- Surveyor-Dowsers
- Gatherers of Jutten (amber) and jet (mineraloid of organic origin, derived from decaying wood under extreme pressure); and miners of iron and tin
- Anglos – Fishermen
- Saxons – Protectors
- Navigators – Those who sailed to foreign lands with the Ancient Sea Kings. These Sea Kings established colonies throughout the world, such as Tunisia, the Inca Empire, Minos, Greece, Crete, and others, spreading Atland's religion, culture and law.
- Farmers
- Politicians
- Military
- Head Earth Mother – the spiritual and political leader
- Maidens: Keepers of the lamp, adjudicators, priestesses
- City Planners
- Astrologers
- Astronomers *who used telescopes*
- Throwers of the stones for divination

Among the most important professionals were the surveyor-dowsers. They would locate the critical underground streams and intersections of telluric and cosmic energy flows. Where an underground stream forks and turns in concentric circles, rising upward, a certain type of telluric energy occurs, and the Frieslanders' castles, citadels, and other sacred structures were built on these sites.

One such structure was the Atland Circle, later known as the Druidic Circle. This was a sacred initiation site for the Maidens. The energy, which today we might call "psychic" energy for want of a better term, was channeled through the earth and through stone stations placed in a circle. The women would go to each station, testing whether they could withstand the shock from the energies. If they passed successfully through each station, they would proceed to the Kings Stone, placed on the site of highest energies and producing a sacred, unceasing flame. This flame increased the levels of enlightenment during the initiation. This is how the Maidens were selected.

The navigators, or Sea Kings of Atland, carrying lanterns lit from that Eternal Flame in Texland, "colonized the whole of the Ancient World, from the North Atlantic to South America, from Spain to Palestine, from the Netherlands to Greece and Crete, from North Africa, Egypt and India to the Balkans."[17]

Conclusion

The Atlanders/Frieslanders/Hyperboreans were a spiritually and technologically advanced race whose geographic center flourished for tens of thousands of years. Their influence spread from the prehistoric times in which these people left the Caucasus Mountains, settled throughout what is now Europe, Great Britain and the North Atlantic areas, mixed their race and knowledge with Asian, Mediterranean, and African peoples. Their islands destroyed, they were erased as a civilization more than 2,000 before the times of Christ.

True equality, freedom and democracy; effective and just social order, belief and faith in One God entwining private, public and political life; sacred rite and law in a sustained matriarchal system; energy-intensive sites throughout the world that are still used today; originators and disseminators of written and spoken languages; explorers and sailors, environmental conservationists, developers of technologies not fully understood and replicable in the 21st century: these are a portion of the legacies of Atland, "The Old Land," "The Other Atlantis."

[17] Scrutton, *The Other Atlantis*, flyleaf.

Appendix A

Descriptions of the Three Maidens born of Irtha (Earth),
who were the Mothers of the Races

Lyda – The first-born, Mother of the Black People
Finda – The second-born, Mother of the Yellow People
Frya – The last-born, Mother of the White People

Lyda out of fierce heat.[1]
Finda out of strong heat.
Frya out of moderate heat.

When the last came into existence, Wr-alda breathed his spirit upon her in order that men might be bound to him. As soon as they were full grown they took pleasure and delight in the visions of Wr-alda.
Hatred found its way among them.
They each bore twelve sons and twelve daughters—at every Juul-time a couple.
Thence come all mankind.

Lyda was black, with hair curled like a lamb's; her eyes shone like stars, and shot out glances like those of a bird of prey.
Lyda was acute. She could hear a snake glide, and could smell a fish in the water.
Lyda was strong and nimble. She could bend a large tree, yet when she walked she did not bruise a flower-stalk.
Lyda was violent. Her voice was loud, and when she screamed in anger every creature quailed.
Wonderful Lyda! She had no regard for laws; her actions were governed by her passions. To help the weak she would kill the strong, and when she had done it she would weep by their bodies.
Poor Lyda! She turned grey by her mad behaviour, and at last she died heart-broken by the wickedness of her children. Foolish children! They accused each other of their mother's death. They howled and fought like wolves, and while they did this the birds devoured the corpse. Who can refrain from tears at such a recital?

Finda was yellow, and her hair was like the mane of a horse. She could not bend a tree, but where Lyda killed one lion she killed ten.
Finda was seductive. Her voice was sweeter than any bird's. Her eyes were alluring and enticing, but whoever looked upon them became her slave.
Finda was unreasonable. She wrote thousands of laws, but she never obeyed one.
She despised the frankness of the good, and gave herself up to flatterers.

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[1] Taken from the online version of the *The Oera Linda Book,* 21-22.

That was her misfortune. Her head was too full, but her heart was too vain. She loved nobody but herself, and she wished that all should love her.
False Finda! Honey-sweet were her words, but those who trusted them found sorrow at hand.
Selfish Finda! She wished to rule everybody, and her sons were like her. They made their sisters serve them, and they slew each other for the mastery.
Treacherous Finda! One wrong word would irritate her, and the cruellest deeds did not affect her. If she saw a lizard swallow a spider, she shuddered; but if she saw her children kill a Frisian, her bosom swelled with pleasure.
Unfortunate Finda! She died in the bloom of her age, and the mode of her death is unknown.
Hypocritical children! Her corpse was buried under a costly stone, pompous inscriptions were written on it, and loud lamentations were heard at it, but in private not a tear was shed.
Despicable people! The laws that Finda established were written on golden tables, but the object for which they were made was never attained. The good laws were abolished, and selfishness instituted bad ones in their place.
O Finda! then the earth overflowed with blood, and your children were mown down like grass.
Yes, Finda! those were the fruits of your vanity. Look down from your watch-star and weep.

Frya was white like the snow at sunrise, and the blue of her eyes vied with the rainbow.
Beautiful Frya! Like the rays of the sun shone the locks of her hair, which were as fine as spiders' webs.
Clever Frya! When she opened her lips the birds ceased to sing and the leaves to quiver.
Powerful Frya! At the glance of her eye the lion lay down at her feet and the adder withheld his poison.
Pure Frya! Her food was honey, and her beverage was dew gathered from the cups of the flowers.
Sensible Frya! The first lesson that she taught her children was self-control, and the second was the love of virtue; and when they were grown she taught them the value of liberty; for she said, "Without liberty all other virtues serve to make you slaves, and to disgrace your origin."
Generous Frya! She never allowed metal to be dug from the earth for her own benefit, but when she did it, it was for the general use.

Appendix B

Selections from Frya's Tex[1]

Frya's Tex.

Prosperity awaits the free. At last they shall see me again. Through him only can I recognise as free who is neither a slave to another nor to himself. This is my counsel:—

1. When in dire distress, and when mental and physical energy avail nothing, then have recourse to the spirit of Wr-alda; but do not appeal to him before you have tried all other means, for I tell you beforehand, and time will prove its truth, that those who give way to discouragement sink under their burdens.

2. To Wr-alda's spirit only shall you bend the knee in gratitude—thricefold—for what you have received, for what you do receive, and for the hope of aid in time of need.

3. You have seen how speedily I have come to your assistance. Do likewise to your neighbour, but wait not for his entreaties. The suffering would curse you, my maidens would erase your name from the book, and I would regard you as a stranger.

4. Let not your neighbour express his thanks to you on bended knee, which is only due to Wr-alda's spirit. Envy would assail you, Wisdom would ridicule you, and my maidens would accuse you of irreverence.

5. Four things are given for your enjoyment—air, water, land, and fire—but Wr-alda is the sole possessor of them. Therefore my counsel to you is, choose upright men who will fairly divide the labour and the fruits, so that no man shall be exempt from work or from the duty of defence.

6. If ever it should happen that one of your people should sell his freedom, he is not of you, he is a bastard. I counsel you to expel him and his mother from the land. Repeat this to your children morning, noon, and night, till they think of it in their dreams.

7. If any man shall deprive another, even his debtor, of his liberty, let him be to you as a vile slave; and I advise you to burn his body and that of his mother in an open place, and bury them fifty feet below the ground, so that no grass shall grow upon them. It would poison your cattle.

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[1] Taken from the online version of the *The Oera Linda Book,* 23ff.

8. Meddle not with the people of Lyda, nor or Finda, because Wr-alda would help them, and any injury that you inflicted on them would recoil upon your own heads.

9. If it should happen that they come to you for advice or assistance, then it behooves you to help them; but if they should rob you, then fall upon them with fire and sword.

10. If any of them should seek a daughter of yours to wife, and she is willing, explain to her her folly; but if she will follow her lover, let her go in peace.

11. If your son wishes for a daughter of theirs, do the same as to your daughter; but let not either one or the other ever return among you, for they would introduce foreign morals and customs, and if these were accepted by you, I could no longer watch over you.

12. Upon my servant Fasta I have placed all my hopes. Therefore you must choose her for Eeremoeder. Follow my advice, then she will hereafter remain my servant as well as all the sacred maidens who succeed her. Then shall the lamp which I have lighted for you never be extinguished. Its brightness shall always illuminate your intellect, and you shall always remain as free from foreign domination as your fresh river-water is distinct from the salt sea.

These are the Laws Established for the Government of the Citadels.

1. Whenever a citadel is built, the lamp belonging to it must be lighted at the original lamp in Texland, and that can only be done by the mother.

2. Every mother shall appoint her own maidens. She may even choose those who are mothers in other towns.

3. The mother of Texland may appoint her own successor, but should she die without having done so, the election shall take place at a general assembly of the whole nation.

4. The mother of Texland may have twenty-one maidens and seven assistants, so that there may always be seven to attend the lamp day and night. She may have the same number of maidens who are mothers in other towns.

5. If a maiden wishes to marry, she must announce it to the mother, and immediately resign her office, before her passion shall have polluted the light.

6. For the service of the mother and of each of the Burgtmaidens there shall be appointed twenty-one townsmen—seven civilians of mature years, seven warriors of mature years, and seven seamen of mature years.

7. Out of the seven three shall retire every year, and shall not be replaced by members of their own family nearer than the fourth degree.

8. Each may have three hundred young townsmen as defenders.

9. For this service they must study Frya's Tex and the laws. From the sages they must learn wisdom, from the warriors the art of war, and from the sea-kings the skill required for distant voyages.

10. Every year one hundred of the defenders shall return to their homes, and those that may have been wounded shall remain in the citadels.

11. At the election of the defenders no burgher or Grevetman, or other person of distinction, shall vote, but only the people.

12. The mother at Texland shall have three times seven active messengers, and three times twelve speedy horses. In the other citadels each maiden shall have three messengers and seven horses.

13. Every citadel shall have fifty agriculturists chosen by the people, but only those may be chosen who are not strong enough to go to war or to go to sea.

14. Every citadel must provide for its own sustenance, and must maintain its own defences, and look after its share of the general contributions.

15. If a man is chosen to fill any office and refuses to serve, he can never become a burgher, nor have any vote. And if he is already a burgher, he shall cease to be so.

16. If any man wishes to consult the mother or a Burgtmaid, he must apply to the secretary, who will take him to the Burgtmaster. He will then be examined by a surgeon to see if he is in good health. If he is passed, [29]he shall lay aside his arms, and seven warriors shall present him to the mother.

17. If the affair concerns only one district, he must bring forward not less than three witnesses; but if it affects the whole of Friesland, he must have twenty-one additional witnesses, in order to guard against any deceptions.

18. Under all circumstances the mother must take care that her children, that is, Frya's people, shall remain as temperate as possible. This is her most important duty, and it is the duty of all of us to help her in performing it.

19. If she is called upon to decide any judicial question between a Grevetman and the community, she must incline towards the side of the community in order to maintain peace, and because it is better that one man should suffer than many.

20. If any one comes to the mother for advice, and she is prepared to give it, she must do it immediately. If she does not know what to advise, he must remain waiting seven days; and if she then is unable to advise, he must go away without complaining, for it is better to have no advice at all than bad advice.

21. If a mother shall have given bad advice out of ill will, she must be killed or driven out of the land, deprived of everything.

22. If her Burgtheeren are accomplices, they are to be treated in a similar manner.

23. If her guilt is doubtful or only suspected, it must be considered and debated, if necessary, for twenty-one weeks. If half the votes are against her, she must be declared innocent. If two-thirds are against her, she must wait a whole year. If the votes are then the same, she must be considered guilty, but may not be put to death.

24. If any of the one-third who have voted for her wish to go away with her, they may depart with all their live and dead stock, and shall not be the less considered, since the majority may be wrong as well as the minority.

Universal Law.

1. All free-born men are equal, wherefore they must all have equal rights on sea and land, and on all that Wr-alda has given.

2. Every man may seek the wife of his choice, and every woman may bestow her hand on him whom she loves.

3. When a man takes a wife, a house and yard must be given to him. If there is none, one must be built for him.

4. If he has taken a wife in another village, and wishes to remain, they must give him a house there, and likewise the free use of the common.

5. To every man must be given a piece of land behind his house. No man shall have land in front of his house, still less an enclosure, unless he has performed some public service. In such a case it may be given, and the youngest son may inherit it, but after him it returns to the community.

6. Every village shall possess a common for the general good, and the chief of the village shall take care that it is kept in good order, so that posterity shall find it uninjured.

7. Every village shall have a market-place. All the rest of the land shall be for tillage and forest. No one shall fell trees without the consent of the community, or without

the knowledge of the forester; for the forests are general property, and no man can appropriate them.

8. The market charges shall not exceed one-twelfth of the value of the goods either to natives or strangers. The portion taken for the charges shall not be sold before the other goods.

9. All the market receipts must be divided yearly into a hundred parts three days before the Juul-day.

10. The Grevetman and his council shall take twenty parts; the keeper of the market ten, and his assistants five; the Volksmoeder one, the midwife four, the village ten, and the poor and infirm shall have fifty parts.

11. There shall be no usurers in the market.

If any should come, it will be the duty of the maidens to make it known through the whole land, in order that such people may not be chosen for any office, because they are hard-hearted.

For the sake of money they would betray everybody—the people, the mother, their nearest relations, and even their own selves.

12. If any man should attempt to sell diseased cattle or damaged goods for sound, the market-keeper shall expel him, and the maidens shall proclaim him through the country.

In early times almost all the Finns lived together in their native land, which was called Aldland, and is now submerged. They were thus far away, and we had no wars. When they were driven hitherwards, and appeared as robbers, then arose the necessity of defending ourselves, and we had armies, kings, and wars.

For all this there were established regulations, and out of the regulations came fixed laws.

Here are the Rules Established for the Security of All Frisians.

1. Whenever new laws are made or new regulations established, they must be for the common good, and not for individual advantage.

2. Whenever in time of war either ships or houses are destroyed, either by the enemy or as a matter of precaution, a general levy shall be assessed on the people to make it good again, so that no one may neglect the general welfare to preserve his own interest.

3. At the conclusion of a war, if any men are so severely wounded as to be unable to work, they shall be maintained at the public expense, and shall have the best seats at festivals, in order that the young may learn to honour them.

4. If there are widows and orphans, they shall likewise be maintained at the public expense; and the sons may inscribe the names of their fathers on their shields for the honour of their families.

5. If any who have been taken prisoners should return, they must be kept separate from the camp, because they may have obtained their liberty by making treacherous promises, and thus they may avoid keeping their promises without forfeiting their honour.

6. If any enemies be taken prisoners, they must be sent to the interior of the country, that they may learn our free customs.

7. If they are afterwards set free, it must be done with kindness by the maidens, in order that we may make them comrades and friends, instead of haters and enemies.

Biographical Note

James Douglass (Doug) Williams is a stone mason, has two degrees in art, plays the piano and sings, and he studies ancient migrations, cultures and religions. He has been researching Atland, "The Other Atlantis" for over five years and presenting programs about Atland since 2012. This is his first academic adventure.

Sandra Dutreau Williams has a Ph.D. in Theatre Communication, the application of communication research to the theatre process, from Bowling Green State University (Ohio), and an MA in Speech Communication from Oklahoma University. She has been a technical writer since 1978. Her instructional materials, essays, poems, and scripts have won national and international awards. A theatre director and teacher, she has been an Artist in Residence with the Oklahoma Arts Council since 1984. She does healing work and metaphysical counseling.

Dr. and Mr. Williams own and operate Lost Creek Mushroom Farm in Perkins, OK, growing shiitake mushrooms on logs and selling shiitake mushroom log kits. They have traveled to Africa, China, and India to teach and learn about mushroom production and medicinal mushrooms.
www.shiitakemushroomlog.com

A portion of Lost Creek Mushroom Farm sales goes to their Mushrooms in Ghana Project, working with small-scale oyster mushroom farmers, helping to increase production and profits. The project has brought two Ghanaian farmers to the US to study mushroom farming and is building a spawn (mushroom seed material) laboratory in Ghana, West Africa.
www.mushroomsinghana.org,
Mushrooms Change Lives in Africa:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bjw6GGwMGiE

In 2014 they started Mushrooms for Well Being Foundation, an organization to raise funding for projects that promote mushroom consumption and production worldwide and educate consumers about the health and medicinal benefits of mushrooms.

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