

A STUDY GUIDE
TO MAJOR LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

Hinduism

Buddhism

Confucianism

Taoism

Zoroastrianism

Judaism

Christianity

Islam

By

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Part I.

Hinduism

Buddhism

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HINDUISM

I. History

1. Vedic Hinduism, or the period when the Vedas were written, 1500-800 B.C. Lyrical writings, embodying nature worship, praise of the gods, prayer, petition; the four castes mentioned, Rig. V. 10:12, 90. Aryan invaders had descended from the north and suppressed the native black people.

2. Classic, Brahmanic Hinduism: 800-500 B. C.
 - a. Early priestly formalism, and the writing of the Brahmanas. Formulation of sacrifice and rite in worship of the gods.

 - b. Development of philosophical Hinduism by Brahmin sages and the writing of the Upanishads, which had taken their distinctive form by the 6th century (599-500 B. C.). The main intellectual content of Hinduism develops in this period. The basic concern was with the problem of evil, pain and suffering, which attended selfhood; realization of the distinction between mind and matter was thought to be essential for the solving of this problem. The type of life, or method, or way of salvation resulting from this outlook was to attain mystic knowledge, by ascetical practices, that would identify the self with Brahman or Absolute Being. Knowledge of this identification would cancel the sense of the reality of physical, material existence, with its experience of individuality and evil, and thus bring release from pain and suffering. See list of terms below. Ballou p. 109.

3. The remaining intellectual and religious history developed a rivalry of techniques for obtaining such release, as the doctrines of the Upanishads came to be variously interpreted and expanded.
 - a. Heretical or reform movements:
 - Jainism (founder: Mahavira), stressed extreme asceticism.
 - Buddhism (founder: Gautama), repudiated extreme asceticism, finding a middle way between it and sensual indulgence.

 - b. Development of Six Orthodox schools of philosophic thought and philosophies of religion within Hinduism from the 6th century B. C. to the 9th century A. D., with the most intense period of growth between 200 and 850 A. D. The three starred systems are of chief importance for an introductory study:
 - *Vedanta (and Mimamsa)
 - Sankara, great 9th century A. D. interpreter of Vedanta.
 - *Sankhya and *Yoga Isvara
 - Kapila, 6th century B. C. founder of Sankhya
 - Patanjali, 2nd century A. D. interpreter of Yoga(Vaisheshika and Nyaya)
(For these and the Mimamsa systems see Noss pp 243 and 245n)

c. Development of ways of salvation in addition to:

Jnana Marga: the way (or ways) of philosophic knowledge, above outlined.

Hindu piety selects one of three major ways, or combinations of ways:

Jnana Marga: the way of knowledge.

Karma Marga: the way of works.

Bhakti Marga: the way of devotion.

The popular or cultic forms of Hinduism, developing most intensively between 200 and 1700 A. D. (see later discussion and Noss p. 248f) were various expressions of the way of works and the way of devotion.

Among other emphases the famous Bhagavad-Gita is a primary scripture of devotion.

d. Personalistic thinkers, i.e. those who came to think of Brahman as a Personal Being, or so interpreted the meaning of the Upanishads, which remained ambiguous at this point.

Ramanuja, 11th century A. D.

Ramananda, 13th "

Kabir, 15th "

e. Modern reform movements: 19th-20th centuries:

Brahma Samaj: pro-Christian

Arya Samaj: anti-Christian

Scientism, secularism, Communism

f. Some noted modern Hindus:

Sri Ramakrishna

Rabindranath Tagore

Mohandas Gandhi

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

Vinoba Bhave

Jawaharlal Nehru

Important Terms

Philosophic, religious ethical

Brahma (n)

atman

sansara

karma

avidya

maya

samadhi

moksha

jnana

yoga

dharma

ahimsa

- and others.

Caste terms:

The classic four:

Brahmin:

priests

Kshatriya:

nobles/rulers

Vaisya ("vassal"):

common people

Shudra:

non-Aryan blacks

outcasts or

untouchables

Cultic terms: Gods, etc.

Brahmā

Shiva

Vishnu

Rama

Krishna

Kali

avatar

shakti

yoni-linga

- and others.

II. Main Hindu Literature

1. Of the earlier classic period: -

- a. Vedas, 1500-800 B. C. Lyrical nature worship in praise of gods.
Tagore on: "poetic reaction to wonder and awe of nature and existence".*
- b. Brahmanas, 800-500 B. C. Brahmanic Hinduism, sacrificial formalism.
- c. Upanishads, 6th century B. C. Philosophic Hinduism.
Tagore: "calm of meditation, seeking man's release from fear of cosmic forces".* The term "Upanishads" literally means "sittings near a teacher":
 - Secret, forest writings of the ascetics who had withdrawn to meditate.
 - No single system of philosophy - Rather the U. a source of many systems and doctrines.
 - Set forth techniques of meditation designed to solve life's problems through a system of salvation by ascetic knowledge.
- d. Code of Manu, "a collection of rules of life composed by legalistically minded priests about 200 B. C." (Noss p. 226). **

2. Devotional/more popular literature: -

- e. Ramayana Epic 500 B. C. Vishnu in form of Rama.
- f. Mahabharata Epic: 200 B. C. - 200 A. D. Vishnu
Bhagavad-Gita: 200 A. D. Vishnu in form of Krishna.
 Tagore: "approach to reality through devotion, or disinterested living".
- g. Puranas: narrative and didactic literature:
 300 B. C. - 900 A. D. E. G. Bhagavata-Purana: Krishna's boyhood, 900 A. D.
- h. Tantric literature. Ritual, magic, phallic (sex magic).
 Shiva and shaktism prominent. Compiled about 1300 A. D.

* From Hindu Scriptures, N. Macnicol, ed., E. P. Dutton & Co.

** John B. Noss, Man's Religions, The Macmillan Co., 1956.

III. Basic Ideas of Classic Hinduism

In order to become acquainted with Hinduism it is necessary to know the basic philosophic ideas of the major early scripture, particularly the Upanishads. These ideas are conveyed by fundamental, Sanskrit terms. The following analysis is based on the Upanishads and later writings.

1. Atman means the divine "breath", or "spirit", "soul", or "self" that lives in all men universally. It is that spark of psychic reality that continues through the many individual, bodily reincarnations. It is deeper than personal consciousness or individual personality (which is rendered by the term purusha). The individual, material existence of atman, embodied in earthly life, is the primary evil association, Ballou 109-12.
2. Brahman or Brahman-Atman is the neuter impersonal ground of all being, the ultimate Whole or Unity behind all natural phenomena. For one thing, it would be the unity of all the atmans of individual men in the universal Atman or Life Spirit. The following are major characteristics, qualities, or "attributes" of Brahman as set forth by the Vedas and the Upanishads:

Ballou pp. 3; 38-9; 40; 56-9; 62-71; 74-6; 111-112.

- (1) Behind all physical forms -- physical forms are merely modes of his/its existence, 3; 38-40; 63; 66; 70. Brahman's all-pervading unity is illustrated by the parables of the honey and the sea, pp. 65-6; 111D
- (2) Immanent in all things, pp. 68-9; 70
- (3) Yet in itself other than any finite mode or form, pp. 68-69 -- thus "transcendent", 111D
- (4) Timeless, pp. 69; 112
- (5) Non- or trans-material, pp. 69; 71; 76, where expressions "incorporeal" and "deep darkness" used. Is "Spirit".
- (6) The ultimate repository of all knowledge and truth. p. 75A-B; known by mind alone, p. 58C.
- (7) Non-conscious/impersonal -- analogy of sleep and death, pp. 57; 65; 77C. Yet see 38; 68B; 111D-112, where Brahman is described as personal.
- (8) Moral distinctions lost in Brahman, pp. 57BC, 58D
- (9) The world is an illusion, 70D-71A. Brahman is beyond all evil.

Other related terms are:

Brahmā: the personalized Creator of popular Hinduism -- a remote figure.

Brahmin: a caste or cult designation, referring to a member of the highest caste in India; and the religious outlook of the Brahmin priests.

Brahminism or Brahmanism: the thought and practice of classic philosophic, orthodox Hinduism

Sankara on Brahman

(Sankara: noted orthodox Hindu philosopher, 788-820 A. D.

This selection was taken from Hartshorne and Reese: Philosophers Speak of God, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 170f. trans. George Thibaut)

"Brahman, which is all-knowing and endowed with all powers, whose essential nature is eternal purity, intelligence, and freedom, exists...Brahman as the eternal subject..(the inward Self) is never an object, and...the distinction of objects known, knowers, acts of knowledge, etc...is fictitiously created... That same highest Brahman constitutes -- as we know from passages such as 'that art thou' -- the real nature of the individual soul, while its second nature, i.e. that aspect of it which depends on fictitious limiting conditions, is not its real nature...the True, the Real, the Self, whose nature is pure intelligence,..knowing itself to be of the nature of unchangeable, eternal Cognition,...lifts itself above the vain conceit of being one with this body, and itself becomes the Self, whose nature is unchanging, eternal Cognition. As is declared in such passages as 'He who knows the highest Brahman becomes even Brahman'...There is only one highest Lord ever unchanging, whose substance is cognition, and who..manifests himself in various ways... A man may, in the dark, mistake a piece of rope lying on the ground for a snake, and run away from it, frightened and trembling; thereupon another man may tell him, 'Do not be afraid, it is only a rope, not a snake'; and he may then dismiss the fear caused by the imagined snake, and stop running. But all the while the presence and subsequent absence of his erroneous notion, as to the rope being a snake, make no difference whatever in the rope itself. Exactly analogous is the case of the individual soul which is in reality one with the highest soul, although Nescience /ignorance/ makes its appear different...As therefore the individual soul and the highest Self differ in name only, it being a settled matter that perfect knowledge has for its object the absolute oneness of the two; it is senseless to insist (as some do) (e.g. the Sankhya Hindus) on a plurality of Selves....

"In the same way as those parts of ethereal space which are limited by jars and waterpots are not really different from the universal ethereal space, and as the water of a mirage is not really different from the surface of the salty steppe -- for the nature of that water is that it is seen in one moment and has vanished in the next, and moreover, it is not to be perceived by its own nature (i.e. apart from the surface of the desert) --; so this manifold world with its objects of enjoyment, enjoyers and so on has no existence apart from Brahman...the entire complex of phenomenal existence is considered as true as long as the knowledge of Brahman being the Self of all has not arisen...Just as the light of the sun or the moon which pervades the entire space becomes straight or bent as it were when the limiting adjuncts with which it is in contact, such as a finger, for instance, are straight or bent, but does not really become so; and just as the ether, although imagined to move as it were when jars are being moved, does not really move; and as the sun does not tremble, although its image trembles when you shake the cup filled with water in which the sun's light is reflected; thus the Lord also is not affected by pain, although pain be felt by that part of him which is called the individual soul".

3. Sansara-4. Karma: Ballou 121-3; 55; 69; 77A. Noss pp. 135-136.

- a. Sansara or Samsara is the fact of transmigration of one's atman through endless individual bodily reincarnations. If one could but break the round of incarnations or end sansara, and be united with Brahman, all suffering and evil would end for that person. Sansara, condemning the atman to successive individual existences is evil. In other words, mental and bodily individuality or personality is evil because such is the locus of suffering, Ballou 55D; 69; 77A; 109-112; 121;123.
- b. Karma means "deed" or "works" and in broadest philosophic sense is the law of transmigration, its ethical explanation. Karma is the basic moral causation of existence and the sansara process or course: there are retributive consequences to all actions, which make for the rise or fall of the soul or atman according to its deeds while in the various incarnations of sansara. A "good" life in one incarnation will mean a higher stage of life in the next; a "bad" life will depress one's status in the next incarnation. Karma is the Hindu (and Buddhist) term indicating that the universe is fundamentally a moral place and process. It is cosmic justice, and on the lowest plane of original Hindu thought meant the impersonal, mechanical, fatalistic process or law of retribution that assured punishment for evil or sin committed, whereby the evil-doer is depressed to a lower caste, or even into animal form, in his next bodily sojourn. Major characteristics of Karma, according to the Hindu scriptures, are:
- (1) A law of reincarnation, p. 121, by absolute moral causation, p. 121
 - (2) A deterministic cause or fate that makes life what it is, because of conditions established in the previous incarnation, p. 121; 122; 123 (See Noss pp. 135-136)
 - (3) Makes the evils of this life punishment for prior lives.
 - (4) An impersonal law above even gods, who are subject to it, p. 122. (Noss p. 135D - George Foot Moore's quote)
 - (5) Yet seed of the idea of freedom, or that one can control the force of Karma, p. 123.
 - (6) It is the evil process from which we must escape, p. 55D; 77A. (Noss p. 231B: analogy of drop of water to the ocean).

The major problem, then, for the original Hindu mind became: how to break the wheel of sansara-karma, or free the atman from condemnation to continued incarnations?

5. Maya and 6. Avidya: the answer lay in the belief that sansara-karma continues because of maya, or the illusion that materiality and all forms of accompanying individuality are real, permanent or significant qualities of existence. Avidya is the ignorance causing this illusion, maya, that materiality-individuality are real. Life is miserable; the cause of this is our individual existence, bodily and mental (personality) to which we are condemned by sansara-karma. We hear a sage in the Upanishads say, "Only when men shall roll up the sky like a hide, will there be an end of misery", Ballou p. 71A. *

"Salvation" would be to escape in some way this individual existence of ours. How? We must overcome maya and avidya, themselves aspects of evil sansara. Thus, as Noss summarizes the problem, for original Hinduism: "not moral transgression...but mental error is the root of human misery and evil". Change Avidya (ignorance) into jnana (knowledge).

7. Moksha/mukti and 8. Samadhi (Ballou p. 55-9; 74-5; 141-2): Moksha or salvation, release, freedom, means the final release that frees the atman from the material world and individual existence. Such release is brought about by the severe ascetic mental control (which the later yoga system developed to a high peak of discipline) that causes us to know the real situation of the universe: namely, that materiality and individuality are illusion (are untrue and unreal), but that all things are one in the trans-material, trans-personal Brahman. Samadhi is the state of trance, induced by various physical and mental disciplines in which moksha may be experienced.

8. Brahma-World (Ballou 58): refers to the state of being finally within Brahman after the wheel of sansara-karma is broken; it is a state of complete detachment from this world in which things seem material and individual; a state of immediate intuitive "knowledge" or experience superior to the knowledge of analytical, logical, or discursive reasoning. In Brahman the atman does not "think"; it rests; mental peace is achieved, of which sleep is the best present analogy, Ballou 56; 65. The state of Brahman is not personal, conscious or individual like western concepts of "Heaven" or "immortality". ("Nirvana" is the Buddhist equivalent to the Hindu Brahma-World).

IV. The Orthodox Schools

Various Interpretations of the Way of Knowledge (jnana marga)

1. Vedanta we may classify as extreme monism. (A monism is a type of philosophy that says that all of reality is one kind of thing or quality or that reality rests on one ultimately explanatory principle.) The word "vedanta" means the end of the Veda, and in the history of Hinduism the Vedanta system embraces the general philosophy of the Upanishads just reviewed. The greatest interpreter of Vedanta was the 9th century, A. D., Hindu philosopher, Sankara. A diagram will help us visualize the main outlook of Vedanta (to be completed in class):

Brahman
Soul/Self

"Matter"
"Individual
existence"

Summary in terms of the themes of Reality and Salvation:

Reality: provisional dualism-
ultimate monism:
Ballou 141 BC and
Sankara quote
ante, A, C.

Material, individual, temporal world seems provisionally real. The world seems dualistic (i.e. matter on the one hand, mind and spirit on the other) only in so far as the ultimate oneness is not noted. The dualistic appearance of things is an illusion - maya: maya is the erroneous belief that matter/individuality is real.

Salvation: the intellectual annihilation of matter is the technique whereby we achieve emancipation -- the realization that matter/individuality is not real is the higher knowledge. Emancipation means: coming to see that the dualistic appearance of things is only illusion, that Reality is One in Brahman. Vedanta's philosophy of salvation emphasizes absorption into the Absolute Being, Brahman, by cancellation of the appearance of individuality and personality, and the materiality in which the sansara process encloses them.

In western philosophical parlance Vedanta would be called, in addition to extreme monism, an impersonal absolute idealism. The word absolute would mean here the all-encompassing oneness of being; the word idealism here would mean the non-materiality of such being. (For the related Purva-Mimansa system see Noss, p. 345n)

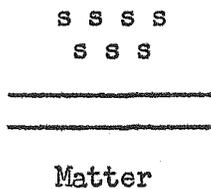
Vedanta philosophy resembles monistic and idealistic systems of the west, notably those of Parmenides (5th century B. C.), Plato on his monistic side (5th-4th century B. C.), Plotinus (3rd century A. D.), Spinoza (17th century A. D.), Hegel, Mary Baker Eddy, F. H. Bradley (19th-20th century A. D.).

Vedanta is the main line system of thought in India, so far as the philosophical interpretation of Hinduism is concerned; it is the most "orthodox" of the prominent schools. Vedanta is sometimes identified as "Brahmanism".

Another important system is the Sankhya-Yoga. It reminds us of the great dualistic systems of the west, in their emphasis upon the distinction between matter and mind, or spirit, e.g. those of Plato on his dualistic side and Descartes (16-17th century).

2. Sankhya and Yoga are very much related systems and may be considered together as extreme dualism. (Dualism is the philosophy that says there are two main kinds of reality, "mind" or "spirit" on the one hand, "matter" or "material nature" on the other).

a. The word Sankhya signifies the numbered list of twenty-five principles that explain existence (Eliot II 297). Its founder and chief interpreter was the 6th century, B. C. philosopher, Kapila, who broke away from the monism of the Upanishads, or reinterpreted them in his own way. We may call Sankhya a dualistic, provisionally personalistic, and avowedly atheistic system of thought, the point of view of which may be suggested by the diagram:



Unlike popular belief, Kapila said that there was no All-Soul or all-inclusive Personal Being or Deity, and established his attack upon theism at the problem of evil, saying that a good God would not create an evil world such as ours.

Summary in terms of the themes of Reality and Salvation:

Reality: Matter (prakriti) is absolutely and eternally real (and changing). In addition to matter there are individual souls (purusha) which are also absolutely real and eternal, and in their ultimate state of "spirit" are utterly unlike, and distinct from, matter. (Unlike matter they do not change). Maya is the confusion of such soul-spirit with matter. (Contrast Vedanta's interpretation of maya). There is no Brahman.

Salvation: the intellectual isolation of soul-spirit from matter constitutes the technique of emancipation from sansara-karma. It is not knowledge that absorbs into Brahman (for there is no ultimate Brahman in this system), but knowledge that discriminates between two kinds of being, matter on the one hand, finite soul-spirit on the other. Sankhya conceives release as the recognition of the utter difference of soul-spirit (not by transcending the dualism toward an ultimate monism as in Vedanta) but by making

the distinction all the more definite. Salvation would be the extreme point at which the soul is in complete isolation, a mirror in which nothing is any longer reflected. Moksha is "Kaivalya", complete separation from the material world, "a state of eternal, but unconscious individuality" (Noss). Eliot describes Sankhya's idea of salvation in the following way: the soul's relation to matter and suffering is like a crystal to the red flower which it reflects. The crystal looks red, but really is not. "Wherefore no soul is bound, or is liberated, or transmigrates. It is Prakriti, which has many bodily forms, which is bound, liberated and transmigrates" (quoted by Eliot from the Sankhya scriptures, Eliot II 301-2)*

The Sankhya system is extremely pessimistic because of the obvious difficulty of realizing or achieving the absolute difference between soul and matter, of destroying the actions of material sensation. The lack of this discrimination causes the pain and suffering of existence. (We will see how the Sankhya and Buddhistic systems are very much alike in this respect. Recall that Buddha was another 6th century B. C. reformer of Brahmanism).

- b. Yoga as a system of thought is like Sankhya in its dualism and provisional personalism, but unlike Sankhya in its addition of a Supreme Soul, Isvara, to the many finite human souls. In the more theistic Yoga thought Isvara is conceived as the personal Creator, and may be compared to the later personalistic conceptions of Brahman in the Ramanuja (11th century A. D.) and Ramananda (13th century A. D.) sects. The term yoga means "to yoke". Yoga as a system of thought and discipline was developed by Pantanjali in the 2nd century A. D.

Summary in terms of Reality and Salvation:

Reality: ss S s s
 s s s

Matter

Salvation: the Yoga theory of salvation is like that of Sankhya (Ballou 148, 150). Yoga has become most famous on the side of its technique, or as a system of discipline to attain moksha. Noss says "Yoga's greatest appeal lies in its physiological and psychological measures to assist the mind in the effort to concentrate" or "suppress its own conscious movements". Since consciousness befuddles the soul the aim of Yoga is to destroy the actions of sense by severe physical discipline and mental concentration.

* Sir Charles Eliot: Hinduism and Buddhism, E. Arnold & Co., London 1921.

Sankhya Passages

1. Dualistic outlook:

"...it is the will that accomplishes the spirit's experiences, and...it is will that discriminates the subtle difference between Nature (prakriti) and spirit..."

(from a 3rd cent. A. D. Sankhya writing, Radhakrishnan & Moore: Sourcebook In Indian Philosophy, Princeton, 1957, p. 437. Original sources noted p. 425-6.)

"The reality of the world follows from its being the product of non-imperfect causes, and from the absence of any impediment to its reality"

"The author tells us that the teachers of non-duality are to be rejected...by means of the non-existence of any proof to lead to the cognition of the unreality of the universe"

(From a selection of Sankhya writings taken from authors ranging from 14th to 18th cent. A. D., Radh. Ib. p. 452)

2. No Ultimate Unity or unified Personal Spirit, Isvara (Brahman)

"The accomplishment of results is not under the supervision of a Lord (Isvara) because that is effected by karma"

"Were Isvara an independent creator, he would create even without the aid of karma, (but this is not so). If you say that he creates, having karma as an auxiliary, then let karma itself be the cause: what need of Isvara?"

....

"Moreover, activity is seen to proceed from egoistic and altruistic motives. Neither can any egoistic motive belong to Isvara. And were his motives altruistic, then, he being compassionate, there would be no justification for a creation which is full of pain. Nor is there any activity which is purely altruistic, because such activity proceeds from a desire for selfish gain even by means of doing good to others, etc."

(From above mentioned selections)

Yoga on Isvara

"Isvara is a distinct purusa, untouched by the vehicles of affliction, action, and fruition...."

...As former bondage is known in the case of the emancipated, not so in the case of Isvara.... He is ever free, ever the Lord"

(From the Yoga Sutas of Pantanjali, Radhakrishnan, Ib. p. 458. Original sources noted p. 454.)

"The main interest of Pantanjali is not metaphysical theorizing, but the practical motive of indicating how salvation can be attained by disciplined activity...."

"The special feature of the Yoga system is its practical discipline, by which the suppression of mental states is brought about through the practice of spiritual exercises and the conquest of desires". (Radhakrishnan and Moore, Ib. p. 453).

See Noss on Isvara p. 247.

We devote the following further section to Yoga, not only because of its distinctive character as a discipline or technique of release, but also because its study is a key to characteristic Hindu ethics.

V. Yoga Discipline
and Hindu Ethics
(Ballou p. 142-151)

Yoga discipline reflects Hindu asceticism and ethics at its best: the over-all aim of Yoga is to emancipate the soul-spirit from the befuddlement of sense consciousness by suppression of the functions of the mind and higher personal consciousness, e. g. Ballou p. 146f: logical thought

error

imagination

sleep

memory

i.e. individual personality

1. For aim of Yoga see Ballou p. 146B, 148B, 148B,C, 149D
2. For situation of the Yogin see Ballou p. 143 A,B
3. The technique of the Yogin:

The Eight Stages of Discipline
(Yoga Sutras of Pantanjali)

Three types or degrees of Yoga
that summarize the eight stages

- (1) External, ethical preparation:
the following moral rules of
Dharma or Yama (duty/law) must
be observed: (Ballou 143C, 148D)
 respect life - "ahimsa"
 " truth
 " property
 practice chastity
 abstain from avarice

These are affirmed to be
universal laws, Ballou 148D
Compare the Ten Commandments
of Moses.

- (2) Internal, ethical preparation:
(Ballou 143, 149)
 purity of thought
 prayer, study of texts.

- (3) Postures, (Ballou 143C, 144A, 149B)
(4) Breath control, e.g. up one
 nostril and out the other
(5) Withdrawal of senses or mind from
 sense objects. (Ballou 143-4, 145B)

- I. Discipline of Devotion or
Pious attitude: Bhakti Yoga.
(Recall Bhakti Marga).
Disinterested service
dedicated to God. In the
Bhagavad-Gita we have the
best example of this plane
of Yoga.

- (6) Fixation of mind. (Ballou 145B, C,
 148D)

- (7) Contemplation of the true nature
of the self - highest meditation,
(Ballou 148D)

- (8) Emancipation (samadhi): a super
or non-conscious state in which
all sense of subject and object
is completely lost, and matter
and spirit stand wholly apart.
Only with death is there complete
deliverance. Called the state of Isvara, Ballou 147, Ballou 145D, 148B,
149D. (Yet see Ballou 148A).

- II. Physical Discipline or
exercise based on a mythological
psychology: Karma or Hatha Yoga.
(Ballou 143-4)

- III. Discipline of Mind or exercises
in concentration whereby the
soul-spirit comes to understand
its true self as totally apart
from matter: Raja Yoga.

This achievement is termed by Pantanjali as "the realization of the self",
Ballou 147B.

If we take this Yoga system as a classical expression of Indian piety, we may
say that Hindu ethics is "self-realizational" in the sense that the initial
effort is concern with the self, with the ultimate aim to annihilate the
conscious apex of the self and its suffering. From the standpoint of our
western values, this is, of course, "self-realizational" in an extremely
introverted and nihilistic sense.

We should not suppose that "yoga" is a term associated only with the Sankhya system of philosophy. The expression means "yoke" and would indicate, in general, the forms of religious discipline, contemplation, and devotion which are guided by ascetic ideals. For example, the Bhagavad-Gita, which we presently study, mentions "yoga" a number of times, although, rather than a Sankhya writing, it seems to be a document which came from Vedantist or Monistic circles.

Sir Charles Eliot speaks of Hindu ethics and of the general outlook and aim of the Yogi in the following significant summary:-

"...the Vedanta, although in a way the quintessence of Indian orthodoxy, is not a scholastic philosophy designed to support recognized dogma and ritual. It is rather the orthodox method of soaring above those things. It contemplates from a higher level the life of religious observances...and recognizes its value as a preliminary, but yet rejects it as inadequate. The Sannyasi or adept follows no caste observances, performs no sacrifices, reads no scripture. His religion is to realize in meditation the true nature, and it may be the identity, of the soul and God. Good works are of no more importance for him than rites, though he does well to employ his time in teaching. But Karma has ceased to exist for him: 'the acts of a Yogi are neither black nor white', they have no moral quality nor consequences. This is dangerous language and the doctrine has sometimes been abused. But the point of the teaching is not that a Sannyasi may do what he likes but that he is perfectly emancipated from material bondage. Most men are bound by their deeds; every new act brings consequences which attach the doer to the world of transmigration and create for him new existences. But the deeds of the man who is really free have no such trammelling effects, for they are not prompted by desire nor directed to an object. But since to become free he must have suppressed all desire, it is hardly conceivable that he should do anything which could be called a sin. But this conviction that the task of the sage is not to perfect any form of good conduct but to rise above both good and evil, imparts to...the Upanishads a singularly non-ethical and detached tone. The Yogi does no harm but he has less benevolence and active sympathy than the Buddhist monk. It was a feeling that such an attitude has its dangers and is only for the few who have fought their way to the heights where it can safely be adopted, that led the Brahmans in all ages to lay stress on the householder's life as the proper preparation for a philosophic old age. Despite utterances to the contrary, they never as a body approved the ideal of a life entirely devoted to asceticism and not occupied with social duties during one period....(HB, II 294-5)

VI. Summary of the Ways of Salvation

On the plane of practical, personal commitment the three ways of salvation open to the devout Hindu are: -

The way of the higher knowledge, Jnana Marga, just reviewed, i.e. comprehension of the principles and practices of the ascetic discipline that will induce moksha, as in the Sankhya-Yoga system.

The way of works, Karma Marga, which the average man could follow more easily: sacrifice to the gods
 reverence and study of the Vedas
 bearing of offspring
 being hospitable.

The way of devotion, Bhakti Marga, covers the sectarian movements in India, emphasizing devotion to the various gods. One form of Bhakti Marga is beautifully expressed in the Bhagavad-Gita, centered in devotion to Krishna, and rises to heights analogous to the idea of "salvation by faith" of western religions.

The devout Hindu may express all of these ways, more or less, in his religious life.

In Ballou, pp. 79-85, and 102-104, The Laws of Manu and The Vishnu Purana, discuss practical ethical duties that have guided Hindus through the centuries.

VII. The Bhagavad-Gita

In the Bhagavad-Gita we study one of the most popular pieces of Hindu devotional literature. (Bhagavad means happy or blessed; Gita means Lord). The Gita is a classic expression of Bhakti Marga and the Bhakti level of Yoga, the way of devotion and common-place piety. Though the Gita originated in Yoga circles, and is generally classified as a Yoga document (Ballou 89), its over-all philosophical outlook seems to be Brahma monism. As we have pointed out, this suggests that "Yoga" was not a completely coherent system; but that there were various types of Yoga, of which some, as is the Gita, were more like Vedanta. (e.g. we note some contrast in the philosophical point of view of Ballou p. 145 and p. 148). The Gita is an eclectic type of work: it tries to combine all three ways of salvation -- knowledge, works, and devotion, with emphasis on the latter. We trace within it some of the finest expression of Hindu philosophy, ethics, and religious devotion to deity.

Observe first its setting as a story:

The Panda clan vs. the Kuru clan -- both are related; kinsmen are about to fight kinsmen. Arjuna, leader of the Pandu army, asks the god Krishna, disguised as his charioteer, whether he should kill his kinsmen, p. 86 -- what is his duty, p. 87? Krishna's reply: proceed in your duty as a warrior. In killing men in battle you really do not kill them, because men are imperishable souls anyway, p. 88! This reply leads into the deeper devotional and philosophical discourse, centering around the theme: what is one's duty, or "action", or the deeper purpose of life?

Thus the theme of the Gita is woven upon a five-fold answer to the question, What is duty, or "action without attachment", Ballou 89B, D, 91C.

The answer is: -

1. To observe caste rules, Ballou p. 86, 91.
2. To have family, carry on the emanation of the race from Brahman, p. 89.
3. To meditate: develop insight and "self-identification with the Ultimate Reality" (Noss). Ballou p. 89, 90, 91, 93A,B, 99.
4. To practice disinterested works or benevolence; act kindly without desire or thought of reward. (Noss, IB, 239). To be able to do this follows from success in meditation. Why? The answer is because of the nature of Brahman, with whom we seek union: after union with Brahman we can go about our work dispassionately, disinterestedly. The central thought of the Gita is a paradox, something like Jesus's paradox that we must "lose the self in order to find the self". In the Gita the thought is, "Attain the non-action, the quietude and dispassion and lack of desire of Brahman, in order to act rightly in life", that is to say, in quietude and dispassion, Ballou 89D, 91D, 92A, 99A, 101A. The Gita stresses living in the world in a separated state -- "in the world, but not of it" (a new Testament idea). Compare Ballou 99A with Paul's list of virtues, Romans 12:9-21. Compare also St. John's idea that "eternal life" begins here and now in this life.
5. Devotion to "the shining ones", Ballou 89, i. e. the gods, especially Krishna. Krishna is a type of savior here; the theme is like that of salvation by faith in western religion, an idea which we shall find again in Mahayana Buddhism, Ballou 97D. Compare St. Paul's theme of union with God through Christ, with the Gita's conception of union with Brahman through Krishna, Ballou 101B. See Noss quote of Gita, p. 241C.

Note the depth pantheism in this Hindu writing, "Not I in them, but they in me", Ballou 93, 96. Note again the idea of the passivity of God or the Ultimate.

Questions concerning the similarity and differences between the Gita and the New Testament have been suggested. Could a principal difference between the two writings be said to be that between Dispassion (a characteristic Eastern motif) and Compassion? Ultimately the reader will have to answer such a question of comparative evaluation from his own study of the two Scriptures. We might suggest that, whereas in the Bhagavad-Gita we seem to have the idea of "dispassion" exalted to supreme virtue, based on the nature of God or Brahman as its fount; the New Testament may stress "compassion", or active, serving love, possibly in more social sense than realized by the Gita. The ethical thought of the Gita reminds us of the philosophy of Kant, who emphasized duty, without desire. Both the Gita and the New Testament are profoundly alike in the belief that ethics follows from the nature of the Ultimate or God. In the New Testament what motivates active, outgoing love is the nature of God as such love (e.g. as in the First Letter of St. John).

Indeed, we find superlative, universal value in the Eastern message of "dispassion", where we may interpret this virtue as expressing need for the control of upsetting emotions in life. Calmness and quietude of mind when in tune with the Infinite Spirit has constituted a supreme quality toward which men have aspired. "Thou doest keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee", Isaiah 26:3. "Therefore I tell you, do not be anxious...", Jesus, Matt. 6:25. At this and other such levels of appreciation the student of the two religions may find the Hindu Bhagavad-Gita and the Hebrew-Christian Bible going hand in hand, each containing its distinctive inspiration. We do well at this point to hear a noted Hindu philosopher and poet of modern times evaluate the three great Scriptures of his tradition in the following way.

Tagore on the Three Great Hindu Scriptures
(Macnicol, Hindu Scriptures, op. cit.)

The Vedas are "A poetic testament of a people's collective reaction to the wonder and awe of existence...a simple faith...that attributed divinity to every element and force of nature" (p.vii).

The Upanishads take us into the deeper calm of meditation. "Keener spiritual longing shifts the emphasis from the wonder of the outside universe to the significance of the self within. The quest for reality rebukes the emotional exuberance of the early (Vedic) poet, and compels him inwardly to explore the infinite depths of the Soul in which the central principle of creation is reflected" (P. vii). In the Upanishads "man is delivered from the fear of the Cosmic Forces (samsara-karma) and is made a part of the Divine Will", (p. viii).

"But the Upanishads, though they measured the highest reaches of the philosophic imagination of our people, were yet incomplete in their answer to the complex longing of the human soul. Their emphasis was too intellectual and did not sufficiently explore the approach to Reality through love and devotion. Man can never be fully and wholly fulfilled through self-discipline and knowledge, though that self-discipline be superhuman and knowledge transcendental. A more human approach lies through love, which easily withdraws most of the obstacles that the self interposes between the contemplator and the contemplated, though love too needs self-discipline for its disinterested expression" (p. viii).

The Bhagavad-Gita teaches this lesson. It harmonized the approaches to Reality: knowledge, love, righteous living. "Thus was rounded up the entire range of Indian spiritual and philosophic speculation and practice, and were reconciled the paths of dispassionate contemplation of the Impersonal, of ecstatic devotion to the Personal, of disinterested living in the world of the actual. Sacrifice of desire and not of the object, renunciation of the Self, not the world, were made the keynote of this harmony of spiritual endeavours". (p. ix)

VIII. The Personalistic Development
Within Vedanta

With the devotion to personalized Deity found in the Gita we look toward the popular forms of Hinduism, and their emphasis on various personalized Gods. In the meanwhile, a movement of significant philosophic importance, within the Vedanta school, was the personalistic and monotheistic interpretations of Brahman by Ramanuja in the 11th century, A. D. and Ramananda in the 13th century. Technically speaking, Ramanuja's philosophy would be called Personalistic Absolute Idealism, and bears resemblance to Western types of idealism of this kind, for example that of the American philosopher, Josiah Royce. We find the influence of Ramanuja upon such a noted, contemporary Hindu philosopher of religion as Radhakrishnan (An Idealist View of Life, esp. p. 338f). The general resemblance of Ramanuja's belief about Deity and those of Western monotheism will be apparent.

Rāmānuja (11th Century A. D.)

On the Personal nature of Brahman, and of the finite self; the reality of material objects and finite selves as aspects or modes within Brahman; the persistence of the conscious subject in the state of release; God's grace as the ultimate agency of salvation and devotion to God as superseding theoretical learning. (From Radhakrishnan and Moore, Sourcebook in Indian Philosophy, p. 543-555. Original sources noted, p. 509).

"This entire theory [of the Advaita Vedanta view of Sankara] rests on a fictitious foundation of altogether hollow and vicious arguments....

"To enter into details -- Those who maintain the doctrine of a substance devoid of all difference have no right to assert that this or that is a proof of such a substance, for all means of right knowledge have for their object things affected with difference. -- Should any one, taking his stand on the received views of his sect [Sankara's], assert that the theory of a substance free from all difference is immediately established by one's own consciousness, we reply that he also is refuted by the fact, warranted by the witness of the Self, that all consciousness implies difference: all states of consciousness have for their object something that is marked by some difference, as appears in the case of judgments like 'I saw this'....

"..the essential character of consciousness or knowledge is that by its very existence it renders things capable of becoming objects, to its own substrate, of thought and speech. This consciousness...is a particular attribute belonging to a conscious self and related to an object...

"...we clearly see that this agent (the subject of consciousness) is permanent (constant) while its attribute, i.e. consciousness, not differing therein from joy, grief, and the like rises, persists for some time, and then comes to an end. The permanency of the conscious subject is proved by the fact of recognition... How, then, should consciousness and the conscious subject be one?....

"But the fact is that the state of consciousness presents itself as something apart, constituting a distinguishing attribute of the I, just as the stick is an attribute of Devadatta who carries it. The judgment 'I am conscious' reveals an 'I' distinguished by consciousness; and to declare that it refers only to a state of consciousness -- which is a mere attribute -- is no better than to say that the judgment 'Devadatta carries a stick' is about the stick only....

"To maintain that the consciousness of the 'I' does not persist in the state of final release is again altogether inappropriate. It, in fact, amounts to the doctrine...that final release is the annihilation of the self. The 'I' is not a mere attribute of the self so that even after its destruction the essential nature of the self might persist -- as it persists on the cessation of ignorance; but it constitutes the very nature of the self. Such judgments as 'I know', 'Knowledge has arisen in me', show, on the other hand, that we are conscious of knowledge as a mere attribute of the self. -- Moreover, a man who, suffering pain, mental or of other kind -- whether such pain be real or due to error only -- puts himself in relation to pain -- 'I am suffering pain' -- naturally begins to reflect how he may once for all free himself from all these manifold afflictions and enjoy a state of untroubled ease; the desire of final release thus having arisen in him he at once sets to work to accomplish it. If, on the other hand, he were to realize that the effect of such activity would be the loss of personal existence, he surely would turn away as soon as somebody began to tell him about 'release'....

"Nor can we admit the assertion that scripture teaches the cessation of ignorance to spring only from the cognition of a Brahman devoid of all difference....For the reason that Brahman is characterized by difference all Vedic texts declare..[etc.]

"In texts, again, such as 'Thou art that', the co-ordination of the constituent parts is not meant to convey the idea of the absolute unity of a non-differentiated substance; on the contrary, ..[etc]..

"..Brahman -- free from all imperfection and comprising within itself all auspicious qualities -- is the internal ruler of the individual selves and possesses lordly power...

"...the individual self also has Brahman for its Self, owing to the fact of Brahman having entered into it. -- From all this it follows that the entire aggregate of things, intelligent and non-intelligent, has its Self in Brahman in so far as it constitutes Brahman's body... ..the whole world...derives its substantial being only from constituting Brahman's body...

"The doctrine, again, that ignorance is put an end to by the cognition of Brahman being the Self of all can in no way be upheld, for as bondage is something real it cannot be put an end to by knowledge. How, we ask, can any one assert that bondage -- which consists in the experience of pleasure and pain caused by the connexion of selves with bodies of various kind, a connexion springing from good or evil actions -- is something false, unreal? ...the cessation of such bondage is to be obtained only through the grace of the highest Self pleased by the devout meditation of the worshipper...

"...The Divine Supreme Person, all whose wishes are eternally fulfilled, who is all-knowing and the ruler of all, whose every purpose is immediately realised, having engaged in sport befitting his might and greatness and having settled that work is of a two-fold nature, such and such works being good and such and such being evil, and having bestowed on all individual selves bodies and sense-organs capacitating them for entering on such work and the power of ruling those bodies and organs, and having controlling them as an animating and cheering principle. The selves, on their side endowed with all the powers imparted to them by the Lord and with bodies and organs bestowed by him, and forming abodes in which he dwells, apply themselves on their own part, and in accordance with their own wishes, to works either good or evil. The Lord, then, recognising him who performs good actions as one who obeys his commands, blesses him with piety, riches, worldly pleasures, and final release; while him who transgresses his commands he causes to experience the opposites of all these...!"

See S. Radhakrishnana, An Idealist View of Life, George Allen & Unwin, 1932 (Hibbert Lectures for 1929), p. 331f, a Personalistic interpretation of God, and Chapter VII, Human Personality and Its Destiny on Karma, Rebirth, etc.

(We should mention a further development in Hindu philosophy, since it has traditionally been regarded as one of the six "Orthodox" schools. The Vaisheshika system, related to Sankhya in form, was distinctive in part as a materialistic atomism, resembling western forms of materialism developed by Democritus and Epicurus, 5th and 4th centuries B. C. in Greece. See Noss, *Ib*, 243n.)

IX. Summary of Hinduism in terms of main philosophical themes:

I. The idea of being:

	<u>Vedanta</u>	<u>Sankhya</u>
A. Idea of Ultimate Reality:	Brahma monism, impersonal absolute idealism-- God as impersonal Whole of Being.	Dualism: matter vs. spirit -- ultimate non-significance of the personal factor, though "selves" continue as impersonal, non-conscious realities.
B. Idea of Man:	Impersonalistic, personal identity ultimately lost in Brahman Bound by the past determinations of karma, man not fully free and responsible.	Personality not ultimately significant in Sankhya system
C. Idea of Nature and world process:	Maya: illusion that matter is real. Sansara-karma: evil on negative side; ideas of basic moral law on positive side that insures justice; punishment for sins committed, reward for virtues.	Maya: illusion that soul is bound by matter, which is real

II. The idea of knowledge, truth, or wisdom:

To overcome avidya or ignorance that keeps man in above state of illusion. Intuitional, immediate, non-logical, non-discursive. Ultimate truth is mystical rapture, not scientific knowledge.

III. Ideas of value:

A. The idea of the Good:	Above man and life -- union with the infinite -- submersion of the personal self into: Infinite whole of Being in Vedanta	Infinite unconscious state of self in Sankhya
B. The idea of Evil:	Entanglement in sansara-karma; separation of the finite self from: the unchangeable and eternal Being in V.	the unchangeable and eternal self in S.

C. The idea of Salvation: through negation of the self-finite individual existence by intellectual or philosophic "illumination"/
 emancipation: moksha
 Through union with the infinite above and beyond all finite distinctions -- absorption into Brahman by intellectual annihilation of matter. Through intellectual isolation of soul from matter into an eternal unconscious state for Sankhya.

D. Ethics: Kindly dispassionate relationship to others on practical plane of ethics.
 The Five Rules of Dharma.

Hindu Gods

Relation to
Philosophic Hinduism:

Brahman
The Impersonal All-inclusive Reality

Sansara-Karma world process

Cultic/popular Hinduism:

Brahma
creator (rare)

His symbol:
often a white
wild goose,
signifying
his aloofness;
sometimes
depicted with
four heads
reading the
Vedas.

Shiva (God of Nature)
destroyer
birth-death
generative process

Shakti: the consort of Shiva
has various forms:
Parvati Durga Kali

Ganesha
elephant-
headed son;
elephant
wisdom.
sex magic,
phallic worship
orgiastic rituals;
"left-hand"
shaktism,"(Noss p. 253)
Also the benigned side of
Shaktism--its "right-hand"
expression: Kali as the
creative energy of Brahman.
(Noss p. 253)

Shiva's symbols: four arms: one waving,
another holding drum, another a flame
or trident; water of Ganges flowing from
head; a third eye; a crescent moon on
head; often many faces; necklace of
serpents.

Vishnu (God of Values)
preserver/savior. Has many
avatars, or incarnations:

Rama
Krishna
Kalki (messiah)

These avatars are Vishnu's
incognitos whereby he out-
wits the demons, overcomes
evils. (Sex emphasis
again in certain Krishna
sects, see Noss p. 256)

Vishnu's symbols:
four arms, two holding
mace and discus, two
holding conch shell and
lotus; head surmounted
by high crown and diadem;
often reclining on Shesha,
the world serpent; his
spouse, Lakshmi.

Is its polytheism one consequence of Hindu impersonalism? High philosophic Hinduism does not readily reach the common people. Hence the development of polytheism may possibly be explained as satisfying the common man's longing for fellowship with personal beings. Hinduism seems fulfilled by a kind of logic: if the Ultimate is itself Impersonal Being, then it may have many lesser, personal manifestations in its many gods; whereas if the Ultimate were Personal within its own utmost Nature, it could remain only transcendent, Eternal Selfhood (as in Mohammedanism); or, possibly, be expressed in some unique way on the finite plane in but one personal life, as in the Hebrew-Christian concept of the Messiah-Christ.

In any case, Radhakrishnan, whose thought we previously noted as related to that of Ramanuja, draws the following profound relationship, on a philosophical level, between the three popular Hindu Gods, and the Ultimate Brahman.

S. Radhakrishnan on Significance of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva

"If we combine the ideas [of God] we are led to posit from the different directions of metaphysics, morals and religion, we obtain the character of God as the primordial mind, the loving redeemer and holy judge of the universe. The Hindu conception of God as Brahma, Vishnu and Siva illustrates the triple character. Brahma is the primordial nature of God. He is the 'home' of the conditions of the possibility of the world, or of the 'eternal objects' in Whitehead's phrase. If the rational order of the universe reflects the mind of God, that mind is prior to the world. But the thoughts of Brahma, or the primordial mind, should become the things of the world. This process of transformation of ideas into the plane of space-time is a gradual one which God assists by his power of productive and self-communicating life. In the world process all things yearn towards their ideal forms. They struggle to throw off their imperfections and reflect the patterns in the divine mind. As immanent process, God becomes the guide and the ground of the progress. He is not a mere spectator, but a sharer in the travail of the world. God as Vishnu is sacrifice. He is continuously engaged in opposing every tendency in the universe which makes for error, ugliness and evil, which are not mere abstract possibilities, but concrete forces giving reality to the cosmic strife. God pours forth the whole wealth of his love to actualise his intentions for us. He takes up the burden of helping us to resist the forces of evil, error and ugliness, and transmute them into truth, beauty and goodness...

"Simply because there is the security that God's love will succeed, the struggle does not become unreal. God is not simply truth and love, but also justice. He is the perfection which rejects all evil. The sovereignty of God is indicated in the character of Siva. God acts according to fixed laws. He does not break or suspend his own laws. The liberty to change one's mind is not true liberty. God cannot forgive the criminal, even when he repents, for the moral order which is conceived in love and not in hatred requires that wrongdoing should have its natural consequences...The one God creates as Brahma, redeems as Vishnu, and judges as Siva. These represent the three stages of the plan, the process, and the perfection. The source from which all things come, the spring by which they are sustained, and the good into which they enter are one. God loves us, creates us, and rules us. Creation, redemption and judgment are different names for the fact of God".

(An Idealist View of Life, p. 334-35, 337-38. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1932)

XI. Questions on Hinduism

1. As you read Ballou, p. 38-41, 54-60, 62-71, 74-77 list the major qualities or "attributes" of Brahman. Do you think this orthodox Hindu doctrine of all things being ultimately "One", or "unified" beneath or behind things true? Can you justify this point of view from life or experience? Are there any suggestions from modern science that might support Hindu "monism"? Does moral insight support it?
2. What do you think of the orthodox Hindu claim that the Ultimate Principle is non-material or "spirit". How would you define "matter"? "Spirit"?
3. What appeals, or does not appeal, to you in the sansara-karma concept? In your opinion, would such a law of karma be just?
4. What do you think of the over-all concept that the Universe is governed by "moral law"? Does this possibility strike you as possible? As important? How would you define "moral law"?
5. What passage in the Upanishads interests you particularly, and why?
6. What value, in contrast to the more orthodox Vedanta belief, do you give the Sankhya-Yoga concept of a "dualism" between "matter" and "spirit"? Which system do you think truer?
7. What do you think of the Yoga belief that the mind, whose nature is active conscious life, may be used to destroy consciousness? What do you think of the practical side of Yoga ethics in the Five Rules of Dharma?
8. Analyze the main structure and significance of the Bhagavad-Gita as representative Hindu philosophy of religion. What is your favorite passage of the Gita?
9. Briefly summarize the Hindu concept of life, its problem and salvation. What in your opinion is the major difference between it and the Jewish or Christian outlook? What are the major likenesses?
10. Is life or existence as evil as made out in Ballou p. 109-12? What are the main types of evil for Hinduism?
11. What values or truth does Hinduism seem to have for you? What disvalues?
12. What do you think of the total Hindu emphasis on "impersonality", or its disvalue of the personal and individual? If Brahman is Impersonal, how could we, who are emanations from Brahman, be personal? What to you is the essence of personality or selfhood? What do you think of Ramanuja's monotheistic concept of Brahman as world or cosmic Consciousness?
13. Define briefly, and show the relationship of, each of the main concepts (terms) of Hinduism.
14. Briefly define the main functions and significance of the three, popular Hindu gods: Brahma, Shiva, Vishnu.
15. Show how the Indian social philosophy of caste relates to its philosophy of religion.

In your opinion how does western social philosophy relate to Old and New Testament thought? Are concepts of God and religion important to social philosophy?

BUDDHISM

- I. History
- II. Main Literature
- III. Relation to Hinduism
- IV. Original Philosophy and Terms:
Hinayana
- V. Mahayana Buddhism
- VII. The Spiritual Beings of Mahayana
- VIII. The Lotus Sutra
- IX. Summary of Buddhism
by Main Philosophical Themes
- X. Questions

Buddhism

I. History

1. Beginnings in an historic personality: Siddhartha Gautama or Gotama. Unlike Hinduism in this respect. Siddhartha came to be called "Buddha", the "enlightened one". "Buddhi" means "intellect".
 - a) Born 560 B. C. in Sakya country, border of modern Nepal. A member of the Kshatriya, noble or ruling class.
 - b) Legendary account of his life beneath which can see outline of a real life:
 - Observes world's suffering and misery, Ballou 189.
 - Renounces wealth as young man.
 - Becomes an ascetic and practices extreme austerities, Ballou 203-4, 208.
 - Renounces extreme ascetic practices and attains enlightenment, or right method of concentration.
 - Founds order of monks
 - Spends life travelling, preaching; finally settles in Savatthi.
 - c) Aspects paralleling life of Jesus as far as legendary account goes:
 - Supernatural events at birth
 - Not virginal but parthenogenetic birth.
 - A pre-existing, supernatural being or Bodhisattva, who comes to earth to perform work of salvation.
 - Temptation by Mara.
 - Miracles.
 - Man of compassion.
 - Parables and other ethical teaching bear striking resemblance in some instances to those of Jesus.

2. Yet a class or social movement too: a middle class revolt of warrior clans against Brahminism (Friess & Schneider). Parallels Jainism and Sankhya. Centered around three themes called "jewels"/"threefold refuge":
 - a) The Buddha or Enlightened One. Bodi means knowledge. Though veneration of the Buddha as a divine being not in early literature.
 - b) The Dharma or Dhamma (Pali), law of life and conduct:
 - (1) The Four-Fold Truths and the Eight-Fold Path.
 - (2) The different degrees of liberation on basis of demarkation between monks and laymen -- a practical ethics.
 - Special duties of laymen:
 - Ethical practices primarily.
 - Support of the monasteries.
 - (3) Nirvana as goal: extinction of desire and thus pain/evil -- a state "unborn, unoriginated, uncreated and unformed" (F & S 127)
 - Arhat: one who so attains; a monk

c) The Sangha or monastic community. Rules:

- (1) General: - laymen could enter for limited periods.
 - monks free to return to world without blame.
 - anyone eligible except minors, criminals, certain diseased.
No caste distinctions.
- (2) Yellow robe, shorn hair.
- (3) Vows in form of recitation of creed (i.e. The Four Truths)
- (4) Minimum of personal possessions.
- (5) Severe and morbid austerities discouraged.
 (Contrast Mahavira, founder of Jainism)

3. Spread and development in India. Records date from about 247 B. C. Prominent in India for 800 years, then virtually dies out.

- a) Spread of monastic institutions.
- b) Development of the Pali scriptures. (See below).
- c) The great stupas, or shrines, with bar reliefs, date from 2nd century B. C. Buddha represented only by symbols at this early period, rather than by statues of later time.
- d) Emperor Asoka: reign begins 273 B. C., missionary zeal; Buddhism spreads as far as Ceylon in this period. Asoka the example of the enlightened layman.
- e) Spread of Hinayana Buddhism, the older, historically more authentic, simpler form, to Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.
- f) The later, more elaborate Mahayana Buddhism develops in Northwest India between 3rd century B. C. and 1st century A. D. and spreads to Tibet, China and Japan.

4. Spread and development in China and Japan:

- a) Emperor Ming Ti (58-75 A. D.) becomes actively interested.
- b) Nomad invasions from central Asia 220-280 A. D. cause disruption and pessimism (unlike China); made soil ripe for Buddhism. The nomads brought Mahayana with them. Buddhism also resembled the mystical Taoism, native Chinese religio-philosophical school.
- c) Conflict between China's humanistic/realistic/family culture and Buddhism otherworldliness, monasticism, etc. The belief in the essential goodness of human nature at bottom of Chinese faith heightened the Mahayana development in China.
 - The Bodhisattvas become exceedingly gracious types with Madona, female characteristics, universal saving power, etc.
- d) Monasteries helped to alleviate over-burdened families by admission of sons as monks.
- e) Taken to Japan in 588 A. D. when Empress Suika ascends throne. Her nephew, Shotoka Taishi, an ardent Buddhist becomes regent. Buddhism suffers in Japan in 17th century with Tokagawa Shoguns, who revive native Shintoism. Buddhism attains highest refinement in Japan in such sects as Zen, etc.

5. Reasons for dissolution of Indian Buddhism, 400 - 1200 A.D.

a) Adverse external circumstances in the native region of the religion:

- (1) Huns, 470-530 A. D., from northwest raided the monasteries where Buddhism had its central life. Hinduism rather founded in the family and caste system, which Hun invasion could not upset particularly. When Huns came, support by the lay groups was cut off—Buddhism had no close organization with the laity.
- (2) Reform of Hinduism at expense of Buddhism in 700 - 800 A. D. under philosophic purifiers and interpreters like Sankara, who reconciled the higher wisdom with the popular religion. Founding of Hindu monasteries.
- (3) Mohammedan invasion 1193 A. D. destroyed the Buddhist monastery of Bihar and massacred the monks.

b) Internal decay and corruption:

- (1) Chants, postures of meditation became outward, stereotyped modes of devotion.
- (2) Erotic worship appears as Buddhistic mythology expands to include consorts of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, e. g. Tata cult: goddess consort of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.
- (3) Monks aimed at becoming great wizards rather than practicing older ascetic virtues. Buddhist occult, Trantic literature develops 600 A. D.

II. Main Buddhist Literature

1. The early canonical Pali (northern dialect related to Sanskrit) writings: called the three baskets, Tripitaka, all presented as discourses of the Buddha. Asoka's reign (begins 273 B. C.) saw commencement of this literature:
 - a) Vinaya Pitaka (discipline basket): monastic rules and practices, e.g. The First Sermon
 - b) Sutta or Sutra Pitaka (instruction basket): basic doctrine as to cause and cure of suffering, e.g. Dhammapada
 - c) Abhidhamma Pitaka (metaphysical basket): advanced doctrine on psychology, causation, etc.

2. Numerous later scriptures and translations in Sanskrit language, Chinese, and others, e.g. The Lotus Sutra

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The selections with which we shall be mainly concerned in this course are the following in the order of study:

Hinayana writings:

Questions Which Tend Not to Edification, Ballou pp.	256-259
The First Sermon	" 212-213
The Nine Incapabilities	" 244
Setting-Up of Mindfulness	" 244-251
Dependent Origination and On Theology	" 259-263
Rebirth and Karma	" 287-294
The Mighty Ocean of Dhamma	" 275-276
The Sorrow of Visakha	" 280-281
The Brahmana from <u>The Dhammapada</u>	" 303
The Nirvana of the Buddha, from E. A. Burtt, <u>The Teaching of the Compassionate Buddha</u> (Mentor)	pp. 115-118
Duties of the Theravada Layman	" 108-111

Mahayana writings:

The Diamond Sutra	Ballou pp.	331-336
The Lotus of the True Law (Lotus Sutra)	"	316-330
Asvaghosha's Discourse on Awakening of Faith	"	336-340
Selections from <u>A Manual of Zen Buddhism</u> (D. T. Suzuki)	"	351-365
On the Absolute Mind, Enlightenment, etc.		
Selections from Burt (as above) on		
A Bodhisattva's Grace	pp.	133-134
Absolute Mind and Immediate Enlightenment (a Zen passage)		194-200
Salvation by Faith (a Shin passage)		218-222
Zen Layman's Ideal		238-239
Selection on Nirvana as Love, from Lin Yutang, <u>The Wisdom of China and India</u>	pp.	552-555

Contemporary Buddhist scholars:

- D. T. Suzuki (scholar in Mahayana thought)
- M. Anesaki (historian of Japanese Buddhism)
- A. K. Coomaraswamy (Research fellow, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
- S. Hisamatsu (Zen Monk, Kyoto)

III. Relation to Hinduism

Buddhism was a practical revolt from Upanishad Hinduism of the 6th century B. C. One of other such revolts, e.g. Sankhya under Kapila, Jainism under Mahavira.

1. What did Buddhism oppose in Hinduism?

- a) First, it rejected the extreme asceticism and self-torture of the Yogi. It was a revolt in personal ethical concepts. It advocated a middle way between extreme asceticism and physical indulgence, no doubt the basis of its lasting appeal.
- b) The cosmic Monism of the Upanishads, and the method of speculation that led to it. Buddha opposed the idea of salvation by the higher speculation, jnana marga, or way of metaphysical knowledge, Ballou 257-59. Indeed, Buddhism soon becomes speculative, more rationally penetrating perhaps than Hinduism itself; but at first it emphasized a psychological and ethical rather than a speculative or philosophical technique. We may therefore say that Buddhism was a revolt in method, and in intellectual concepts and aims.
- c) The Brahmanic rules of animal sacrifice and devotion to personalized deity. Buddhism thirdly was a revolt in ceremonial concepts and practices. It emphasized ahimsa (which Hinduism later took over), or reverence of all life vs. sacrifice. Original Buddhism rejected bhakti marga, or religious devotion to personal deity. We will see how this follows from its rejection of the cosmic monism of the Upanishads.
- d) The Brahmanic caste system. High and low might become followers of the Buddha on a plane of equality. We thus see lastly that it was a revolt in social concepts.

2. Yet Buddhism carries over certain of the main Hindu concepts and gives them a new content. In the main it carries over the Hindu pessimism about life, that it is evil and something to be fled from, i.e. it continues the Hindu emphasis on the non-significance of personal existence. We shall see, however, in spite of this outlook how Buddhism develops one of the highest systems of ethics that the east bequeaths to history. More specifically Buddhism continues the following main things from Hinduism:

- a) Sansara-Karma; but Buddhism, as we shall presently see, gives to this idea a new, more positive note. In the meanwhile, the secret of overcoming sansara-karma, it said, was to break desire, and the consequent striving which gives rise to pain and suffering.
- b) Dharma: law or duty. The Buddhist rules for right living are given in "Four Truths" and an "Eight-fold Path", or steps, to fulfill these truths. (The Pali term for law: dhamma)
- c) Moksha or final release. (Later Buddhism develops Yogi-like practices to induce sambodi -- recall the Hindu samadhi. Buddhi means intellect; bodhi means illumination).

IV. Original Philosophy and Terms:

Hinayana Buddhism (South East Asia)

Buddhism in original form was a type of "psychological self-culture" (Noss) rather than a "religion" in the typical meaning of the term. Even more than in Hinduism salvation depended upon one's self and one's own resident powers, rather than upon external forces. Hence the concept of personal effort or merit became a paramount theme.

As with Hinduism we may best become acquainted with Buddhism by examining its terms; a preliminary list, with brief definitions, follows:

- tanha: desire or thirst
- dukka: pain or suffering
- skandhas: the self conceived as non-unified or separate physical and psychic states
- anatta: the self as non-unity, or not real in its own right
- anicca: the self is transitory
- sambodhi: equivalent to the Hindu samadhi
- Nirvana: parallels in meaning the Hindu Brahma-World
- dhamma: the rule of conduct of the 8-fold path, parallels Hindu dharma
- metta: benevolence or love
- ahimsa: reverence for all life
- arhat or arahat: a monk, or one who attains enlightenment, saint
- sangha: the monastic community

We may relate these terms and ideas in the following way:

1. The doctrine of evil. The history and doctrine of Buddhism starts with a practical aim, namely, to overcome desire in life or tanha, and its consequent pain and suffering, dukka. Ballou pp. 212-213. What further concepts are necessary to this end?
2. Doctrine of man. In order to overcome tanha and dukka Buddhism believed that it had to deny that the self was a significant, permanent unity of some kind; it denied the existence of "personality" conceived as a metaphysical reality. Accordingly, what we call "man", "self", "soul", "mind", "personality" is simply a collection of constantly changing states or skandhas. Ballou pp. 245-248, 260D-261A, 332-336. There seem to be five such separate states or skandhas, according to Buddhist psychology:
 - The body and its parts.
 - Conscious feelings, e.g. pleasure, pains, fears, anxieties, sorrows, our emotional aspects.
 - Sense-perceptions, and related conceptual knowledge, i.e. psychic images (?)
 - Higher, more abstract conscious thought and value judgments.
 - Instincts and the sub-conscious.

In sum, this idea of man or the self bears close resemblance to modern behavioristic and naturalistic theories of mind. There is no central organizing unity of mind or personality; the "ego" is only an apparent, illusory center. The self is non-unity, nothing real in its own right, anatta. The self is transitory, anicca. In modern western terms, we may call this an associationist theory of mind, which the 18th century philosopher David Hume brought into clear focus as a theory.

The Buddhists early recognized a problem in this theory: if there is no unity to the self, what passes over in the sansara-karma process?

3. The doctrine of cosmic moral law, or sansara-karma. Buddhism gives more flexibility to this concept than Hinduism did.
 - a) First, to answer the above question, sansara or rebirth takes place without any soul-substance passing over from one existence to another. Merely the accumulated or built up "impression", "consequence", or "character" is transmitted, as a signet ring gives its impression to the wax, said the Buddhists, or as fire is lit by another fire, one candle by another, without one candle passing into the other. Noss 169.
 - b) Karma for the Buddhist is a law of freedom guaranteeing the efficacy of personal effort; the Buddhist emphasized that by free moral willing one can break the Wheel of sansara and achieve release. There is a subtle difference between the Hindu and Buddhist concepts of karma.

In original Hinduism, karma is conceived mainly as the moral law that determines one's status in the future incarnation, according to deeds done in this present life. Karma is mainly a deterministic, fatalistic, retributive justice. For the early Hindu, it is judgment which assigns moral guilt. For Hinduism karma is the impersonal cosmic moral law determining men (and gods), over which men have little control, "the inevitable consequences of the deed once done" (Eliot II 294).

In Buddhism, karma is the principle of freedom in moral law, whereby one can atone for, and overcome, the consequences of past sin: it is free and redemptive. Karma, for the Buddhist, is mercy; it opens the way for progress and betterment. It assures moral responsibility; it is the good means by which we may overcome evil. Ballou 293-94. In Buddhism karma is that principle by which we may transcend the consequences of the deed; there need not be an inevitable outcome: we can change the outcome by a later decision. For the Buddhist, karma is a moral law, not only cosmic or above man, but within man, which he himself can utilize or direct for good. Karma is therefore more personalized in Buddhism and makes man a freer being than he seemed to be for Hinduism. The Encyclopedia of Religion (ed. Ferm)* says, "Karma, which to the Brahmins was hardly more than a mechanical, superstitious, fatalistic operation of retribution, was transformed by the Buddha to mean moral energy, with which a man may exercise his free will, break the chain of causation, chart the course of his future, and produce the meritorious fruits of his own conduct". Anesake, in his History of Japanese Religion** says, "Belief in Karma is not a blind submission

* The Philosophical Library, New York, 1945

** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1936

to fate, but a step towards a strenuous effort to overcome selfish motives and to emerge from the vicious narrowness of individual life into broad communion with other beings, especially with enlightened spirits. The doctrine of Karma works negatively, to relieve one from distress and remorse, and positively, to arouse a sense of oneness and continuity of life" (p. 74). Ballou 365.

4. What doctrine of reality as a whole does original Buddhism have? Contrary to Vedanta, and more like Sankhya Hinduism, Buddhism said that there was no one, fixed, Eternal Being, such as Brahman. For original Buddhism, there is no God, either in the impersonal Hindu sense or in the personalized sense of western religions. All there is is natural process, forever becoming, forever passing away. There is no permanence in Being; but only flux and change. The only over-all principle is the law of karma. Ballou 256-59, 261-3, (332D, 336B)

Buddhism takes the impersonalistic type of idealism, represented by Hinduism, to a kind of logical conclusion: if the Ultimate Unity is impersonal, of what good, what significance is it? Why say there is any "Ultimate Being" at all? Accordingly, Buddhism rules both the concepts of personality and being from the cosmos altogether, going even further than Sankhya in opposition to Vedanta. In brief the Buddhist picture of reality is a sophisticated materialism, reminding us very much of behavioristic psychology and modern critical naturalism. The points of similarity with modern critical naturalism may be summarized. Buddhism, as does modern critical naturalism,

- denied the idea of a transcendental unity to the self,
- aimed to be non-metaphysical or non-speculative in its method, but more concerned with practical things,
- emphasized reality as process and change, and denied that there was, or that we could know of, an ultimate metaphysical Unity or Being such as Brahman or God.
- defined religion as self-culture.

(In its concept of the Absolute Mind we will find later that Mahayana Buddhism makes a radical return toward the Vedantist conception of Brahman.)

5. Nirvana, or the ultimate state of the soul, seems more negative in earlier Hinayana Buddhism than the idea became in later Mahayana. Nirvana for original Buddhism seems to be annihilation, extinction, nothingness, the blowing-out of craving and therefore of personal life itself. It was opposite to the doctrine of personal immortality in the western sense. Burt TCB (Mentor Books), p. 115-16.

It also seemed to be the cessation of moral evil. Ballou 193.

Eliot, however, the noted interpreter of the Indian religions, says that Nirvana was not a totally negative state for the Buddha. He claims that for Buddha himself Nirvana was conceived to be a positive but indescribable state, to be sure without atman (soul) or even skandhas (states of consciousness). Eliot says that Buddha constantly refuses to describe Nirvana,

but emphatically says he does not teach annihilation (Eliot, HB, I, 235). But if Nirvana is not the experience of a unified consciousness, can it be, for all practical purposes, more than annihilation or nothingness? Even Eliot admits, in his interpretation of early Buddhism, that "the state of a Saint after death cannot be legitimately described in language which suggests that it is a fuller and deeper mode of life" (Ib. 233). We shall see how the idea of Nirvana may assume more positive meaning in later Buddhism.

V. Buddhist Ethics

Read carefully Ballou 212-14, 244, 248-51, 259-61, 276, 280, 303. The ethics of Buddhism seeks the middle way between a life of sensual indulgence and extreme asceticism, 212A. The following points should be noted:

1. The Four-fold Noble Truths, Ballou 212-13 and the Eight-fold Path, Ballou 248-51, if understood and followed, will make for detachment and release from the world of desire and striving and therefore pain and suffering:

1st Truth: all life is painful from birth to death; this is the dominant fact of existence, dukkha

2nd Truth: Craving or desire is the cause of pain, tanha
 - for physical things, satisfaction of appetites.
 - for existence, personal life as such.

3rd Truth: Cessation of pain is possible by emptying self of all craving and desire, sambodi

4th Truth: the 8-fold path is the way or method of such release, Dharma or dhamma. Ballou 244, 248-51.

- (1) Right views or philosophy: the above outlook, i.e. the four truths. Like all Indian systems Buddhism ultimately insists on knowledge as the way to attain salvation. For earlier Buddhism, it was knowledge of psychological facts rather than knowledge of a transcendental or metaphysical Being.
- (2) Right intention or aspiration: renunciation of aggression and cruelty, aims at kindness and benevolence, or love, Ballou 213, 249. Metta
- (3) Right speech: no lying, slander; gracious mannerly conversation. Ballou 249.
- (4) Right action/deeds: no killing, stealing, fornication.

(Note with Nos, 3 and 4, the similarity to Moses VI, VII, VIII, & IX commandments).

- (5) Right livelihood or living: no deceitful transactions, proper occupation for one's time and energies, no drunkenness. (Compare Nos. 1-5 with Bhakti Yoga: subjective and social ethical discipline).
- (6) Right effort: practice of self-mastery, disattachment; discrimination between wise and unwise desires, so that steps 1-5 may be taken with ease. (Compare Karma or Hatha Yoga: the milder mental discipline).
- (7) Right mindfulness: mental clarity about this process; long hours spent to the right topics.
- (8) Right meditation/concentration/rapture: perfect deliverance by suppressing the total conscious self, Ballou 250, sambodhi, the trance-like state leading to arhathood, and Nirvana, free from "cogitation". (Steps 7 and 8 may be compared to the highest Raja Yoga, or intense mental discipline, but without the severe physical discipline or self-torture which often accompanied Raja Yoga).

Ballou p. 244, 303

Sir Charles Eliot explains the Buddhist ethical goal in the following memorable summary: "The evolution of the self-controlled saint out of the confused mental states of the ordinary man is a psychological difficulty. As we shall see, when the eight fold path has been followed to the end new powers arise in the mind, new lights stream into it. Yet if there is no self or soul, where do they arise, into what do they stream?...That which can make an end of suffering is not something lurking ready-made in human nature (as the Hindu concept of atman) but something that must be built up: man must be reborn, not flayed and stripped of everything except some core of unchanging soul. As to the nature of this new being the Pitakas are reticent, but not absolutely silent... One of the common Buddhist similes for human life is fire and it is the best simile for illuminating all Buddhist psychology. To insist on finding a soul is like describing flames as substances. Fire is often spoken of as an element but it is really a process which cannot be isolated or interrupted. A flame is not the same as its fuel and it can be distinguished from other flames. But though you can individualize it and propagate it independently, you cannot isolate it from its fuel and keep it by itself. Even so in the human being there is not any soul which can be isolated and go on living eternally but the analogy of the flame still holds good. Unseizable though a flame may be, and undefinable as substance, it is not unreasonable to trim a fire and make a flame rise above it fuel, free from smoke, clear and pure. If it were a conscious flame, such might be its own ideal" (p. I 218-22).

2. The Buddhist concept of love or benevolence, "metta", the second step in the Path. Authorities differ in their interpretation of Buddhist love.

Noss says that Buddhist practice "was so much more generous than their cautious world-denying theory"; that Buddhism has been a religion of good works. He continues, however, to suggest that love to the Buddhist

sage is impersonal, abstract, disattached, "love of everyone, but not of... any one" (Noss). (Recall the similar concept of the Bhagavad-Gita).
 "Such love is the product of an almost infinite withdrawal from everyday life. It is not a love whose chief mark is selfless self-identification with others. It is impartial goodwill on the part of one who has saved himself and wishes to teach others how to save themselves too, provided he is not himself imperiled thereby" (Noss, 179). Ballou 280D, 328A.
Also Noss p. 173.

"Even for great benefit to another let no man imperil his own benefit. Keep first thyself aright: then mayest thou advise others" (Quoted from the Dhammapada by Noss, Ib. 179)

According to such Buddhist passages as these the student may be disposed to draw the following, possible distinction between Buddhist love and Hebrew-Christian love:

Buddhist love: "metta"

disinterested love,
 dispassionate concern,
 benevolence for the sake
 of benevolence -- an
 abstract conception
 of love.

Christian love: "agape"

interested love,
 compassionate concern,
 benevolence for the sake of
 persons -- a concrete and
 personalistic conception of
 love.

Sir Charles Eliot, however, says that the Buddhist idea of love is equivalent to the New Testament agape, that "metta" corresponds "exactly to the Greek agape of the New Testament" (Ib. I 216, Note 2). Sir Charles says that "Active benevolence and love are enjoined as a duty..." in the sense of agape and quotes the Buddhist scriptures to support his point: "All good works whatever are not worth one sixteenth part of love which sets free the heart. Love which sets free the heart comprises them: ...as...when the sky is clear and cloudless the sun mounts up on high and overcomes darkness in the firmament...even so does love which sets free the soul and comprises all good works, shine and give light and radiance". And the following: "As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so let every one cultivate a boundless love toward all beings". (These quotations respectively from the Itivuttaka III 7 and the Sutta-Nipata 1-8).

If, on the theoretical side, Buddhist sages discovered the idea of agape in their concept of metta, Hebrew-Christian moralists would rejoice that what they believe constitutes the highest moral principles have appeared from time to time and in significant degree in other cultures like Buddhism. Such a common discovery would in no way weaken or detract from the Hebrew-Christian insight. Rather the Old Testament chesed, the New Testament agape, and the Buddhist metta, if they are the same, strengthen each other, by suggesting that one Truth has been at work in various streams of history for mankind's good.

Apart from theoretical distinctions, however, from the very day of its founder, Buddhism on its practical side has emphasized active benevolence. Its original revolt from caste distinctions gave to it an implied equalitarian social philosophy of far reaching developmental possibilities, which no doubt in our own day will contribute significantly to the cause of democracy, now in its birth pangs in the Orient. Anesaki, noted Japanese Buddhist scholar, has somewhere described the union of the theoretical and the practical in Buddhist ethics and religion in the following terms: "Mere knowledge or a solitary immersion in mystic contemplation, without practical moral actions, is not perfection, and in the same way morality without insight into the depths of truth is baseless".

The concept of love as active benevolence may be more pronounced in Mahayana Buddhism than in its original form. This would be due no doubt to distinctive characteristics, centering in the Bodhisattva ideal, shortly to be studied, of that later, more developed Buddhism.

3. A third major point of Buddhist ethics, and philosophy of religion, particularly in its earlier and Hinayana form, has been its emphasis on the accumulation of personal merit. It has often been described, with considerable accuracy, as a religion and a philosophy based on the idea of salvation by personal effort, or self-help through the accumulation of meritorious practices. Even in the Mahayanist Dimond Sutra we have this principle stressed, indicating it as a characteristic node of Buddhist thought, Ballou p. 332-336. This passage suggests that there are degrees of merit, some forms, such as study and teaching, being superior to others, such as alms giving. Typical forms of Buddhistic merit have been the following:

- Building of stupas.
- Adorning them, as for instance, with goldleaf.
- Pilgrimage to sacred spots and shrines.
- Prayer, repetition of sacred words.
- Performance of rituals, such as placing of flowers on altars, turning of prayer wheels, etc.
- The doing of good works, such as alms-giving, feeding the Buddhist monks.
- Scholarly endeavors, such as reading of books, teaching, research.
- The higher meditative practices of the Eight-Fold Path itself.

Indeed, the Eight-Fold Path upward to Arhathood has constituted the principal ladder of Merit in Buddhism. The merit ideal in the Buddhist religion is parallel to that aspect of western faith which has emphasized salvation as depending in part on "good works". (e.g. The Epistle of James in the New Testament)

What is unique in Buddha's philosophy of religion? Eliot writes, evaluating Buddha, "It is a just compendium of his doctrine...to say that human life is like a diseased body which requires to be cured by a proper regimen. But the Buddha's claim to originality is not thereby affected, for it rests upon just this, that he was able to regard life and religion in this spirit and to put aside the systems of ritual, speculation and self-mortification

which were preached all around him***In detaching the perfect life from all connection with a deity or outside forces and in teaching man that the worst and best that can happen to him lie within his own power, he holds a unique position" (Ib. I 201, 213)

Hinayana Buddhism, accounted more like the original system of the founder, Gautama, which we have been examining thus far in its main outlines, was a name assigned by Mahayanist Buddhists. "Hinayana" means "lesser vehicle", i.e. a doctrine suited to the salvation of a lesser group. In a sense it was partially a name of disparagement given by the Mahayanist sect to the other group. In western studies, however, the name remains as indicating the more original form of Buddhism now prevailing in the countries of South Eastern Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand (Siam), Cambodia, Malaya, Indonesia.

Hinayanists have traditionally called themselves Theravada Buddhists, or "the way of the elders".

The self-assigned name, "Mahayana" means "greater vehicle", i.e. the doctrine suited to salvation of a larger group.

VI. Mahayana Buddhism, North East Asia: China, Japan and Tibet

Mahayana, appealing more to the masses, than the austere, unadorned doctrines of the Founder, is sometimes called the more universalistic form of Buddhism. We find many of its ideas and modes of expression present in so-called Hinayanist countries. Its main spirit has been ably summarized by Noss. Though Buddhism in its original form did not appeal to the masses, "the masses became interested not in the teaching, but in the man. Original Buddhism would not have had so great an effect on the history of religion in the Orient, if the coldly rational philosophy of the sage of the Sakyas had not been mediated through a personality that could be adored. Fortunately for the future of Buddhism, its founder balanced the arahat ideal of self-salvation with the ideal of compassionate goodwill toward all living beings, and practiced that compassion himself. Thus there grew up after him a cult that took refuge in him, the compassionate as well as enlightened one, even more than it did in his teaching, so difficult to understand and practice" (pp. 181-182).

The principal developments of Mahayana Buddhism are the following:

1. It moved toward philosophical monism and idealism, reminiscent of Vedanta Hinduism. Gautama came to be regarded as but one manifestation in human form of "an eternal Buddha nature or essence, which appears in innumerable

human and heavenly Buddhas made manifest in the countless worlds of infinite space and time" (Friess and Schneider, Religion in Various Cultures), Ballou 338-340, 357-358, 362. Burt, p. 194f. Compare Hinduism's Brahman and contrast with earlier Hinayanist doctrine of the non-unity and flux of ultimate reality or being. This concept of the Absolute Unity, Essence, or Mind in and behind the world of phenomenal things was indicated by the strange term, "Suchness". The Buddhist Suchness may be a more positive idea than that of the Ultimate Brahman of highest Hindu speculation. "In Mahayana Buddhism the Absolute Essence or Suchness is...a sort of Love-behind-things that produces Buddhism" (Noss) Perhaps Suchness may be more practically defined, as a student aptly put it, as the "condition of being in accord with Buddha" (Cynthia Hagner), who, we add, is Ultimate Love and Unity, an eternal (and probably impersonal) mind.

2. It multiplied angelic beings, who came to be called Bodhisattvas, as manifestations of the one, eternal Buddha nature or Suchness. A Bodhisattva is a Buddha-to-be, a type of savior or personal angelic force of grace, "...holy beings who, although emancipated voluntarily postpone entrance into Nirvana to remain in some sphere of existence as guardians and saviors of others" (Friess and Schneider, p. 157). They are characterized by compassion or love for the multitudes, Ballou 328-329, Burt p. 133-134. In the Bodhisattva ideal Buddhism expresses the idea of self-sacrificing love, similar to agape, Burt p. 134.
3. It shifted emphasis from salvation by accumulation of merit to salvation by grace, faith, and immediate enlightenment. Faith or trust was put in the efficacious grace of the Bodhisattvas, who were worshipped as lords of creation and who possess an infinite store of heavenly merit available for the saving of men. (Compare the Western expression "the merits of the saints"). Originating in China, the Shin (Japanese name) sect has emphasized such salvation by faith in the Bodhisattva's grace, principally that of Buddha Amida (or Amita), Lord of the Western Paradise. Ballou 338, Burt 133-134, 218-222.

Zen Buddhism, which is closely related to philosophical Taoism, stressed dhyana, contemplation, or salvation by a process of immediate enlightenment, whereby the sage in meditation experiences oneness with the ultimate Buddha Mind. Zen ideas may be traced in the following passage, Ballou 327B, 328C 339B, 360-361, 365; Burt 196-199, 238-239.

4. Prayer in the more common sense of petition became significant. Prayers can reach the Bodhisattvas, the personalized beings dwelling in angelic places. Contrast the lack of prayer in earlier Buddhism. Thus Mahayana became a religion in the more typical sense than was early Hinayana. The mechanical whirling of prayer wheels, which releases (or accumulates?) merit for the turner, is a familiar sight in Buddhist lands.
5. Nirvana came to have more positive meaning, as infinite or absolute Love, Lin Yutang, Wisdom of China and India, p. 554-556, (Lankavatara Sutra). Those who aspire to become Bodhisattvas voluntarily postpone their own entrance into the ultimate Nirvana, to remain in a realm of virtually eternal, personal immortality, where they are available to men as angelic forces of grace, Ballou 329.

VII. The Spiritual Beings of
Mahayana Buddhism and Mahayana Sects

1. Manushi Buddhas: saviors who have appeared in the past as human beings, who have become enlightened, helped others to be, and have passed on into Nirvana. These cannot be reached by prayer now.

2. Bodhisattvas: Buddhas-to-be or in-the-making. They serve present needs. Principal Bodhisattvas are: -

Gautama himself before his entrance into this world, and now as "Sakyamuni", the deified Gautama, after his life in this world, Ballou 182.

Manjusri: assists those who wish to know and follow the Buddhist way or law, Ballou 317.

Avalokita or Avalokitesvara: a Bodhisattva who appears especially to this age as the name implies. Assists on the practical level: saves from shipwreck, robbers, sickness, grants conception to women; saves from moral evils, such as lust, rage, folly, etc. Appeared 333 times in saving work for mankind. Became the Madonna-type Kwan-Yin in China, Goddess of Mercy.

Maitreya: the next Buddha, or future "messiah". Will do for the next world cycle (kalpa) what Gautama has done for this age: will come, be enlightened, show others the way, etc., Ballou 317.

3. Dhyani Buddhas: "Blessed ones" (dhyana: contemplation); did not achieve Buddhahood as human beings, but are spiritual beings who have always dwelt in the heavens, e.g. Amita or Amida, Lord of the Western Paradise. Assures future bliss for his worshippers; he mediates salvation by faith, out of the store of his abundant merit, Burt 218, 222. The spirit of this Buddhism was captured in the colossal image of Amita, sitting in the Kamakura Park in Japan, a bronze statue which expresses sublime contemplation, and illustrates the transcendent heights to which Buddhist art rose.

Mahayana Sects

(The Japanese names are given with the Chinese equivalent)

Shin or Shinran (Japanese founder). Ching-tu, Chinese for "Pure-Land" or Heaven: salvation by pure faith in Amita's grace. Compare Protestantism's salvation by faith theme, Burt 218f.

Zen; Chinese Ch'an; salvation by immediate enlightenment through meditation or contemplation (dhyana). Closely related to philosophical Taoism. Burt p. 195-200, 238-239.

Tendai; Chinese T'ien-Tai: salvation by a more inclusive understanding of all phases of Buddhist tradition -- gradual attainment of enlightenment through study.

Shingon; Chinese Chen Yen: salvation by repetition of mystic words.

Nichiren sect: against Buddhist pantheon and otherworldliness; emphasized this world, political and social righteousness and nationalism.

Lamaism (Tibet): polytheistic, magical, in some expressions phallic like Tantrism and Shaktism in Hinduism.

VIII. The Lotus Sutra

Classic of Mahayana Buddhism

1. Historical information:

- a) Translated into the Chinese from Sanskrit c. 255 A. D. Originated in India.
- b) A Mahayanist tract which teaches that the Greater Vehicle (Mahayana) is to supersede the Lesser Vehicle (Hinayana). It says that Buddha taught Hinayana first but expects Mahayana to be accepted now. Ballou 318.

2. Legendary, apocalyptic setting:

- a) Purports to be the last will and testament of Sakyamuni (the transcendent heavenly Gautama) given on the Vulture Peak at eve of his translation to Nirvana. Calls itself the Lotus of the Wonderful Law and represents itself as the final, highest teaching of Buddha.
- b) Note the apocalyptic setting: the Buddha as an exalted, divine being, from whose brow stabs forth a supernatural light, that illuminates all the realms of being, Ballou 317. (In Bk XI, not given in Ballou, we read of a transformation of the whole cosmic environment into a more beautiful and everlasting place). Compare Jewish and Christian Apocalypses like the Books of Daniel and Revelation.

3. In its larger message we have the pinnacle of Mahayanist thought:

- a) The exaltation of the Buddha as a supernatural personal being. Buddha is depicted as the all presiding personal presence who assists all souls to attain salvation, by grace and faith over and above human effort and merit, Ballou 328A, 329A. (Compare St. Paul, Luther). Is this the final personalization of the idea of karma? Burtt, Ib. 133-34
- b) The impartial, universal love of Buddha is set forth, resembling the NT idea of love and the Fatherhood of God, Ballou 328A,C. Note the parables of the Householder and Lost Son and of the Rain, Ballou 323, 327, and of the Burning House, the Physician, Burtt IB. 142, 160. Compare Jesus' parables of the Prodigal Son and saying that the rain falls on the just and unjust alike, Mtt 5:45. Note the differing types of "love" in the attitudes of the fathers in the Buddhist and in Jesus parable of the Prodigal: In the Lotus the father tests the son to see if he is worthy, "mature and mentally developed", Ballou 327. In Jesus' parable of the Prodigal, the father forgives a sinful and unworthy son, upon the latter's repentance. In Jesus' story, the father goes out and is anxious to make himself known to his son; whereas in the Lotus the son has to prove worthy of his father's patronage. In the Lotus parable, however, there is the idea of grace in the last utterance of the son, Ballou 327B. (The technical or polemical teaching or point of the Lotus parable: as the poor man is amazed to learn of his relationship and the legacy, so the elders of Buddhism, standing about listening, are amazed to learn of this new doctrine of grace -- Mahayana -- at the lips of the Buddha).

- c) Universal salvation is desired by Buddha, Ballou 328-9, Ballou 29A-B. Commenting about this point W. E. Soothill says, "This supreme liberation (Nirvana) cannot be attained by self-discipline and works; it can only be attained by faith and invocation. Salvation by Faith is then the fundamental doctrine of the Mahayana School. According to the Lotus teaching no sacrifice is required, no expiation, no atonement, nothing but faith in the infinite mercy and infinite power of the Infinite Buddha who lives and reigns forever...It is manifest, then, that the spiritual message of the Book is revolutionary in its character" (The Lotus of the Wonderful Law, Oxford, 1930, p. 35).
- d) Recognition of human moral freedom and emphasis on the divine restraint in dealing with men: Buddha's tactic here with men is persuasive; his grace is free; it may be freely accepted -- this seems to be the largest implication. (It is not "irresistible grace" as determined compulsion, in the Calvinistic sense). The Buddha nature will finally come to appeal to all, so that all will voluntarily accept it and be saved.
- e) The doctrine of a provisional, personal immortality is set forth. Personal immortality is a state of soul short of ultimate Nirvana. We note this in Ballou 329 in the depiction of the universal cosmic preaching of the Buddha in countless world ages, through successive personal existences for the salvation of all beings. After this virtually eternal, immortal work or role, the depiction is that the Lord Buddha looks forward to his "complete extinction" or Nirvana, 329C. Again Soothill's comment is illuminating at this place, "We may say, then, that the soul continues its personal life, if not endlessly, yet in duration beyond the calculation of mundance arithmetic..." (Ib. p. 52).

(In Bk VI of the Lotus, not reprinted in Ballou, the near-endless, personal, paradisial existence of certain disciples, who will rule as Bodhisattvas for countless kalpas or eons in various heavens, is depicted. For example about Haha-Kasyapa, Bk VI says, "His domain will be beautiful, free from dirt...thorns and uncleanness; its land will be level and straight with no uneven places, neither hollows nor mounds; its ground will be lapis lazuli; it will have rows of jewel trees, golden cords to set bounds to the ways, bestrewn with precious flowers, and purity will reign everywhere" (Trans. by Soothill).

Selections from
THE LOTUS OF THE WONDERFUL LAW

by
W. E. SOOTHILL, Oxford Press, 1930

W. E. Soothill comments: On to the stage now comes perhaps the most dramatic scene in the whole pageant. Suddenly there springs up from the earth, to the midst of the sky, a Stupa or Shrine, of stupendous size and magnificence. It is made of the seven precious things, that is, gold, silver, and various precious stones. It is

"splendidly adorned with five thousand parapets, thousands, myriads of recesses, and countless banners and flags; it is hung with jewel garlands; myriads and kotis of gem-bells are suspended on it. From it comes the exquisite fragrance of rare sandal-wood, filling the whole world. The thirty-three celestial gods rain celestial flowers upon it. The vast assembly of beings, gods, human and non-human beings pay homage to it."

From the midst of the Shrine there comes a mighty voice saying:

"Excellent! Excellent! World-honoured Sakyamuni! Thou art able to preach to the great assembly the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra of universal and mighty Wisdom, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the Buddhas themselves guard and teach. Thus it is, thus it is, World-honoured Sakyamuni! All is true that thou sayest."

* * * * *

"Then the Buddha sent forth a ray from the white curl between his eyebrows, whereupon eastward there became visible the Buddhas in five hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, as the sands of Ganges. All those domains had crystal for earth, jewel-trees and precious textures for adornment, were filled with countless thousands, myriads, kotis of Bodhisattvas, with jewelled canopies stretched above them, covered with network of jewels. All the Buddhas in those domains were preaching the laws with ravishing voices, and innumerable thousands, myriads, kotis of Bodhisattvas were also seen, filling those domains and preaching to the multitudes. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith, and the nadir, wherever shone the ray-signal from the white curl." p. 159-160

* * * * *

"Thus all around him the Three-Thousand-Great-Thousandfold World was filled with Buddhas; though as yet, from even one point of the compass, the Buddhas who had emanated from Sakyamuni Buddha had not finished arriving. Then Sakyamuni Buddha, desiring to make room for the Buddhas who had emanated from himself, in each of the eight directions of space transformed two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, all of them pure, without hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras, and also removed their gods and men to other lands. The domains thus transformed also had lapis lazuli for earth and were ornate with jewel-trees, five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruits; under every tree was a jewelled lion-throne, five yojanas high, decorated with every kind of gem; and there were no great seas, nor great rivers, nor any mountains." p. 160-161

* * * * *

"Then the four groups, seeing the Buddha who had passed away and been extinct for immeasurable thousands, myriads, kotis of kalpas, speak such words as these, praised the unprecedented marvel, and strewed on the Buddha 'Abundant Treasures' and on Sakyamuni Buddha heaps of celestial jewel-flowers. Thereupon the Buddha 'Abundant Treasures' within the Precious Stupa shared half his throne with Sakyamuni Buddha speaking thus: 'Sakyamuni Buddha! Take this seat!' Whereupon Sakyamuni Buddha entered into the Stupa and sitting down on that half throne folded his legs. Then the great assembly, seeing the two Tathagatas sitting crosslegged on the lion-throne in the Stupa of the Precious Seven, reflected thus: 'the Buddhas are sitting aloft and far away. Would that the Tathagatas, by their transcendent power, might cause us together to take up our abode in the Sky!' Immediately Sakyamuni Buddha, by his transcendent power, received all the great assembly up into the Sky, and with a great voice, universally addressed the four groups saying: 'Who is able to declare the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra in this Saha-world? Now indeed is the time. The Tathagata not long hence must enter Nirvana. The Buddha desired to bequeath this Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, so that it may ever exist!.' p. 162-163

* * * * *

"'Good sons! Now I must clearly announce and declare to you. Suppose you take as atomized all those world, everywhere that an atom has been deposited, and everywhere that it has not been deposited, and count an atom as a kalpa, the time since I became the Buddha still surpasses these by hundreds thousands, myriads, kotis, nayutas of numberless kalpas. From that time forward I have constantly been preaching and teaching in this Saha world, and also leading and benefitting the living in other places in hundreds, thousands, myriads, kotis, nayutas of numberless domains. Good sons! During this time, I have spoken of the Buddha "Burning Light" and other Buddhas, and also have told of their entering Nirvana. Thus have I tactfully described them all. Good sons! Whenever living beings came to me, I beheld with a Buddha's eyes all the faculties, keen or dull, of their faith, and so forth; and I explained to them, in stage after stage, according to their capacity and degree of salvation, my different names and the length of my lives, and moreover plainly stated that I must enter Nirvana. I also, with various expedients, preached the Wonderful Law which is able to cause the living to beget a joyful heart.
Because all the living have various natures, various desires, various activities, various ideas and reasonings, so, desiring to cause them to produce the roots of goodness, the Tathagata by so many reasonings, parables, and discourses has preached his various Truths. The Buddha-deeds which he performs never fail for a moment. Thus it is, since I became Buddha in the far distant past, that my lifetime is of numberless kalpas, forever existing and immortal'." p. 201-203

* * * * *

Soothill's Evaluation of the Lotus:

"It is manifest, then, that the spiritual message of the book is revolutionary in its character. Not only are these doctrines of salvation given, but there is presented the panorama of unlimited universes, all of them ever-changing manifestations of the All-Buddha, of whom Sakyamuni is but one expression in one of infinite worlds; the assurance that the Eternal Buddha is both transcendent and immanent; the teaching that every world, every universe, is a flower of the Eternal Lotus; the call to faith as a greater force than disciplinary or ascetic works; the proclamation of the Eternal Buddha, and of his Salvation for all, even to the devils of hell; the assurance of the ultimate enlightenment of all; the universality of buddhahood for all, because all are potential buddhas, or enlightened ones — such is the inspiration of this masterpiece of literature."

p. 35

"The doctrine taught, whatever its origin, is as revolutionary to Buddhism as was the doctrine of Our Lord to Judaism. In the Gospels we have a human figure treading the human stage of action, commanding the affection of the common people, disturbing the vested interested of ceremonialists and legists, ending in a cruel death, and a further revelation to certain disciples. In the Hinayana texts we have a human teacher who, having diagnosed the cause of the disease of transmigration, teaches his disciples an ethical remedy by mental control and discipline. In Mayahana, especially as portrayed in The Lotus Sutra, we have a dramatic presentation, reminding us of the Revelation of St. John at Patmos, with his vision of 'One like unto the Son of Man' who was yet 'Alpha and Omega', 'the first and the last', together with the angels and the heavenly host, the sealed book, the vials, and so on. In this great Sutra we have a dramatic presentation of a glorified earthly Buddha, who is yet a Buddha from of old, an eternal Buddha, together with an incalculable host of Buddhas and of all intelligent beings in the universe, assembled at a vast meeting in the sky, when the revelation of the last and ultimate Lotus doctrine is made. The whole is the creation of a brilliant dramatist whose name is unknown, but who has left behind if not the greatest, then one of the greatest religious dramas in the world." pps. 55-56

IV. Summary of Buddhism
by Main Philosophical Themes

I. The Idea of Being:-

	<u>Hinayana</u> (Original Buddhism)	<u>Mahayana</u> (Developed Buddhism)
A. The idea of ultimate reality:	All is process, change, flux -- no eternal unity of being. A sophisticated materialism, atheistic.	An eternal compassionate Buddha Mind (Suchness) behind the phenomenal world (cp. Vedanta). An absolute idealism, theistic in tendency. Manifestations in the many Bodhisattvas.
B. The idea of man:	No unity of psychic being: only the skandhas or transient states of the self. An impersonalistic, associationist theory of the self, more critically impersonalistic than Hinduism. Yet man free to end Karma.	Oneself and all others a part of the Absolute Buddha Mind (cp. Vedanta). Mahayanist after-life includes provisional personal immorality until final Nirvana. Man needs the help, or grace, of Bodhisattva forces to end Karma.
C. Idea of nature and process:	See A above -- in a sense there is only nature and process. viz. rebirth and karma.	Rebirth and karma real enough so long as particular forms, qualities, and finite individuality are not noted as illusory (cp. Vedanta)

II. The idea of knowledge truth and wisdom:

Metaphysical knowledge not important (cp. modern positivism) - but psychological knowledge is: 4 Truths, 8-fold Path the way to release and peace.	Awareness of Ultimate Buddha Mind comes by immediate enlightenment -- cannot be known or experienced by logical, analytical reason (Zen) Knowledge is ultimately intuitive and mystical.
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III. Ideas of Value:

	<u>Hinayana</u>	<u>Mahayana</u>
A. The idea of the Good:	Release from pain and the desire that causes it -- Nirvana: an ultimate psychological condition in which all awareness of personal existence has been extinguished.	The impersonal reality of the Buddha Mind transcendent to the phenomenal world: to share the compassion and love of this Mind is the highest aim, is Nirvana.
B. The idea of evil:	The world process: of rebirth, pain, and desire as such is evil, physical and psychical existence are evil. In sum the ego or individuality, which defines existence for living creatures, is evil. Evil is emotional in quality: unsatisfied desire -- gives rise to all the practical evils of life.	Same as Hinayana plus ignorance of the Ultimate Buddha Mind behind the world, and failure to participate in its compassion. Yet a practical acceptance of life while it lasts this side of ultimate enlightenment -- the "layman's ideal" is to suffuse life with Buddhist quietude and compassion.
C. The idea of Salvation:	Suppression of desire. The arhat ideal in which self effort (or accumulation of merit: compassion, charity, study, ascetic practice) is the basic technique. Karma operates positively in conjunction with free will or self effort to overcome desire and rebirth -- karma a law of grace and freedom Nirvana: nothingness(?).	Suppression of desire plus dispelling of ignorance about the ultimate nature of the world as Buddha Mind; by means of: a) faith in the Bodhisattvas (the spiritual beings or saints) and their compassionate, saving grace, and/or b) immediate enlightenment apart from merit or works (i.e. charity, study, ascetical practices) though these may be practiced on side. Nirvana: oneness with the infinite compassion of the Buddha Spirit. Karma (cosmic law) becomes personalized in the Bodhisattvas, or its effects transcended or annulled by them. A restoration of optimism.

Summary of the classic Indian systems on evil and salvation:
Hinduism and Buddhism:

1. The ideal is emancipation from history, from time existence.
2. Denial of the personal factors of existence -- the basic belief is that individuality is the cause of trouble.
3. Yet from their very pessimism about the world, these systems, on the best side of their practical outlook, have developed one effective way of dealing with suffering, viz. by personal endurance and quietude, and by good will and compassion.

X. Questions on Buddhism

1. Give a sketch of the life of Buddha; compare and contrast the account of his life with that of Jesus.
2. How is Buddhism a revolt from Hinduism; how a carry-over of Hinduism?
3. What are the distinctive philosophical doctrines of original Buddhism and the terms that bring these out?
4. What do you think of the Buddhist theory of the mind or self as "skandhas"? How can we explain mental relations, e.g. grammatical, logical, memory-relations, learning and growth experience on this basis? In your opinion is the mind more "unity" or a unifying energy than original Buddhism allowed, or not? Ask yourself the question: can there be consciousness without unity? What subjective experiences seem to disclose a unity of consciousness within? What experiences suggest diversity and incoherences within our conscious experience? Which to you seem to overrule, on the whole, the factors of diversity or those of unity? What factor to you seems best to define what we mean by spirit?
5. How does the Buddhist doctrine of karma differ to some extent from the Hindu? How do you evaluate the Buddhist belief that accumulated demerit would pass over in the sansara process into "new life", which has no "soul connection" with the former incarnation -- would this be just? What doctrine in western religion is this like? Is this phase of Buddhist thought consistent with its idea that karma is a utilizable law making for freedom and possibility of progress toward salvation?
6. What do you think of Buddhism's belief that there is no ultimate unity of Existence, or Divine Being -- but that all that there is is movement, process, change, and flux? What to you, if any, are permanent or enduring factors or qualities of existence? On the theory of flux and non-unity, can we explain the world's physical integration? On this theory would ultimate moral integration be possible? On this theory is optimism about life and existence possible? What contrasts, if any, do you find in your own view and the original Buddhistic philosophy?

7. Note that in the eastern systems thus far studied we have discovered several possible philosophical or metaphysical positions, with counterpart in western philosophy and religion:

Vedanta Hinduism is a classic type of impersonalistic idealism.
 Sankhya Hinduism represents classic body-mind, or spirit-matter dualism.
 Hinayana Buddhism (Original Buddhism) is a sophisticated materialism or naturalism, bearing striking resemblance to modern western critical naturalism and behaviorism.
 Ramanuja's philosophy is a Personalistic Absolute Idealism.

So far, which of these do you think is nearer to the truth, as over-all philosophies of existence, and why? Defend your position.

8. What is your reaction to the discovery of several of Moses's important commandments -- against killing, stealing, fornication, and lying -- in the Buddhist ethical code? Does this make Moses' laws less important? What are the four noble truths? To what extent do you think them true, or not?
9. What do you think of the Hindu-Buddhist concept of ahimsa? Are these systems superior to the western view toward animal life in your opinion? What about harmful microbes?
10. Do you think the Buddhist concept of love, metta, like the Hebrew-Christian agape? If so what is your reaction to this discovery? If Buddhism is like Christianity in this respect, would this make the New Testament less significant? State and defend your position. Noss asks, p. 168, "How can love issue from anyone engrossed in his own salvation". Is this a fair question to ask of Buddhism?
11. Is desire the root of pain and evil? Is there a kind of desire which is the very highest good? List several modern evils; classify them as to type of evil; attempt to explain what their source is; and how to correct them.
12. Sketch the Mahayanist philosophy of religion. How is it like and unlike Hinayana? Carefully analyze The Lotus Sutra as expressing the distinctive doctrines of Mahayana.
13. What do you think of its philosophy of personal supernatural spirit forces who are ready, by their "grace", to save? Of what in the Christian tradition does this remind you? What in your opinion should be the balance between salvation by merit (works) or by "grace" and "faith"? How would you define "faith" in broadest terms? How would you define salvation in broadest terms?
14. Indicate the main ideas of the Shin and Zen sects.
15. Can we have a high ethical system without belief that conscious personality as such is ultimate, or that ultimate Being is Personal, i.e. belief in God? What is the relation between ethics and religion in your opinion?
16. What is your favorite passage in the Buddhist scriptures studied? Why? Compare and contrast Buddhist and Christian parables.

A STUDY GUIDE TO
MAJOR LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

Part II
Winter Term

Confucianism

Taoism

Zoroastrianism

Judaism:

The Religion of the Old Testament
Contemporary Judaism

By

Douglas Straton

For the exclusive use of students of the University of Oregon

Grateful appreciation is hereby acknowledged for permission of publishers to quote from sources herein noted.

CONFUCIANISM

- I. General Characteristics
- II. Main History, Literature, Names, Terms
- III. Basic Concepts
- IV. Concepts of Right and Wrong:
Human Duty and Salvation
 - A. General Ethics
 - B. Social Philosophy
- V. Confucius's Religious Teaching
- VI. Chinese Popular Religion
- VII. Confucianism in Terms of
Main Philosophical Themes
- VIII. Questions

I. General Characteristics

1. Its relation to the Indian systems. Noss has drawn the distinction between the Chinese and Japanese world outlooks (apart from Buddhist and some Taoist influences) and that of India in the following terms (p. 291):

In Hinduism and Buddhism the Indian mode of thought "tends to give the value of an illusion to nature -- or at least yearns to triumph over it". The stress is on the denial of nature as unworthy or unreal.

In Confucianism and Taoism the Chinese "have cultivated an aesthetic appreciation of nature... Nature is not the ultimate reality, but it has a valuable role to play in the life of man; it is a real and not deceptive structure...." The Chinese and Japanese have stressed the acceptance of nature as worthy and good. Man and Nature are intimately, or "organically not externally or accidentally, related" (Noss p. 293).*

The practical corollary is that the way of salvation is to find the secret of harmony between Man and Nature's, or Reality's full being, or Law, Tao.

2. Confucianism as "humanism" and "idealism". The Confucian philosophy has sometimes been called a "humanism" or "humanistic". So it is, if by humanism or humanistic we mean, in general, a positive appreciation of nature and the natural life, or bodily and sensory experience, as good; and that the way of wisdom is the harmonizing of the various natural forces or factors of existence. The Chinese have believed that one of these "natural factors" is man's discerning mind, with its higher sense of values, aware of a cosmic source of values in a spiritual order above and beyond him, in the vast reaches of T'ien and its Tao, Heaven and its Laws. With these, man must ultimately be harmonized. At this level, Confucian thought emerges into an idealism, strikingly like Greek or Platonic and Aristotelianism philosophy.

* John B. Noss: Man's Religions, Revised Edition, Macmillan, p. 291-293, 1956

II. MAIN HISTORY, LITERATURE, NAMES, TERMS OF
THE CONFUCIAN SYSTEM

1. The Classic, or Formative period: 6th century B. C. to 1st century A. D.

- a) The long Chou dynasty 1122-256 B. C.: a high feudal period. Decay sets in between 722 and 221 B. C.; culminates in a period of violent civil disorder. Thus thoughtful men ponder the problem of society -- wonder how it can be stabilized and reconstructed. Types of answer:
- (1) The legalists (better termed the totalitarians or centralists) wish to do away with the feudal system entirely, by advocating a strong central, imperial order. Thus apologists for a strong ruler: Duke Chu of Ch'in becomes totalitarian emperor Shih Huang-ti in 221 B. C.
 - (2) The Taoists advocated complete decentralization as the way of social salvation vs. feudalists and totalitarians. Results in a completely individualistic, a-social (anarchistic) type of philosophy.
 - (3) The Confucians wanted the feudal system "restored in a rationalized and idealized form" (Noss). Set forth the principles which they believed would restore and perfect the feudal system.
- b) Names of the Classic period and main literature:

Kung-fu-tse (Confucius): - 551-479 B. C.; from ancient province of Lu.
 - Of noble origin -- family had fallen on hard times.
 - A teacher after mother's death.
 - Tradition says Prime Minister of the state of Lu in 501 B. C.
 But had to resign because of his upright administration.
 - Wanders with disciples -- itinerant teacher and sage.
 - Sayings collected in Analects after his death. (Lun Yu)

Tzu Ssu 492-413 B. C. Author of the Doctrine of the Mean (Chung Yung),
 Tseng Tse and tradition says grandson of Confucius.
 Tsesze

Meng-tse (Mencius) 372-289 B. C. Greatest orthodox interpreter of Confucianism in ancient times. Emphasis on natural goodness of man. The writings of Mencius have come down as The Works of Mencius (Meng-tze)

Other names:

Mo Tzu (Mo Ti) 468-390 B. C. founder of Mohist sect.
 Motse Emphasized mutual love.

Han Fei d. 233 B. C. legalist.

Hsun-tzu 298-238 B. C.: opposed Mencius views: thought human nature naturally bad -- a pessimist and materialist.

Tung Chung-Shu 171-104 B. C. gathers and canonizes the Confucian scriptures.

- c) Shih Huang-ti (Duke of Ch'in) opposed Confucianism; Confucian scholars lost their lives, books burned. But short lived opposition. The Han dynasty c. 200 B. C. to c. 200 A. D. was favorable to Confucianism and made it a state cult, i.e. the official philosophy of the imperial government. Maintained its favored position as the official philosophy, through ups and downs, until modern times.

Study of Confucian classics became official basis of education for civil life -- stiff exams. Examinations based on the Confucian classics were abolished in 1905 when the Republic superseded the empire.

2. The Scholastic period: begins 23-220 A. D. (later Han dynasty) -- extends to 10th century A. D.

a) Study of the classics, growth of empty formalism, ritualism.

b) 220-280 A. D. a time of troubles:

- China splits into three kingdoms -- disunity.
- External invaders from central Asia -- misery.
- Inroads of Buddhism.

c) Confucianism challenged by rival faiths: Taoism, Buddhism.

Effects on Confucianism:

- a) Growth of legend and miracle to keep pace with Mahayana Buddhism.
- b) Images of Confucius appear in temples -- exaltation to semi-divine status.

The curriculum of the Confucian school saved it: the study of the Analects, etc., kept it on an even course in spite of above embellishments.

- d) Neo-Confucianism, a revival of classic Confucianism. Began latter part of T'ang dynasty, 618-907 A. D. Attempted to get back to pure Confucianism before Taoist and Buddhist borrowings, above noted; but it exceeded original Confucianism in philosophical elaboration toward idealism and monotheism. Main names: Chu Hsi, 1130-1200 A. D. became main Confucian authority (cp. St. Thomas Aquinas in west). Wang Yang-Ming 1473-1529 A. D. and Sankara in India

Terms

The following represent basic Chinese philosophical, religious, and ethical terms. To attempt to understand some of their meaning will aid in the appreciation of the Chinese philosophies of religion.

Yang-Yin

Tao

T'ien

Shang-ti

Li

Shu *chung*

Hsin Chih, or Ch'eng

~~Jih~~

Jen

Te

Chung-Yung, ho

Ai

Wu-wei

III. Basic Confucian Concepts and Terms

1. The Idea of Reality or the Universe as a Whole:

- a) Tao is possibly the most appropriate term to begin explanation of the Confucian system of thought. Basically the word means path, way, or road. Philosophically, Tao is the one universal system of moral law or truth that regulates Heaven and earth. It sets forth the Chinese belief that the universe is moral order, a moral place and process. It stands as important in the Confucianist and Taoist systems as Karma does in the Hindu and Buddhist. It resembles the Hindu-Buddhist karma in the main respect that it is moral law, issuing, as we shall see, in practical injunctions for life that are similar to the best ethical ideals of the Indian systems. But the Chinese concept of cosmic moral law, Tao, is unlike the Indian karma-sansara in the main respects (1) that it does not include the idea of rebirth or reincarnation; and (2) it constitutes the universe as fundamentally good, not evil.

Tao is also ultimate spiritual reality; physical laws and processes are derived from it. The Confucian concept of Tao parallels closely the western idea of "moral law".

Ballou p. 414, 419, 421, 427-8 are various places in the Confucian scriptures that bring out the idea of tao. We turn, however, to the Lin Yutang edition of the Golden Mean of Tzu Ssu (noted below and found also in his Wisdom of Confucius, p. 104-34) for our analysis of tao and the Confucianist outlook in general. In our review of Chinese philosophy and religion the Golden Mean of Tzu Ssu (or Tsesze), grandson of Confucius, is as important as the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-Gita, the First Sermon of Buddha, the Setting-Up of Mindfulness, or the Lotus Sutra in the systems already studied. We refer to pages in Lin Yutang Wisdom of China and India:

- (1) Tao is cosmic, universal -- in man but also beyond or above man, 845, 846-7, 848, 859, 860-61, 862.
- (2) Tao is not visible, but an invisible spiritual presence, 845, 848.
- (3) The Golden Mean implies that it is known intuitively, a priori, innately, 845, 848, 862, 863, 864. Its truth is seen in reason.
- (4) It is verified empirically by personal and collective, historical experience, 860. Life tests its validity in experience.
- (5) It is absolute Truth, 858.
- (6) And the source of all being, infinite, and eternal, 858, 859.
- (7) It has concrete expression in the duties of Li, 853, and in Chih, Shu, and Jen.

In sum, philosophically speaking, tao is the unifying, organizing, harmonizing moral law or "way" of the whole cosmic order: heaven, earth, man. It is spiritual and eternal. Its natural tendency is "toward peace, prosperity, and health" (Noss) It makes existence fundamentally good.

- b) T'ien is translated Heaven, and in commonplace sense means sky. In advanced philosophical sense it connotes the objective, cosmic status of the moral law, tao, as there, before and prior to, above man, though also in man, Lin Yutang WCI, 860-61 (Tzu Ssu); 801f (Motzu)

At this point the question arises, is this cosmic moral order or "Heaven" Personal or impersonal? Does it stand for personal God or Deity in the western sense? Confucius himself, carrying on the ancient tradition, thinks of Heaven with mystical reverence, since it was the source or fount of Tao. Accordingly Heaven would be "God" for him. Noss says, Confucius "felt that he had the backing of Heaven" and reveals a genuine "prophetic" type of consciousness, or "religious" consciousness. Confucius's saying, "Heaven begat the power (te) that is in me" reminds us of the famous line in the Hebrew prophet Micah, 3:8, "But as for me, I am filled with power, with the Spirit of the Lord, and with justice and might, to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin". Noss concludes that Confucius felt his message had eternal significance "because it had its origin in the moral order of the world" but that we would call Confucius's attitude "hardly...supernaturalistic or monotheistic", or fully personalistic, in the western sense (Noss, MR, 1st ed., pp. 366-67).

Yet it may remain an open problem whether Confucius thought of Heaven as personal. It is reported in the Analects that he once said, "But there is heaven; -- that knows me!" (Ballou p. 412)* Also, Tzu Ssu in The Golden Mean, reported that Confucius spoke of God in personalized terms, Lin Yutang, WCI, p. 850D, 864A; and we hear in The Mean that "Nature is vast, deep, high, intelligent, infinite and eternal". (Ib. p. 858D -- underscore ours)**

Motzu, the semi-Confucianist (who like Confucius favors feudalism but differs in certain details, Lin Yutang, WCI 786) possibly came nearer to a personalistic idea of Heaven and Tao in his concept of Heaven as Love, Lin Yutang, WCI 794-5, 801-4. He seems to use Heaven, T'ien, and God on High, Shang-ti (the traditional term referring to the highest personal deity) in an equivalent sense, Ib. 802.

Is Motzu's conception of Heaven as Love like the Hebrew-Christian idea? According to Hughes, "ai" is Motzu's term for love (Chinese Philosophy in Classical Times, ed. E. R. Hughes E. P. Dutton, Everymans ed. 1942 p. 45D). As we study some of the passages from Motzu we note the following: on man's side love means mutual or utilitarian love, Lin Yutang WCI 794-5, love of neighbor, if neighbor loves in return. On Heaven's side, the Heavenly love for man is the love of a patron or lord for his vassals for the sake of keeping order among his vassals, Ib. 803 -- it is the love of a righteous judge for righteous order among the citizens, 802. More than this, however, is it like the New Testament forgiving love, outgoing to another in his need, beyond utility and the legal requirement? Lin Yutang believes that Motzu's concept is the New Testament love, agape, Ib, p. 785. We hear Motzu speak of Heaven's love in highly personalized terms as concern for the very tips of our hair. Ib. p. 804A (compare Mtt. 10:29-31). Also see Lin Yutang, WCI, p. 795A (Motzu); p. 857B (Tzu Ssu); and Ballou p. 389D (Book of Poetry).

* Robert O. Ballou, ed. The Bible of the World. Viking Press, 1939

** Lin Yutang, ed. The Wisdom of China and India. Random House, 1942

In conclusion, as to whether Heaven is represented as Personal Love in these Confucian passages and in Motzu, may we not say that indeed there seems to be present in a number of places an implicit personalism and concept of agape, or something very close to agape.

Earlier we indicated that in the Neo-Confucian renaissance of the Chinese middle ages, Chu Hsi (1130-120 A. D.) spoke of the Great Ultimate, or Reason behind things. We noted the growth of the Confucian ideas of Heaven and Tao toward a specific philosophical idealism, and that Chu tended to think of the Ultimate Reason in personal terms. (Recall similar personalistic developments in Hinduism, Ramanuja; and in Buddhism, Mahayana). Noss. p. 391.

If "ethical idealism" may be defined as belief in an objective, cosmic moral law, in broadest sense the original Confucian philosophy may be remembered principally as an ethical idealism, concerned with practical humanistic values.

2. The Idea of Man

- a) Man is a spiritual being by virtue of his relationship to Tao, the moral law, Lin Yutang WCI 848. Man's moral consciousness or conscience is the cosmic moral order flowing in and through his mind. "...When a man practices the moral law he does the will of Heaven" (Noss) Ballou 379, 421, 454, 459. Lin Yutang 848, 860. Man's knowledge of the deeper moral law is an inner, a priori, or intuitive awareness, Lin Yutang 863. It is man's nature basically to express, or live Tao.
- b) Man therefore is basically good -- life and existence are good when morally ordered. Man's natural tendency is to do the right in the long run. Thus in the Confucianist view there is an optimistic attitude toward life and human nature, which, as we have seen, constitutes the "humanism" of the Confucian philosophy. The reasoning seemed to be the following: being such an intimate participant in the nature of Heaven, Confucius believed that a man could not long avoid doing the will of Heaven, Ballou 424, 439, 451-53. At this point we note the similarity between the Confucian and the Greek philosophy of Socrates and Plato.
- c) The Confucian outlook on Human personality or psychology is "realistic": human personality is a combination of physical and mental factors. Man is a psychophysical whole -- he is not a spiritual soul alone, living in an alien material body. Such realistic understanding of man resembles the Hebrew-Christian view of the Bible, and the over-all Greek view of Plato and Aristotle (though Plato in certain aspects of his thought tended to be "dualistic" like Sankhya Hinduism).

In addition to the problem whether the mind is "unity" or "non-unity" (original Buddhism), two further views or problems concerning man's nature have come to light. We suggest these in the following two diagrams:

Man as a psychophysical whole:

Mind
and
Body

Confucian thought, Ballou
379, 455.
Hebraic thought.
Greek thought, principally.

The dominant sense of value on this side of the picture is that the physical body and material nature are good, something which the spirit or higher mind can control for good.

Man as a dualistic being:

Mind
vs.
Body

Hindu thought, especially
Sankhya.
(Some aspects of Platonic
thought).

The dominant idea on this side is that the physical body and material nature are bad, something which the spirit or higher mind must oppose.

3. An implied concept of evil in Confucianism might be stated in the following practical way: evil arises when man finds himself in disharmony with "Nature" and its Tao. Nature, however, is basically good; sensory life may be sanctified when, illuminated and controlled by reason reflecting cosmic moral law. What are the reasonable rules of life that help us to achieve this harmony?

IV. Concepts of Right and Wrong:
Human Duty and Salvation

A. General Ethics

What is the practical content of Tao, the moral law? In general terms, the Confucianist would answer this question by saying, let the natural factors and forces, of body and mind, "act in their due degree", Ballou 422, 455, Lin Yutang 845, i.e. in moderation, according to a happy mean, in due proportion or balance: this is the secret of harmony and happiness. The ethics of the Confucians is quite like the ethics of Plato and Aristotle. The Confucian ethic is not an ascetical ethic like the Hindu Yogi, or the Buddhist Arhat, but a "eudaemonistic" ethic like the Greek concept of human good. Aristotle emphasized a golden mean of action, between excess and defect. The Confucians have the same conception of practical life. The Chinese name for Tzu Ssu's essay brings this out: "Chung" means "mean", or middle way; "Yung" means steadfast. Accordingly, we should walk along a "steadfast" or "golden mean" of action. A diagram will help to visualize and compare various major types of ethical philosophy:

Asceticism:

Mind
Body

Mind cancels body. The main tendency of the Hindu and Buddhist sages.

"Samadhi"

Eudaemonism:

Mind
and
Body

functioning harmoniously together. Chinese, Greek, and Hebrew sages.

"Chung-Yung"/"ho"

Sensualism:

Mind
Body

Body cancels mind. Some sensualistic philosophers have advocated this approach, such as, in history and literature Aristippus
Don Juan

In particular, for the Confucians, the following ethical terms should be noted:

1. Li or "propriety". The Confucians advocated li, or principles of social order for the recovery of China in the 6th century B. C. Li meant the duties and respect that one feudal class should pay to another; superiors and inferiors must know their place and duties. Thus, in one phase of its meaning, li would express the ideal working of feudal responsibility. Li also meant filial or family respects and duties, such as those between a son and father. For the five great relationships of Li see Ballou 380, 424. Li seemed to mean reverent obedience to feudal and family custom, on five levels of relationship; those between:

Ruler and subject
Father and son
Husband and wife
Brother and brother
Friend and friend

Observe that in the Book of Rites (the Li Ki) li is discussed in connection with familiar, basic ethical principles, or commandments, which seem to constitute its deepest meaning. These "cultivate" harmony in human relationships, Ballou 380D.

"Truthfulness in speech".
Prohibition against "plundering".
Prohibition against "murders".

If men "neglect" these "rules of propriety", how shall they get along? Compare here the VI, VIII, and IX Commandments of Moses. (For comparison with Moses X Commandment concerning avarice or covetousness, see Ballou 406A, 414C; and for general admonition implying responsibility in marriage, Ballou 424D; Lin Yutang, 848A).

Coordinate with li, and as a basic expression of it, the Chinese sensed the fundamental ethical quality of "truthfulness". Accordingly, we have a second primary term:

2. ^{Hsin} Chih, Ch'eng or "sincerity". When we read the Chinese scriptures at this point we observe that "sincerity" does not mean merely pious seriousness or earnestness, but rather the fundamental moral principle or law of veracity, or truth telling, trustworthiness, integrity, honesty, non-deceit in word and deed — the IX Commandment of Moses: "Thou shalt not bear false witness". Ballou, 380, 413, 415, 416, 420, 425-6.

In the Ballou edition of Tzu Ssu's Steadfast or Golden Mean it is phrased that "sincerity" or truth (chih, ch'eng) is the basic law of personality, and consequently the fundamental ethical principle. Ballou 426C.

3. ^{Chung +} Shu or "reciprocity": the Golden Rule. ^{Shu: negative reciprocity; Chung: positive reciprocity*} Confucius states the Rule positively, as well as negatively. However, he limits the principle of returning good for good to the circle of the good, saying that the criminal should be treated rather with "justice", Ballou 403, 409, 412-13, 423. The principle of reciprocity was also expressed by Motzu's emphasis on mutual or utilitarian love, ai, Lin Yutang, WCI 794-7, and, in this form, may transcend the limitation which Confucius placed upon it. (Recall our previous discussion).

4. Jen or "righteousness"; and Te, "moral virtue" or "moral power". The principles just reviewed constitute jen, righteous, humane life, benevolence, magnanimity, charity, "love", Ballou 410. Lin Yutang, WCI, p. 794 (note 7) 847. These characterize the humane, good, or "true man" (jenjen).

~~Te or moral virtue, and jen, righteousness,~~ ^{WCI 8} were expressed formally as embracing five virtues. By examining the two translations in Noss and Ballou defining moral virtue we will be able to relate more clearly some of the principles above discussed. The five virtues of Te (related to, but not to be confused as identical with, the five feudal obligations of li), Ballou p. 416A; Noss p. 358 are:

* Fung, Yu-Lan: A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, Macmillan, p. 43-44.

(1) "Gravity" (2) "Generosity" (3) "Sincerity" (4) "Earnestness" (5) "Kindness"

(1) "Self-re-spect" (2) "Magnanimity" (3) "Sincerity" (4) "Earnestness" (5) "Kindness"

We should note that Confucius put righteousness of life or ethics above religious ceremony, saying, "If a man is not a true man, what is the use of rituals". In this respect he resembles the greatest of Old Testament prophets, e.g. Amos, Micah, etc. Confucius, however, scrupulously adhered to the established religious ceremonies of his time.

The summation of ethics is "wisdom" (Jzh) or moral knowledge. For the Chinese, human well-being rests on moral truth actively engaged in, or implemented. Knowledge was more than just scientific or technical information, but full moral awareness actively realized, Ballou 420.

B. Social Philosophy

In another respect resembling the Greeks, the Confucians observed that there was a close relationship between what men do individually and what they do collectively or socially. Recall the social implications of li already discussed. Beyond this we note the following principal aspects of Confucian social philosophy:

1. The Confucians emphasized environment and education as important molders of life -- men, being naturally good, "become corrupt only when environment and education make them so" (Noss). Ballou 410, 453A,C.
2. They advocated an ideal aristocratic, feudal order, government by example of moral conduct in the rulers. The ruler is a type of ideal philosopher king, as for Plato, Ballou 381, 399, 410. They seem to have had a paternalistic concept of the state or government: a social order led by virtue, rather than by positive laws. This concept of government seems to follow from rule one above: if the social environment at the highest level is righteous, the whole society will tend to be righteous and tranquil, because the people (the reasoning seemed to be), being good at heart, "are responsive to good in those above them" (Noss).
3. The rectification of names: confusion sets in when words change their meaning. We have modern examples of such confusion in the Communist use of terms like "democracy", "freedom"; or use of terms like "American", "patriotic", "American Way", "communist" by some Americans!, Ballou 410, 411. This reminds us of the principle of identity of terms in logic, the fundamental law of all reasoning and communication, which points out that terms should be used in one and only one way in logical disputation, if argument is to succeed and advance toward truth.

4. A generation after Confucius, Mencius emphasized that the feudal order be administered for the good of the people, not just for the nobles, thus bringing to light a democratic tendency in Confucianism, Ballou 431. Will this tradition, in the long run, result in the modification of the harshness of the present totalitarian regime in China?

V. Confucius's Religious Teaching

1. We note his cautious attitude about speculation concerning the supernatural, and we are reminded of Buddha's opinion along this line.

"Absorption in the study of the supernatural is most harmful"
(Noss 361C, An. II 16)

Confucius's main point seemed to be that we must not let absorption of interest in the supernatural distract one from concern with human welfare, Ballou 403A.

2. Though on the speculative side he remained "aloof from the concerns of popular religion" (Noss 363), he endorsed, and participated in, ritual observances, Noss 361D: -

- a) Village exorcisms.
- b) Ceremonial bathing.
- c) Animal sacrifice, Ballou 400D.
- d) Sacrifices to ancestors.

3. He seemed ambiguous in his attitude toward the significance of prayer, Noss 362C, 363A.

4. Was convinced that when men practice the moral law, Tao, they do the will of heaven. In this respect we have already spoken of his "prophetic" type of consciousness.

"Heaven begat the power (te) that is in me",* (Noss 341C, An. VII 22)

Can we characterize Confucius as a vaguely mystical type of Chinese social prophet?

* Te: the unique or particular "moral force" power or prestige characterizing an individual. Compare Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius, Vintage Books, p 33

His Elevation to Divine Status:
Development of the State Cult.

1. Homage by Han emperors, 141 B. C.f. Casual sacrifices to, prayers to, honorific titles bestowed. These trends established Confucianism as a state cult.
2. Regular sacrifices ordered by Emperor T'ai Tsung of T'ang dynasty, 630 A. D. Every prefecture to erect a state temple to Confucius.
3. Images of Confucius placed in the temples in the 8th century A. D. Elaboration of the sacrifices to his spirit.
4. Endowed with the title, "Master K'ung, the Perfectly Holy Teacher of Antiquity" by Chia Ching, Ming Emperor in 1530 A. D. Restored the Confucian temples to their earlier simplicity; the images of Confucius were replaced by tablets in his honor.
5. A Manchu edict of 1906 made the sacrifices to Confucius equal to the immemorial ones to Heaven and Earth.
6. The Kuomintang regime was loyal to the Confucian virtues.
7. Confucianism is renounced by official Communism.

VI. Chinese Popular Religion
(Prof. Dubs - Columbia University)

1. Different from the three religions: Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism. Actually there are four religions in China, when we add the actual religion of the common people, which Prof. Dubs calls "the national religion". The missionaries call it idol worship. It is in fact a "Santa Claus" religion; worshippers "work" the gods; the gods are utilitarian powers. The ordinary people rarely approach the great gods. For example, sacrifice was made to the god of Heaven by the emperor only once a year, in a formal ceremony. Minor gods care for the minor people. Worship is performed by proper officers, not by the people. Emotional feelings are not necessary in the worshipper; payment to support worship is. Gods provide sanction for good and evil behavior.

2. Gods are anthropomorphic, magnified human beings. They live in a dwelling that is also their "office" - the temple. They may be located in an object, a shintai (Japanese term). Idol and ancestral tables both are shintai. The reverence for shintai is not worship of wood and stone, but of spirits in shintai. The principal popular gods are the following:
 - a) The Jade Emperor, Yu-huang shang-ti: the supreme god; was officially recognized in the 12th century A. D. He has family, ministers; is a god of thunder, lightning, etc.
 - b) The regent of the Jade Emperor, T'ai-shan: god of earth, especially China; presides over life and death; has a colossal bureaucracy of spirit helpers.
 - c) The City or county god, Ch'eng huang. Was well known in the 13th century.
 - d) The local god, T'u-di, cares for an area about 3 miles in radius.
 - e) The Kitchen god, Dzao-jun. Goes back at least to 3rd century B. C. Cares for family; the wife is his priestess. His shintai is usually a paper picture annually pasted above the stove. He reports to his spiritual superiors monthly and at end of the year.

3. There is an indefinitely large number of other gods, revealing the animistic side of Chinese popular religion, e.g.:

Door gods, gods of the water-jar, of the well, a goddess of the latrine, god of wealth, deified locally famous heroes, agricultural gods, gods of trades and guilds. The gods of special religions may also function as gods of popular religion, e.g. the Goddess of Mercy, Kuan-yin (Buddhist) gives children. There is a god of war, of literature, etc. There are also numerous evil spirits that must be appeased or warded off.

4. Ancestor reverence or worship: prayers, oblations, sacrifices, are offered to ancestors out of respect or reverence for them, and also to secure protection and promote prosperity of the family.

VII. Summary of the Confucian System in Terms of Main Philosophical Themes

I. The Idea of Being:

- A. Ultimate Reality: Lower nature, human nature, Heaven are an ordered whole governed by the moral law, Tao. Tao is known and felt in moral conscience as "truth". Tao is thus the sum total of the rational structure of existence.
- B. The idea of man: Related to Heaven through tao, which is expressed in his conscience; thus a "spiritual" being, in his higher mind. Naturally good. The body and physical life not evil, but a definite part of man's nature as good.
- C. The idea of nature: Physical nature is good. Unlike the high Indian systems, Hindu or Buddhist, the Chinese "have cultivated an aesthetic appreciation of nature" (Noss). Lower physical nature is not ultimate for them, but has a valuable role, and a real, not a deceptive, structure. The Chinese accepted nature. (Recall that the Indian thought "tends to give the value of illusion to nature -- or at least yearns to triumph over it" (Noss). Indian thought tended to deny nature as unworthy and unreal).

II. Idea of Knowledge:

There is ultimate or absolute truth in Tao. Moral knowledge is the complete form of knowledge. Tao is known intuitively but may be tested empirically.

III. Ideas of Value:

- A. The idea of the Good: Total existence is good by virtue of Tao. No inherent evil or evil process.
- B. The idea of evil: Man's lack of harmony with "nature" and its Tao. Practical, social, human evil is a result of bad environment and bad education.
- C. The idea of salvation: Man and nature are organically related: the way of salvation is to find the secret of harmony between lower nature, human nature, and heaven. Finding and living Tao (li, shu, chih, jen) with the mind in ordered control of body, is the secret. Heaven sends judgments when the laws of Tao are broken. Righteous personalities in government will guarantee righteous social order. Sum: organize positively the factors of earthly life. (Contrast the Indian theme that man must escape from nature and the factors of earthly life as way of salvation).
 "...Man can attain salvation through the realization of his essential nature."
 (Life magazine, April 4, 1955)

VIII. Questions on Confucianism

1. Describe the social situation in 6th century B. C. China that called forth the Confucian philosophy. What were other types of philosophic reaction to the social disorder of that time?
2. Describe the Confucian concept of Tao. How would you compare it to Karma as to its function or purpose? How evaluate it in comparison to Karma? What is an "ethical idealism"?
3. How is man related to Tao and what is the basic Confucian idea of man? What is the role of man's "body" in relation to his "spirit"? How does this kind of "realistic" psychology differ from the concepts of man in Hinduism?
4. Explain the difference between asceticism, eudaemonism, and sensualism, as major types of ethics, and which of these does the Confucian ethics exemplify? Cite Confucian passages to bear this out.
5. Explain briefly the main ethical concepts of li, shu, chih or cheng, jen as the concrete content of Tao. Are shu and chih universal and eternal "moral laws" in your estimation? Could a society get along without them? What like laws do you find in Hinduism and Buddhism? Can human reason know absolute moral law?
6. Of what kind of love does Motzu seem to be talking in WCI p. 794f? Can you think of other kinds of love beside "mutual love"? Should highest love be concerned with "reward"? If love is "useful", is it love? Is "sacrificial love" realistic? Is it possible in life? In your opinion, does Confucianism have an idea of sacrificial love in the Hebrew-Christian sense?
7. How do you evaluate the Confucian conception that human nature is basically good? Would Hitler have fitted Mencius's conception of man?
8. Do you think that sin and human evil are a by-product of bad environment and bad education, as Confucianism taught? What makes "environment" or "education" bad?
9. How far is "good government" a matter of personal integrity or good character on the part of administrators and rulers? What other factor is important in addition to personal integrity? What error does doctrinaire communism seem to fall into respecting these factors? What recent exposé suggests that Soviet leaders may be recognizing this error of classic communist theory?
10. In your opinion, does knowledge of the right guarantee virtue, as Confucianism tended to say?
11. Is there any "absolute truth" as the Chung-Yung claims? Can you state several propositions that seem to you "absolute truths"?
12. Are moral truths known "intuitively" or by "experience"?
13. What is your favorite Confucian passage? Why?
14. Are there any weaknesses in the Confucian system, in your opinion? If so, state them and explain why you think so. What are its special strengths?

CLASSICALTAOISM

I. General Facts

II. Basic Ideas

I. General Facts

1. Taoism an ambiguous term meaning either
 - a) The high thought of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu -- i.e. classic or philosophical Taoism or
 - b) The mixture of alchemic magic and religion dating from the late Han dynasty 206 B. C. - 221 A. D. (See Noss for popular Taoism).
2. The two early figures:
 - Lao-tzu or (Lau Tan) b. 604 B. C. Tradition says wrote Tao-Te King.
 - Chuang-tzu or (Chuang-Tze) 369 B. C. - 286 B. C. Works of Chuang-tzu
3. Use of general Chinese term tao, Law of Heaven, Way, Truth, but fills it with its own special construction.
4. Its concept of the Tao reminds us of Hindu Brahman in some respects. Also like Buddhism in its aim to overcome selfish desire.
5. Unlike Indian systems in its positive attitude toward nature; accepts nature, both physical and human as good. Ballou 481 (TTK XXV): earth and man are two of the four supreme things, the others being Tao and Heaven. This positive attitude toward nature is like Confucianism.
6. Taoism is unlike Confucianism in its opposition to feudalism as a way of treating the disorder of the late Chou times. It espoused rather a type of philosophical anarchy, inspired by its concept of wu-wei, the non-action that acts!

In sum, philosophical Taoism, in its preoccupation with the cosmic Tao, seems more mystical than Confucianism, reminding us of the Indian systems in that respect (we have previously pointed out its close relation to Zen Buddhism); it also emphasizes "Nature", and men's relationship to her, as the expression of Tao, in some contrast to the Confucian concern with "Society". Taoism is a more individualistic and ascetic, religious philosophy. If, for the Confucians, salvation was spelled out in the general terms of man's harmony with Tao through his social relationships and responsibilities; for Taoism, salvation is to be achieved by the sage's direct and mystical relationship with Tao.

II. Basic Ideas

1. The Tao: Ultimate Reality

Read Ballou	from <u>Tao-Te King:</u>	<u>Chuang-tzu</u>
p. 471 I	484 XXXII	p. 507-12
474 XI	485 XXXIV	517-18
476 XIV	486 XXXVII	
478	497 LXII	
479 XXI	499 LXVII	
481 XXV	502 LXXIII	
	504 LXXIX	

- a) Tao is the inexpressible, indescribable, Absolute Unity, without quality, that lies behind or transcends all sensory phenomena. Not non-existence in a negative sense as "zero", but non-existence in the sense of not being any of the particular objects with their various qualities that we know in every-day experience. A trans-rational monism (or idealism?) in the sense that there is no rational description of the Tao. Like other such systems: F. H. Bradley, Plotinus, Vedanta Hinduism, Spinoza (?). The Tao is undifferentiated, Impersonal Being.
- b) Yet all the objects of the world in their various forms come from the Tao.
- c) Mystical unity with the Tao is the ultimate goal of the sage — compare Indian systems, Ballou 477.
- d) Ethically speaking, Tao is basic moral law, to which we cannot go contrary.

2. The concept of man, implied by the above scriptures, is similar to the Confucian view in its emphasis on man as good, if he permits himself to become one with the Tao of Nature. We add to this man's heightened awareness of his mystical identification with Tao or Nature. Taoism has an ascetic ideal for man, without the Indian pessimism, derived from belief in sansara. Lao Tzu was opposed to religious ceremonialism, Ballou 487.

3. Taoist Ethics (general)

Read Ballou TTK:

472 III	483 XXX	491 XLVIII & XLIX
473 VIII	484 XXXI	492 LI
474 X	485 XXXVI	494 LV
476 XV	486 XXXVII	497 LXIII
479 XXII	487 XXXIX	499 LXVII
480 XXIV	489 XLIII	501 LXX
481 XXVI	490 XLVII	503 LXXVII

At first Taoism seems a paradoxical, non-sensical, even nihilistic system. Stresses "non-action", wu-wei, non-activity. A quietistic ethic, but not in the sense of the extreme withdrawal of the Hindu Yogi or a Simeon Stylites. Laotzu says "the Tao of the sage acts but never contends" (LXXVII). By non-action, then, Taoism means, at least in part, non-aggressiveness, or non-self seeking action. Ballou 491, 500, 503. Love is emphasized, Ballou 491, 499, 500, in a way that transcends Confucius's limitation of the Golden Rule.

The figure of water: water yields to external pressures, but finally overcomes them -- best way to solve life's contentions: be utterly un-contending.

Fung Yulan (History of Chinese Philosophy) says, "...it is a mistake to think of wu-wei as anything suggesting complete inactivity, renunciation, or the cult of the unconscious. It is rather a peculiar way, or more exactly, the natural way, of behavior....the way of wu-wei is the way of spontaneity, to be contrasted with the artificial way, the way of cleverness and superficial morality" (p. 36). Lao-tzu's idealization of infancy "is nothing more than the idealization of the natural state. It is not the state of ignorance and incapacity. It is rather the state of quietude, harmony, and insight" (p. 37).*

Lao-tzu's ethical paradoxes, emphasizing the strength of the weak, reminds us of Jesus' thought, TTK XV, XI, LXXVII, XLIII, LXXVI.

If taken too literally, however, the Taoist ethic seems completely negative, or nihilistic. How could one even "love", for love is active? Would not one simply sit and gaze or contemplate?

The Taoist philosophy of inaction leads to transcendental or mystical powers, according to Lao-tzu, Ballou 492, 494. The clue for the later magical development of the system.

4. Social Ethics: Ballou 493 LIII
 495 LVII
 496 LVIII
 498 LXV
 501 LXXII
 502 LXXV

Opposed to feudal society and aristocracy, Ballou 493; is equalitarian. Laissez-faire organization of society -- nearly anarchistic, 495. Best government is the one which governs least, 495.

Opposed to poverty, 501. Anti-intellectualist: vs. education, 498-99. Anti-military, 483-4; and pacifistic. His idea that one nation should humble itself before another is certainly an advanced international altruism. Ballou 497.

* Princeton University Press, Vol. I, 1953

Chuangtzu

1. Relativity of Values is emphasized in Chuangtzu. Ballou 507, 510, 512. Only hinted in Laotzu, 499. A trans-rational monism, with its philosophy of an Undifferentiated Absolute such as The Tao, will present this difficulty. -- Do all values become blurred and meaningless in such an Absolute?

2. Chuangtzu does not see the value of charity, Ballou 517-18. Is this the logical outcome of the Taoist ethic of inactivity? Contrast Laotzu, 503. Chuangtzu takes the doctrine of inactivity more literally than does Laotzu, seemingly. (Though see Ballou 528?). Are the idea of love and charity and the idea of non-action and quietism incompatible?

Instead of Tao as an Ultimate, Absolute Being, transcendent to nature, Taoism may mean that Tao is simply the sum total of nature in all her ways -- of which the ethical way of quietude or non-action is her highest expression. Rather than to call Taoism a form of "Absolute Idealism", it may be better to speak of it as mystical, benevolent "naturalism".

ZOROASTRIANISM

- I. Religions of the Far and the Near East
- II. Zoroastrian Historical Data and Terms
- III. Philosophy of Religion
- IV. Moral Teachings and Ceremonial
- V. Eschatology: Idea of History and Destiny
- VI. Historical Influence

ZOROASTRIANISM

I. General Comparison of the Religions of the Far and Near East

A general comparison of Hinduism, Buddhism, and original Taoism in the far east, to the Zoroastrian, Judeo-Christian, and Islamic philosophies of religion of the near east would bring to light the following differences:

The orientals were "otherworldly". They stressed identification of oneself with "God" or the Ultimate Reality as a way of salvation, and prevaillingly regarded this Reality in impersonal terms. Salvation was flight from personal identification with this world and its evils to an impersonal Absolute, beyond this world.

On the other hand, the near eastern religions are more "this worldly"; and they conceive of God or the Ultimate as Personal Being. They interpret salvation, not as the identification or loss of personal being in God, but rather as personal fellowship with God. This fellowship is a conscious, ethical union of the wills or purposes of personal spirits, which battle with this world's concrete evils, in the effort to overcome them. If the basic ideal of the Indian systems was emancipation from historic, time existence, and, in order to accomplish this, the denial of the personal factors of existence; the ideal of the near east has been the emancipation of history itself, or its "redemption" from an evil to a good state. The hope is that this may be accomplished by stressing the personal factors in existence, and fulfilling the laws of life that would bring persons into their highest possible well-being, individually and socially. In sum, if the far eastern religions were more transcendental, speculative, and "mystical" in their outlook; the near eastern systems are "prophetic" and "eschatological"; that is to say, they see the possibility of, and are concerned with, the transformation of concrete social evils in historic time. The far eastern systems are often called life denying; while the near eastern religions have been termed life affirming.

We noted that Confucianism, unlike Hinduism and Buddhism, is also life affirming; it is interested in the here and now, and in many significant ways resembles the near eastern religions above mentioned, as well as the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophies. We also noted that all of these systems have basic ethical codes that closely parallel each other in the great laws, namely, those regarding the sanctity of life, property, truth, sexual discipline, and a non-avaricious disposition of spirit.

II. Historical Data and Terms

1. Literary Sources:

- a. Avesta or Zendavesta
- Gathas: reportedly the hymns of Zoroaster -- oldest parts of Avesta. The larger part of the original Avesta was destroyed by Alexander the Great in 4th century B. C. (356-323 B. C.) upon invasion of Persia and destruction of the palace at Persepolis. The books of the Zoroastrians were said to have been written on nine thousand ox hides.
- b. The Pahlavi texts: the later writings.

2. Life of Zoroaster:

- a. c. 660-583 B. C. Very uncertain as to facts. The Denkart in the Pahlavi writings portray his life as a series of marvels; omens and prodigies attend his birth, sorcerers try to kill the young child, etc.
- b. Seclusion at 20 years. Vision at 30.
- c. At 42 makes first convert (a cousin) and then wins King Vishtaspa, the "Constantine" of the faith.
- d. Struggle with the Karpans, priests/sorcerers: Magical procedure to make the crops grow, protect cattle, etc. Compare 8th and 7th century prophets in Israel, vs. Baal worship. Zoroaster a great religious reformer and ethical prophet: succeeds in lifting Persian religion from one of magic and sorcery to a high ethical faith.

3. Outline of the history of Zoroastrianism:

- a. Pre-Zoroastrian period: relation to Vedic Aryan religion -- terms, gods similar.
 - b. The reforming work of Zoroaster's prophetic personality -- basic ideas established.
 - c. First emerges into real history with Cyrus the Great who establishes Persian empire with capture of the Chaldean capital city of Babylon, 538 B. C. (Fall of Babylon and Cyrus mentioned in Hebrew Bible, Isaiah 45 and Ezra 1).
 - d. Defeat of Darius I at Marathon 490 B. C. and Xerxes I at Salamis and Thermopylae 480 B. C. kept Zoroastrianism out of Europe, breaks its bid to become a world religion.
 - e. Major setback with Alexander the Great's conquest of the near east, 334-323 B. C.; no longer an official national religion.
 - f. Experiences some revival during Sassanian empire 226-651 A. D.
 - g. Near complete destruction by Mohammedan conquest of Iran, Persia and Sassanid empire 651 A. D. Zoroastrianism reduced to a minor cult in Persia, the Gabars; those who emigrated to India known as Parsis today. Both Gabars and Parsis exist today. Latter, though small, a very influential group in India, a well-to-do commercial class.
- ## 4. Elaboration of Zoroastrian doctrines began with the Persian empire: "typical of any religion founded by a prophetic personality but propagated by priests and kings" (Noss)
- a. Veneration of Zoroaster.
 - b. Development of angelology, demonology, tendency toward polytheism, e.g. development of Mithra cult in which, Mithra, the Persian sun deity, became virtually a second god to Mazda.
 - c. Development of doctrine of evil into a complete ethical dualism.

- d. Detailed development of eschatology, i.e. doctrine of the end of the world and future life.
- e. Increasing emphasis on ceremonial purity.
5. Some principal terms:

Ahura Mazda or Ormazd	Angra Mainyu or Ahriman/Ahraman
Asha: truth and its archangel	Drug or Druj: the lie and its demon
Amesha Spentas	Daevas
Fravashis	
Daena	
Saoshyant or Soshans	

III. Philosophy of Religion

1. The Zoroastrian idea of the universe as a whole. The metaphysical and theological outlook of Zoroastrianism, in its developed period (532 B. C. and following) is a combination of dualism, monotheism, angelology, and a penetrating psychological and ethical interpretation of man.
- a. Vertical Dualism - Spirit vs. Spirit (contrast Sankhya "horizontal" dualism, mind vs. matter):

The Cosmic Gulf

<u>Angra Mainyu or Ahriman and</u>	vs.	<u>Ahura Mazda or Ormazd and</u>
<u>The Dominion of Evil (North).</u>	..	<u>The Dominion of Good (South).</u>
Mars good and creates evils:	.	Creates and preserves the good,
e.g. Winter, darkness, false-	.	e.g. summer warmth, light truth,
hood, poisonous snakes, plants,	.	the cow, fire, good plants, man,
the demons; does "counter	.	angels. Ballou 578-80, 589-90,
work" Ballou 578, 590.	..	627.

Cosmic warfare rages between these two sides of existence, good and evil, Ballou 592, 627. Zoroastrianism presents a third major type of solution to the problem of evil. Evil is not illusion (as suggested in Vedanta and Buddhism), but is a reality; neither is matter as such believed to be evil or the source of evil (as in Sankhya). Evil has its source in a cosmic, demonic Spirit, Ahriman. In the long run, Ahriman and his evil works will be overcome.

- b. Monotheism. Along with the above dualistic outlook Mazdaism is ultimately monotheistic by virtue of the fact that Mazda is to gain the final victory — good is to subdue evil. Although in developed Zoroastrianism Satan seems to be co-eternal from the past with God, in the long run Satan and his works are to be destroyed, leaving God and the kingdom of good supreme in a universe free from evil. That Satan is not a co-equal god is suggested in the fact that the Zoroastrians were opposed to demon worship. Ballou 573. Mazda, as well

as being the transcendent Creator, is the immanent spirit of good will and moral law in men, Ballou 561-71, 590. (Compare the Hebrew-Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit). God for the Zoroastrians may be discovered in the profound reaches of psychological subjectivity, a supreme Spirit of Immanence, as well as understood to be the objective and transcendent Creator.

- c. Elaborate angelology and demonology. The angels and demons are personifications of good and bad disposition or spirit, as well as patrons of good and bad physical objects and processes. They are grouped in elaborate hierarchies of good and evil in the following way:

Ahura Mazda,
The Lord,
The All-Knowing One,
Good: Truth

.....Ballou 590

Amesha Spentas
i.e. Seven Archangels

.....Personifications of moral qualities and patrons of good things,

Yazatas, i.e.
Lesser Angels

e.g.: Vohu: good thought, useful animals, cow, dog.

Asha: truth, righteousness, fire.

Man
Free Will

..... Area of contest between God and Satan

"The cosmic righteous order pervading all things pure", Ballou 1386

Lesser Demons & Monsters

The Daevas, i.e.
Seven Arch-demons

.....Personifications of bad moral qualities and patrons of bad things,

e.g. Aka: vile thoughts,

Drug: the lie, falsehood.

Indra: vice, deception.

Aeshma: anger, brutality toward cattle.

Zairich: decay, poisonous plants

Angra Mainyu, Ahriman,
Evil, The Lie

- d. The Fravashis: technically the spirits of the departed, but also the basic (Platonic-like) laws, ideas, forms of all created things and processes, natural, moral, and historic. The Fravashis are the immanent, personal purposes of God in all things good. Ballou 594f.

- e. Nature is a subordinate, derived, or "created" order of reality, inferior to God and man, though the proper home of man; and it constitutes part of the battlefield between good and evil, Ballou 578-579. Compare Hebrew-Christian and Islamic thought.

2. The idea of man:

- a. The Zoroastrians have a unitary concept of human personality, in contrast to the skandhas of Buddhism -- men are true, spiritual persons, by virtue of freedom of will or soul. Ballou 568, 592, 597, 599, 615.

- b. Man has freedom of will, his cardinal attribute; he is a free moral being, subsuming the meaning of his unity and transcendency of spirit. The cosmic warfare centers in man's soul. Evil struggles with good to possess him. Every decision of will is a victory of one side or the other. The saying that our souls are frequently "not at one" (Ballou 571) recognizes the conflict of freedom within itself. In his freedom of will, man reflects the very nature of Mazda, Ballou 571C. Compare the Judeo-Christian concept of "the image of God" in man.
- c. Man is the supreme work of creation, and is to have dominion over the world by subduing evil, Ballou 581. (Compare 8th Psalm, and Gen. 1). The Zoroastrians placed the supreme value in personal life.

IV. Moral Teachings and Ceremonial

1. Evil is the work of an alien principle. Ballou 621
2. Moral law exists as objective, cosmic order, and is the expression of the personal Will of Mazda, Ballou 563.
3. Man has freedom of will, but must heed the moral order, to attain highest well-being. Thus the Zoroastrians defined freedom in profoundest sense as moral responsibility. As free and responsible, man must be active in the warfare with evil, Ballou 568, 592, 627, 615. (Contrast the ethical "quietism" of Hindu-Buddhism). Note the centering of moral virtue in intention and its completion in deeds or activity in the recurring formula "good thoughts, good words, good deeds". (Compare Jesus' Sermon on the Mount and Buddha's Eight-fold Path) Ballou 565, 574, 599, 614, 617.
4. Note the Zoroastrian commandments relative to personal ethics, delivered as the very nature of Mazda, Ballou 590, covering the familiar principles of harmlessness, speaking the truth, promoting the well being of others in charitable ways, avoiding slanderous and false accusations, and inordinate pridefulness or self-centeredness of spirit, i.e. concern for self to the point of heedlessness of others. Has a non-ascetical attitude toward sex life, Ballou 595, 599, but stressed the monogamous ideal as the "second place where the earth feels most happy", Ballou 574. (See further, Max Müller SBE Vol. IV, 46, 178-9, 205)
5. Observe the keen sense of social justice, stemming from their activist ethical spirit, Ballou 575, 579, 580, 586, 590, 599, 625.
6. Sin is understood to be malice of thought, rather than ignorance of mind or passion of body, Ballou 565, 590D-91.
7. Idea of salvation. It is interesting to observe that the Zoroastrian word "Daena" means both law and religion. Summing up about salvation in the Zoroastrian belief, Lehmann writes:

"...the final victory will depend on...collaboration of God and man. No other religion has made the work of man a condition of the ultimate success of the Divinity; and, because the system of Zarathrushttra does so, we may truly say that in a unique sense it is the religion of morality; duty being an inherent religious necessity, and moral actions the inevitable consequence of the religious principle" * Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics

Ceremonial: centers around the preservation of purity of elements, earth, fire, water; protection of cow, good plants. Note Noss on the Parsi fire ceremonies. Lehman says that the ceremonies are "A system of purification to expel the evil spirits found in nature and in human life" *ERE op. cit.

IV. Eschatology: Idea of History and Destiny

("Eschatos": the farthest, last, the end)

1. Zoroastrianism has a linear, progressive conception of historical process, Ballou 619. Contrast the Hindu-Buddhist (and Greek) cyclical concept of history; and compare the linear conception of the Hebrews. History has its beginning in the primal warfare between the Spirits of Good and Evil. The universe is the work of Mazda; Ahriman maliciously attacks and mars as his strategy, with the winning of man as his objective. Man sometimes yields to Ahriman, or sins. Thus all ranges of evil, natural and moral are explained as the work of an alien principle. Ballou 621.
2. The history of the world is divided into four periods of 3000 years, each a scene in the cosmic drama or contest between Mazda and Ahriman:
 - a. First 3000 years is an age of "spiritual creation", i.e. Mazda formulates the Fravashis -- the basic laws, forms, ideas, intelligent plans of order for all being and process.
 - b. Second 3000 years: the material world is created according to the ideal principles, or Fravashis, i.e. Sky, Water, Earth, Plants, Animals, Man. Ballou 627-628. Note the similarity to the story of Creation in Genesis 1. Ahriman also creates the demons in this period.
 - c. Third 3000 years: irruption of Ahriman and his demons, who sow evil in the world. Also the period of the early history of mankind until the Zoroastrian revelation.
 - d. Fourth 3000 years:
 - Advent of Zoroaster (b.c. 650 -d. 583 B.C.)
 - The course of present history.
 - The Apocalyptic closing of time - characterized by:
 - The advent of Saoshyant or Savior, Ballou 631; has 30 assistants, 15 men, 15 women, Ballou 633.
 - The Millennium, or 1000 years of peace and righteousness; a preparation of all mankind for eternity, Ballou 631.
 - Universal resurrection of the body, Ballou 631-32.

* Source of this quotation unknown.

The Last Judgment: a flood of molten metal to pass over all men; the righteous come through unscathed; sears all the evil out of the wicked. Ahriman annihilated; hell itself is purified and added to an immortal world, or a New Heaven and a New Earth. Note the idea of universal salvation. Ballou 633-34.

3. The destiny of the individual soul. Heaven is a personalized place where personal life will triumph on a new plane of existence, Ballou 623. Note the present stages of ascent into Heaven or descent into Hell through good or bad thoughts, words, and deeds, Ballou 599, 601; and the idea of eternal life beginning here and now as an ethical quality of life. After death the soul crosses the Chinwad Bridge, a judgment span, which grows wide for the righteous, or narrow like a razor's edge for the wicked. Hell yawns beneath. Also note a middle realm of purgatory, a limbo between earth and heaven where some souls await the final judgment.

VI. Historical Influence

1. It is highly probable that the foregoing ideas of Zoroastrianism greatly influenced the development of Hebrew apocalyptic thought, which rose late in the Old Testament period. The Hebrews were subject to the Persians, or Zoroastrians, between 538 B. C. and 332 B. C. It was not until after this period that the apocalyptic books of the Hebrews, such as Daniel in the Old Testament, and many non-canonical apocalyptic tracts (collected and edited in Charles, Pseudepigrapha) made their appearance. Many of the apocalyptic ideas of the Zoroastrians are found in these late Hebrew writings, such as, elaborate angelogy, the Last Judgment, The Resurrection of the dead, The coming Messiah in the Son of Man mode, the Purging of the world by fire, the Millennium, etc.
2. Its influence on the Roman Empire and early Christianity may be noted in the widespread cults of Mithra and Manicheism. Manicheism was the only serious rival of Christianity in the west. For example, St. Augustine was a Manichei prior to his conversion to Christianity, after which he combated Manicheism. Along with Judaism, its montheism and high ethical standards helped pave the way for Christianity.
3. It is a living religion today with the Parsis of India, renowned for their high ethical standards.

Reading Assignment for Zoroastrianism, Old Testament Thought, and Judaism

^{Study}
Study Guide: 78-84 (Resume of Zoroastrianism)

Ballou: 617-23, 627-28, 630-34 (Zoroastrian Cosmological and Eschatological views)

Noss: 462-463 (Religious perspective of the Near East)

^{hoss} 494-497 (Pre-Mosaic Hebrews)

500-508 (Moses)

508-526 (Baalism and the Prophetic protest)

535-543 (Exile, Ezekiel, and II Isaiah)

Texts: Ballou: The Bible of the World

Johnson: Man's Religions
3rd Ed.

Study Guide: 86-105 (The Classic Age, 1300-500 B.C.; OT philosophy of religion)

Ballou: Ballou: -

641-647 (Gen. 1-4)

694-698 (Moses and his work; humanitarian laws, etc.)

704-5, 713-716 (Passover)

800-802 (Rise of ethical prophecy; earlier period, eg. Nathan)

825-826 (Rise of ethical prophecy; earlier period, eg. Elijah)

940-943, 948-950, 954, 955-56, 959, 952 (8th Century, Writing Prophets: Amos, Hosea, Micah, I Isaiah)

968-969, 981 (7th Century: Jeremiah - prophecy defined as moral warning: Fall of Judah)

991-996 (6th Century, period of the Exile: II Isaiah, announcement of Israel's new role) (Ezekiel's program of restoration to be noted below)

881, 885-886, 888-890, 896-898, 906-908, 910, 915-916 (Various Psalms on God, Man, Nature, etc) 858-862, 869-870, 872-878 (Job: the problem of suffering and evil)

Study Guide: 106-109 (Beginnings of Judaism in the post exilic era and resume of history to modern times)

Noss: 544-551 (Rise of Judaism in Restoration Period)

566-570 (Making of Talmud)

Ballou: 835-836 (Initial return to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel, c. 532 B.C.)

839-840, 842-843 (Restoration continued under Ezra and Nehemiah c. 450 B.C.: reconstituting the nation as a churchly community, founded on Torah and other measures, reflecting Ezekiel's program of restoration.) (Ezekiel Chapters 8, 20, 36, 43-46)

Noss: 579-583 (Modern Judaism)

Study Guide: 109-121 (Main outlook of Orthodox, Reform and Conservative Judaism)

ed. V. Form: Religion in the Twentieth Century, Philosophical Library, 1948

Chapter XX, "Reform Judaism" by Louis Israel Newman, Rabbi, Temple Rodeph Sholom, New York

Chapter XXI, "Conservative Judaism" by Simon Greenberg, Provost, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York

Recommended Reading:

H. E. Fosdick, Guide to Understanding the Bible, Harper. Chapters I, II, The Ideas of God and Man.

Oesterley and Robinson, An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, Macmillan, 1934 pp. I-II (The Canon of the O. T.) pp. 22-67 (The Pentateuch)

JUDAISM

A.

The Religion of the Old Testament

- I. The Classic Age of Old Testament Thought:
Exodus to the Prophetic Reformation -- an
historical resumé, 1300 B. C. to 500 B. C.
- II. Major Aspects of Hebraic Philosophy of Religion:
the ideas of God, the World, Man, Right and Wrong,
Suffering, and Salvation.

B.

Contemporary Judaism

- III. Beginnings of Judaism: Post-Exilic Period;
Post-Biblical, Medieval, and Modern Trends --
an historical resumé.
- IV. Modern Judaism -- the Three Philosophies:
Orthodoxy.
Reform.
Conservative.
- V. Major Aspects of Jewish Ceremonial

The Religion of the Old Testament

I. The Classic Age

Exodus to the Prophetic Reformation
Main Literature, Personalities, and Events

Principal Literary Sources for the Classic Age:

1. Semetic Creation and Folk Epics: Source material, Genesis, chs. 2-11, ch. 12f
Ballou, p. 643f..

e.g. stories of:

Adam and Eve (Gen. 2-3)
Cain and Abel (Gen. 4)
The Flood, Babel
The Patriarchs.

Many modern scholars believe that this literature existed in the form of oral folk-epics prior to about 950 to 750 B. C., when two unknown authors or editors compiled and combined these accounts of creation, man's origin, the flood, etc., with the stories of the Patriarchs (Genesis chs. 12f) i.e. those of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph.

Modern scholarship has indicated these authors by the symbols J and E, who write slightly variant accounts of the Patriarchs. The symbol "J" is based on one prevailing use of the name of God as "Yahweh" (older spelling "Jehovah"), found in the J source. (In the King James and Revised Standard Versions, "Yahweh" is translated "Lord"). The "E" symbol refers to the prevailing name of God, "Elohim", as found in that source. J may also refer to Judea, the southern kingdom, where contemporary scholarship believes the source originated; while E may indicate "Ephraim", or the northern kingdom, the locality of the E author. (For an example of J see Gen. 16:1-6f, treatment of Hagar, Abraham's concubine, in comparison to the E reporting of the same story, Gen. 21:9-14f; or J, Gen. 12:10-20, how Abraham deceived a king regarding his wife, Sarah, in comparison to E, Gen. ch. 20:1f).

J and E may also be compared to a third major source of priestly origin, to which Biblical scholarship has assigned the symbol "P".

2. The Priestly authorship of the "Pentateuch", the first five books of the Bible, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy:

e.g. Genesis chapter 1 (Ballou 641-3)

The Priestly author or editors were responsible for the first majestic chapter of Genesis, a creation story which differs from J's account in Genesis Chapter Two (verses 4b and following). P has combined J and E with his own priestly tradition into our present Pentateuch, which tells the story of God's covenant with the nation of Israel. This story has its climax in the account of Moses and the Exodus. (Ballou p. 694-721).

We may trace the Priestly authorship, or editorship of the Pentateuch, according to an unfolding emphasis on the ceremonial aspect of the Covenant. The priestly story begins with the establishment of the Sabbath (Gen. 1, the covenant with Man); Sacrifice (Gen. 9, the covenant with Noah); Circumcision (Gen. 17, the covenant with Abraham); Passover (Ex. 12:43); and further ritual requirements presented in the story of Moses as found in Exodus and the subsequent books of the Pentateuch.*

Also important in all of the sources is the moral aspect of the Nation's covenant with God. In addition to ceremonial duties, the people of Israel are to fulfill basic moral obligations in their personal and social relationships, if they are to stand in fellowship with God. This ethical aspect has its climax in the Mosaic Commandments, Exodus 20f (E) (Ballou p. 714-716). Both ceremonial and ethical sides of the covenant are summarized as Torah, God's Law. In observing moral and ritual laws, God will establish the Nation and vouchsafe to it an influential destiny among the nations.

Though the two stories of creation -- P (Gen. 1, Ballou p. 641-643) and J (Gen. 24bf, Ballou p. 643-646) -- differ in a number of interesting details, they enshrine a similar philosophic, ethical, or religious interpretation of the origin of the world and its purpose and meaning. They teach that the world is the work of one Divine Intelligence, as its ultimate cause; that God brings it into being out of love; that man is a creature of superior spiritual endowment relative to the animal and inanimate levels of nature; and that he is to have "dominion", or a positive destiny in his struggle with evil. In general teaching, all of the sources of the Pentateuch have one underlying moral message. It is that all history is subject to the moral laws of God; who requires moral righteousness of men; and that God's purpose is "to bring all nations to a true knowledge of Himself" (Wooster Syllabus p. 143) through the labors and ministry of Israel.

Many scholars believe that the Priestly authors performed their skillful editing and interpreting of the earlier history of Israel during the 3rd or 4th centuries B. C. The Priestly tradition, however, like that of J and E, had its origin in, and flowed down from, earlier times.

3. Other major literary sources for the classic age:

For the story of Israel in the early days, in addition to the Priestly library of the Pentateuch, other major literary sources are "narrative" books like Joshua and Judges; "court-chronicles", enshrined in the books of I and II Samuel and I and II Kings; and the writings of the "prophets", particularly those of the 8th to the 6th centuries B. C., Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, (chapters 1-39), Micah, Jeremiah, Isaiah (chapters 40-66), and Ezekiel. (Ballou p. 761-834, 940-997).

1300 B. C. -- 500 B.C.

1. The formative period of the Hebrew nation -- from the liberation from slavery in Egypt to the establishment of the monarchy. Sources: Exodus, Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, 1300-1000 B. C.

* See e.g. excellent account in B. W. Anderson: Understanding the Old Testament, Prentice-Hall, 1957, p. 384-390.

- a. Moses: Many Biblical scholars assign c. 1300 B. C. as the general date of Exodus from Egypt. The religion of Yahweh, a desert God; the Ten Commandments. Not a nature God, but behind the scenes. The contract or covenant: not a tribal God or totemic deity, but has a moral or conditional relationship with his people. He adopts them; they choose to follow him, according to whether they carry out their ceremonial and ethical responsibilities. If they do not, He will chastize them, or may even reject them. Thus, with the future open, the history of the Hebrew people is to be free, providing opportunity for their great religious leaders to reinterpret the meaning of the covenant in progressively deeper moral terms, according to a growing understanding of the nature of God and His will for men.
- b. Baalism, the nature-fertility religion of the Canaanites, the earlier inhabitants of ancient Palestine, against whom the Hebrews were now endeavoring to consolidate their rule, constituted the major ethical, religious, and social threat to the moral and democratic religion of Yahweh. This threat continues through the 8th, 7th, and 6th centuries B. C. as a principal clue to understanding and evaluating the work of the greatest writing prophets from Amos to Ezekiel.

Major aspects of Baalistic (Canaanitic) culture which the prophets opposed were:

- (1) The concept or meaning of Deity as solely subsumed within the fertility forces of nature, vegetable, animal, and human.
- (2) The worship of these deities (with whom Yahweh was confused) in manners appropriate to their functions as fertility gods, e.g. sacrifice of infant children, sacred or temple prostitution, and other superstitious modes of appeasement.
- (3) Despotic social and political institutions, (e.g. Ballou 825-827). For the story from Moses to the prophetic reformation, study Noss, p. 469-503.

- c. Samuel: last and greatest of Israel's judges, and priest and seer in time of Saul, the first king.

2. The united and divided monarchies: 999-800 B. C. or 10th and 9th centuries: Sources: II Samuel, I & II Kings, I & II Chronicles.

- a. David and Solomon, kings of the united monarchy, father and son. Northern territory of Israel under Jereboam I, rebels against Solomon's son, Rehoboam, for continuing the oppressive policies of his father.

In this period we read of early "prophetic" personalities, who, in the name of Yahweh's moral covenant or constitution with the nation, protested against highhanded or tyrannous practices of the rulers; notably Nathan vs. David (Ballou 800-802), and Ahijah vs. Solomon and Rehoboam (Ballou 817-819).

- b. Elijah: great, early prophetic type in time of king Ahab of Israel c. 850 B. C. Against the worship of the Baals, the fertility gods of ancient Canaan; opposed to the tyrannous policies of rulers, queen Jezebel. (Ballou p. 821-27)

In the story of Elijah we may also trace a deepening awareness of the mind of Israel of how God makes Himself known to men, that is to say, in the interior way of "a still small voice" of conscience, or perception of truth and value, more than, as was previously stressed, in stupendous manifestations of objective nature, such as "wind", or "earthquake", or "fire". (Ballou p. 823-824).

3. The threat of foreign conquest, c. 800-587 B. C. The chief development on the international scene, during the later period of the Hebrew monarchies, was the successive rise of two Mesopotamian empires to new power: Assyria (c. 800 to 610 B. C.) in the northern region of the Tigrus-Euphrates river areas, with its capitol at Nineveh; and Chaldea (610 to 538 B. C.) in the south, with its capitol city at the ancient site of Babylon.

When these large totalitarian powers, Assyria in the late 8th century, Chaldea-Babylon in the late 7th century, swept down across the Fertile Crescent into the little western, seaboard countries, they destroyed the "tribes", or the local independence of the Syrian, Tyrian, Philistine, and Hebrew principalities.

The great interpreter of the prophets, George Adam Smith, has said that the result of this development was the destruction of the tribal conception of religion for the Hebrews. After the Assyrian conquests only a larger, more universal conception of Yahweh and his religion would be convincing, a conception of Yahweh's will and his religion which would put meaning and purpose into the overwhelming tragedy of foreign conquest and subjection. The 8th and 7th century prophets saw this larger necessity, and came to know God in terms large enough to include the Assyrians and Chaldeans as His special instruments of judgment in history. From this time on Yahweh becomes, in the thought of the prophets, more and more the Lord of all nations and peoples; Hebrew religion becomes increasingly international. (See II Kgs, 15:29; 16:5-9; 17:1-6 for reference to the Assyrian menace or Ballou p. 831-833). The conception of Yahweh's world-wide scope was to increase the importance of his ethical demands at home.

By the 6th century with the Second Isaiah the prophets have discovered that he is a God of Suffering Love as his primary nature. It is at this general time, then, that the fall awareness of what God may be dawns upon the western mind through the experience of the Hebrew people. It is noteworthy, as a later chart suggests, how at this same period in history other peoples and cultures, through the messages of their sages and "prophets", were also learning something about the Divine Compassion and Love.

4. Age of the great prophetic reformers: the writing prophets. c. 750-600 B.C. Source material: books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Deuteronomy and the books of Kings and Chronicles. Qualities and work of the prophets:
- a. Great moral preachers (not magical foretellers of future events). Proclaimed God as moral, ethical, as speaking through moral conscience. Lifted the concept of God far above the contemporary fertility religion of the baals.

- b. Did warn of impending judgment that God would bring for the nation's sins; and predicted restoration, if the people would repent of their sins.
- c. Present in great detail are their descriptions of current personal and social sins; they counter these with the idea of neighborliness, justice, and love, as God's will for the people; not only for Israel, but for all people.
- d. The idea of an Ideal King or political-type Messiah appears in I Isaiah (chapters 1-39) and in Micah. (Ballou p. 953, 959)

Sum: more important than formal ritual, ceremony, and sacrament is their definition of religion as ethical action. (Ballou 940-961, 965-981)

Northern kingdom of Israel fell to Assyrians, 721 B. C.

Southern kingdom of Judah fell to Chaldeans, 586 B. C.

--ends Hebrew independence until modern times, except for a brief period under the Maccabean leaders of the 2nd century B. C.

5. The Babylonian Exile: 6th century, 586-532 B. C. (Ballou p. 981).
Two distinct developments in this period, and in the following centuries:

- a. Universalistic ethical prophecy under II Isaiah (chapters 40-66) is carried forward to new heights. Through her captivity and suffering, Israel is to be the special Servant of God, who will teach ethical monotheism to the world. The Messiah concept is developed in terms of Suffering Servant. The background of this development lay in the new problem of evil: why was the nation called upon to suffer in captivity? Answer: not just for punishment for past sins, but also for redemption -- God would use the exiled and captive Jews as a redemptive agent among the nations. (Ness 409; Ballou 991-997).

The understanding of Yahweh as forgiving, redemptive love toward all men, as well as author of moral law and historical judgment, and the destiny of Israel's religion as to include all peoples in a universal fellowship, was carried on in significant streams of post-Exilic thought in Judaism. This continuation is observed notably in many of the Psalms; in the narrative book of Ruth; in the prophetic parable of Jonah, which championed the status of Ninevites (Assyrians) as children of God too, on an equal footing with his chosen Israel; and in certain aspects of some apocalyptic literature at its best, such as the book of Daniel. (Ballou 852-858, 1006-1009, 1010-1026).

- b. Restoration prophecy under Ezekiel: the consolidation of Judaism as a purified people, with a religion of purified ceremonial as well as exemplary ethical requirements. (Ballou p. 982-991). With Ezekiel's work, and subsequently for all time, Israel's religion on the side of ritual and worship was purged of the base baalistic and polytheistic influences that had encumbered its earlier ceremonial. (Ballou p. 982-991).

The history of restoration Israel, however, which began when Cyrus the Great, Persian conqueror of Chaldea-Babylon (538 B. C.), permitted some of the Jewish leaders to return (c. 532 B. C.) to the old home site of Jerusalem, to rebuild life there on a semi-independent basis, was not totally inspired by the universalistic message of some of the earlier prophets. We note this trend toward a narrower nationalism and exclusiveness in such books as (at an earlier date) Naham; Obadiah; in some aspects of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; in a number of "imprecatory" Psalms; and in the apocalyptic books of vengeful spirit such as Joel, and numerous non-canonical apocalypses. (Ballou p. 835-852, 963-964).

Summary of the Prophetic Movement and Reformation

If we take the rise of the prophetic movement as the chief development of the first five-hundred years of Israel's history, we may note that it falls into three periods:

- (1) 10th - 9th centuries (c. 1000 B. C. to 800 B. C.). For the early "bands" of the prophets, or "Nebi'im", prophecy was largely a defense of the national life. Such earlier figures as Samuel (if we may call him a type of prophet), Nathan, Ahijah, Elijah, and Elisha were stirred by patriotism, or nationalism, in behalf of Hebrew supremacy, political, ethical, and religious.
- (2) 8th - 7th centuries (800 B. C. to 600 B. C.). For such figures as Amos, Hosea, I Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, prophecy was a ringing ethical criticism and warning to the national life, which had become rich, soft, and corrupt.

It is at this period that the Old Testament idea of "a prophet", or one who speaks out for Yahweh, took on its characteristic meaning of one who announces a moral warning. These prophets defined themselves as moral forth-tellers, that is, declarers of God's will about right and wrong. (Micah 3:8; Isaiah 1:16-20; Jeremiah 18:7-11; and in the next period Ezekiel 3:16f — Ballou 951D; 955-956).

A prophet is a foreteller, or one who "predicts" only in the general sense that he is acquainted with the operations of moral law as a cause-effect principle, which brings disaster if people break it, but tends to bring peace and happiness if they keep it.

They are not clairvoyants, who magically foresee distant, future events in detail. They have moral foresight, not occult foresight. Their moral foresight derives from their keen understanding of human nature, and the nature of God and His moral laws. (Compare Churchill's prediction of the Nazi conquest; one reporter predicted the Korean War some months prior to its outbreak). The prophets had foresight because they had insight viz. into the nature of man, God's highest and best will for man, and God's work in history through the instrumentality of men.

They "predict" so that their prediction may not come true! Isaiah 1:16-20 and Jer. 18:7-11: they warn of calamity and judgment as the sure result of personal and social sin, precisely in order to urge their generation to repent and change their ways, so that their prediction of judgment may not come to pass. If the moral purpose is fulfilled — that is to say, if change of heart and life on the part of the people is effected — that is sufficient. The prophet has accomplished his mission as one who warns the people.

- (3) From the 6th century (600 B. C. to 500 B. C.) to about the 4th century (400-300 B. C.) and following, prophecy was a "comfort" (II Isaiah, Chap. 40; Ballou p. 991), an encouragement and inspiration to a people whose national life as politically independent had been destroyed. We have previously noted the two trends that this theme took: toward universalism in II Isaiah (Chaps. 40-66) and the book of Jonah; toward restored nationalism in Ezekiel and his successors.
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Hebrew Prophecy in Relation to World History

The period from 750 B. C. to 350 B. C. was one of the most important 400 years in the history of human thought. The Prophetic movement in Israel was a part of a spiritual and ethical upheaval that embraced the whole of mankind.

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Greece</u>	<u>Persia</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>China</u>
8th cent:	Amos, Isaiah Hosea, Micah				
7th cent:	Jeremiah			Hindu sages	
6th cent:	II Isaiah(?)	Pre-Socratics (Thales, etc)	Zoroaster	Buddha	Confucius Lao-tzu
5th cent:		Socrates Plato			Mencius
4th cent:	Book of Jonah	Aristotle	Apocalyptic thought		
3rd cent:	Apocalyptic thought				
2nd cent:					

- (1) The parallel rise of other great "prophetic" or ethical movements inspired by religious insight gives more significance to the Hebrew development: in the eyes of faith, it suggests that the Divine Spirit was working commonly in all these cultures to bring mankind as a whole to a higher understanding of right and wrong and a deeper knowledge of Himself.
- (2) Perhaps the unique contribution of the Hebrew prophets was their successful correlation of ethics to religious personalism, that is to say, religion as based on the conception of the Ultimate as Personal, Loving Being. Though the non-Hebrew systems were strong on ethics, and many of them generally speaking, monistic philosophically; and though they tended toward ethical monotheism in their historical development (as for example certain trends in Hinduism and Buddhism), they were on the whole weak in their conception of God as ultimately Personal. (Zoroastrianism an exception, but too dualistic).

We should not, of course, press too far the analogy of the ancient Hebrew story of creation in Gen. 1 to modern evolutionary ideas. The Genesis account is written from the standpoint of ancient cosmography, e.g. with "waters" above and beneath a central and stationary earth, a fixed "firmament" of heaven above, etc. The point of the ancient author is not to tell how our world came to be, but by Whom, as a question of ultimate philosophic causality; and for what purpose. His answers were that the world has its origin in a Creative Intelligence, and exists as a good home for man, who is to have an important destiny. If there is "truth" in the creation story of Genesis it should be understood as a possible philosophic, moral, or religious truth.

- b. God in his ultimate Being, is not limited to phenomenal nature and her process. Thus we may say that the Hebrew conception of God is "non-pantheistic". "Pantheism" usually means the conception of God as the impersonal Whole of Nature, like the conceptions of the Ultimate that we found in Hinduism and Buddhism. In the Hebrew thought, however, although God is responsible for nature as creative power, He stands in His utmost being "transcendent" to her. To state it negatively, God would be, whether nature were here or not. God is the "author" of lower physical nature, although his "power" is manifest in it. He can, however, express Himself, and is present, in nature's higher levels, e.g. in the human mind on its moral side: in human conscience, in righteous conduct and just social relationships; and in historical process as a whole, where it comes to express true values. In these terms, God's Spirit is "immanent" (Ballou p. 942D-943C)

Ultimately, God is creative power, and moral truth, above man, human history, and physical nature. These levels are derived aspects of his power or being. (That God either ordains and sustains natural process, or law, by an immanence of "power" or an immanence of "being" -- Ballou 907, Ps. 104 -- is a philosophical problem that the Old Testament does not clarify).

- c. Accordingly, the Hebraic philosophy has a three-fold levels conceptions of the world, or being, or existence:

(1) God	These are interrelated levels with 2 and 3 derived planes of existence; the Hebrew philosophy has the conception of the derivative nature of man and the world. <u>Ballou 881, Ps. 8.</u> There is no hard dualism between the higher levels, God, or Man, and nature, as in Sankhya Hinduism.
(2) Man	
(3) Nature:- Animal Inanimate	

- d. Nature or natural process is good; the created world is not evil, as in the Indian systems, Ballou 641, Gen. 1.

Ballou 933, Song of Solomon

For example, the classic, wholesome Hebraic attitude toward sex is set forth in the Song of Solomon in the Old Testament (note, however, that this writing suggests the monogamous ideal for sex life).

3. How is God known or apprehended? The Old Testament suggests answers in outline to this question, without presenting full-dress philosophical dissertations on the subject. The elements, however, of the three classical types of "reasons" for belief in God are present in the Old Testament - These are not arguments of a logically abstract kind; they are rather dynamically affirmative declarations, representing what the Biblical authors believed to be profound experiences of God, as intellectual and emotional awareness.

a. The awareness of God through experience of nature: a mode of reasoning based on external or empirical observation of nature's "order", "perfection", "design" or "purpose", leading to the idea of its intelligent Cause, or Maker, Ballou 641, Gen. 1

Ballou 885, Ps. 19; 907, Ps. 104

In such passages we have the substance of the "casual" and "teleological" arguments for the existence of God. The following further reasons for belief in God are ascending or deepening modes of intellectual experience or perception.

b. The awareness of God through moral experience: a mode of reasoning based on the inner moral experience of awareness of values and conscience, suggesting moral "law", and Cosmic Moral Mind as Source or Ground of the law; with the added empirical observation that history seems to attest the presence of such law, in the fact that men and groups which do not practice neighborliness and love do not, in the long run, survive; or conversely and positively, when men collectively practice kindness and love, their society tends to survive. This is the argument for God as found in the prophets, i.e. implicit in the books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, etc.

Ballou 886, Second half of Ps. 19

942-943, Amos 5:4-14

949, Hosea 6:6

951, Micah 3:8

956, I Isaiah 1:18

Bible Deut. 30:11-14

Jer. 20:8-9; 22:13-10; 31:33

Is. 26:2, 2

Such is the substance of the classic "moral argument" for God.

c. Awareness of God through religious experience: derived from a sense of God's help to oneself personally in leading a moral and a well poised or triumphant life.

In discussing this area of the experience of God we are dealing with the Old Testament idea of salvation at its personal, psychological heart. (In a following section we discuss salvation again in somewhat more inclusive or generalized terms.) The Old Testament discloses two primary modes in which Divine Power personally is felt. We have the concept of religious experience:

(1) As beginning and continuing in a sense of moral well-being, sustained by God's presence. Such noted, joyful Psalms as Nos. 1, 15, 23, 24, 26, 100, 119, 121, 139, 141 suggest this

type of experience, Ballou 879, 882, 886, 888-89, 910, 915. This outlook is present in part also in such books, concerned with the inner life, as Hosea, Jeremiah, Job, and Ecclesiastes.

- (2) As beginning in a sense of moral self-dissatisfaction. Many of the Psalms suggest an experience of God as forgiving love in life, that relieves and renews conscience, when burdened with a sense of moral failure or sin; and that reintegrates, or re-establishes selfhood, in poise, inward security and well-being.

In sum, on such levels of experience, bearing on psychological and mental well-being, the sense of the Divine Reality is accompanied by a feeling of new assurance, a stabilizing sense of all-rightness with the loving Source of Being, regardless of past errors, failures or sins. Such experiences of mental and emotional renewal of the soul were acknowledged as the wondrous uplifting of the Divine Spirit. God's Presence was deeply known in the removal of anxiety and fear. The coming of a new mind, or release from anxiety, could not always be calculated, or scheduled. The Biblical authors realized that the Divine Spirit must work in and through the complexity of our freedom; they often said they had to wait "in patience" to find relief and renewal. In any case, such may be the meaning of many of the timeless lines of the Psalms and Prophets, such as, Ballou p. (888, Ps. 23); 889, Ps. 25; 895-97, Ps. 42, 46; 897-898, Ps. 51; 906-907, Ps. 103; (910, Ps. 121); 912, Ps. 130; (915, Ps. 139); 993A, II Isaiah 40:27-31. Add to these references in Ballou such others as Is. 26:3; or Ps. 40:1-5f; I Isaiah Ch. 6, Ballou, 957; II Isaiah Ch. 55, Ballou 995-996.

On either of these levels, such experiences, if true, would not mean that God, or the Divine Spirit, is an external, coercive force that destroys our freedom as men. Rather the implication of all such passages would be that God speaks as an inward voice of truth, which strengthens our freedom by giving it new insight and power. This inward working of the Divine does not detract from the belief that God is the objective source of truth and value, in ultimate Mind beyond the finite self.

4. God is the Lord of History: Its ultimate destiny is in His hands. God is present in historical process at two levels:
- a. In the major factors of creation or nature itself as the Hebrews came to understand it, that is, in individuality or personal life and its freedom (the "image of God" in man).
 - b. And in the realm of moral values and truth, of which men become increasingly aware through experience and reflection, and may embody in their personal and institutional life. (See discussion below on Evil and Salvation)

B. The Idea of Man

We have already suggested some of the Biblical idea of man. Let us summarize in the following way:

1. Man stands on an intermediate or derivative plane between God and nature. There is a creative Mind, above man's mind, upon whom man depends for his being, to whom he owes reverence and love, and whose righteous laws he must obey. The Greater Mind is disclosed to man's mind in the truth experience, particularly moral truth. The derivative nature of man seems a fundamental metaphysical truth that has important ethical consequences: because of God above him, man, or a man, cannot set himself up as the highest, or as god, and rule over other men, tyrannize and enslave them. Man, in his turn, is above, and lord of, nature; he stands on a higher plane of being than animals and the inanimate realm, Ballou 881, Ps. 8.

2. Man is created in the "image of God", Ballou 642, Gen. 1. What does this mean? In general, it means that man is a personal being like God, a spiritual being, the elements of which are:
 - a. That man is free. There is a height or self-transcendancy, a vertical dimension in his mental nature that puts him above and beyond determination merely by natural, material causality. Though he is in part a natural, determined being, there is an altitude of personal power that makes him truly free in the highest spark of his spiritual being; this enables him in a measure to determine his own course and destiny. He is not solely determined by his natural or physical environment. He knows this higher freedom intimately in the freedom of his thought within, i.e. in his freedom of mental deliberation, and in his freedom of will or action after deliberation.

 - b. That man is a "moral being" by virtue of this freedom; he is capable of moral discernment, of developing moral conscience and life; he is capable of moral growth, and is responsible for his acts.
 Ballou 644-6 Gen. 3
 987 Ez. 18
 Bible Jer. Ch. 31:29.

 - c. That man is a rational being; he is capable of higher intellectual life, of which his moral life is an aspect. He wants to know the reasons or causes of things -- a being of higher curiosity and intellect than the animals, Ballou 644-5, Gen. 1-3; 956B, Is. 1.

In sum, man is a being of rational moral freedom. Reason, moral discernment or conscience, and freedom are facets of the same unitary spirit. Reason is free: to think "rationally" is to think freely, or to search for the answers to problems. Furthermore, to think rationally is to search for the best answers: accordingly, man develops a sense of values as the fulfillment of his freely questing spirit, and his capacity as moral.

3. Man is a psychophysical unity (recall the Confucian idea). He is not a dualistic being "soul" vs. "body". Body is not evil inherently. Body is an expression or instrument of the higher controlling spirit, which animates it. Man's will unifies his nature; he is a unitary spirit, not a collection of psychic states as in original Buddhism. The Hebrews have essentially what in modern philosophy is sometimes called a "personalistic" conception of mind.
4. Being a free spirit, man can choose evil or "sin". The Hebrew definition of sin is evil disposition or malice, and may be expressed socially as aggression on neighbor, or disrespect for personality. Sin is not bodily passion, as with the dualistic systems; though body and passions may be the instruments of sinful pride. Ballou 664, Gen. 4, Cain and Abel.

At this point some further analysis of the idea of sin is necessary in order to avoid misconception of the Biblical meaning:

In acts of deliberate or conscious choosing of evil, man goes against his own higher rational, moral, or personal being as the image of God. Accordingly, the Biblical authors speak of sin as against God, as well as against neighbor. Another reason why sin has a "theological" dimension, as well as "social" dimension, is that the human neighbor against whom one may aggress, is God's highest work in creation. Therefore, such aggression would be against the very purpose and effort of God Himself.

In profoundest Hebraic thought, however, sin is not inevitable; it may be avoided in life, so that, on the whole, one may lead a life free from sinful pride and aggression. Many of the Psalms already cited, and other passages imply this. (Indeed, some passages in the Old Testament suggest that sexuality, or some other quality not defined, constitutes something originally "sinful" in human nature, as e.g. verse 5, of the famous penitential Psalm 51, Ballou 898. Such places, however, should be balanced with other sayings, particularly those of the great prophets, Jeremiah in Ch. 31:29-30, or Ezekial in Ch. 18, where the concept of "original sin", in the sense that there is something which inevitably determines us to sinful action, is ringingly repudiated). The point is, rather, that man should cultivate righteous intention or motive, which will guide him in "paths of righteousness". Such great Psalms as the 1st, or the 19th, or the 23rd, and many others, proclaim this possibility.

We have already mentioned, in our discussion of religious experience, how man may rely on the Divine Spirit for help and sustaining strength, to lead the moral life; and on the Divine Love, for forgiveness and grace when he falters or fails.

Further, the Biblical concept of pride in its relation to sin must be clarified. The Old Testament does indeed recognize our common, or "natural", human tendency toward inordinate pride, in its various ranges: pride of power, of wealth, of position, of class, even of intellect and spirit, that is to say, "prideful" attitudes which tend toward selfishness and unloving relationship with others. Such pride may lead to situations of sinful aggression. In sum, the Hebrew Scriptures point to our common moral sloth, our failure to understand human need, and to express or respond to

love. In view of this tendency, it urges men to seek the Divine help to overcome these weaknesses. But the Old Testament does not mean, as it is sometimes misinterpreted, that all "pride" is sinful. There is a natural pride, which is not sinful, but psychologically necessary, as normal self-esteem, or self-respect, expressing our very nature as sacred persons under God. Everywhere, both Old and New Testaments teach this sacredness of one's own person, which is source and seat of "normal" or "normative pride".

Likewise, when the Old, or the New Testaments, refer to "repentance" as a desirable and necessary moral quality, they do not mean that persons need have, or must develop, a hyper or morbid sense of self-dissatisfaction, or consider themselves gross sinners or criminals in some way, before they may be recipients of the Divine love, grace, or favor; or before they can otherwise "know" or "have experience" of God's presence in life. In addition to contrition for possible gross sin, such as the "blood guiltiness" or crime alluded to in Psalm 51, "repentance" may stand for the general psychological value of being willing to acknowledge our mistakes and shortcomings. It means "to think again", that is, to examine ourselves, and be prepared to acknowledge ways in which we might improve. There could be no psychological or moral growth or any kind without such normal "repentance" as a natural part of our spiritual experience. To experience repentance need not mean that we must look around within ourselves in order to bring to light some imaginary dark, or gross evil, which we must get rid of. It may mean sometimes, of course, that human beings should feel sorry or contrite for injury done, so that the breaches of fellowship between men and neighbors may be healed, and the full moral will of God realized in, and between, persons.

5. Man is a religious being: he may seek fellowship with God; God's love and forgiveness are available to man, as is God's help and strength to live the moral life. (See preceding discussion on the "religious argument" for God).

Hebrew mysticism was a moral mysticism. The idea of man's possible oneness with God meant identification of moral will and purpose, with God and fellowmen in ethical fellowship, rather than the identification of man's "being" in toto, and loss of his personal nature, in the Divine Being. God speaks to man, and is present in or to human life through moral conscience. The life of God and the life of man overlap in the common experience of Moral Truth. Ballou, 942-3; Jer. 22:11-16.

Religion, in its universal, psychological meaning, may be defined as devotion to whatever is regarded as supreme in value. Using this definition for the moment, the idea of man as a religious being in the classic Old Testament may be summarized in the following way. Over and above any other object or good, the Hebrews came to realize that the supreme values are persons themselves. There is something in individuality or personality as such that suggested to them what is highest in "meaning" or value, and also probably deepest in being. They recognized that persons are the superior order of reality and value. At the apex of this scheme of the supreme evaluation of persons, which may give to it its truth and power, the Hebrews believed they sensed a personal source of existence as such, or a trans-human, but personal Divine Reality. He is the fountain of the humane values

considered necessary, if human life is to live on the highest personal, political, and cultural plane. It is, therefore, honor and reverence to Him, best expressed in our respect for, and help of our human neighbor in his person, as God's supreme creative expression, that defines religion for the classic Hebrew mind, Ballou 954, 943, 949, 995.

C. The Idea of Right and Wrong

1. The universe is fundamentally a place of moral process or law (compare the other religions studied),
 Ballou 713 Ten Commandments (center of the meaning of Torah)
 941f Amos
 955 Is. 1:18
2. Respect for persons is the basic moral law: the sum of the Ten Commandments of Moses. Respect for persons is put in most positive way as love by Hosea, Ballou 945, (Heb. chesed: "steadfast love", or "mercy".)
3. Sin is aggression on other life, or disrespect for personality. This ethical definition of sin is implied in the Cain and Abel story, Ballou 646. The "theological" meaning of sin is understood in its ethical meaning: sin against personality is sin against God as the author of personal being -- sin against God is disrespect for the Divine Source and Ground of personal being in God; fundamentally expressed in God's major created work, one's human brother. (See previous discussion of sin).
4. Moral law has its source in God's personal will. What does this mean? To respect persons respects God's highest work in creation; therefore, when we love our neighbor we do, or express, God's highest will. This is what the Hebrews meant by God's will as highest ethical standard. Ballou 886, 954.
5. Moral law or truth has a human locus too: in man's mind and heart, when he finds it there, or lets God disclose it to him in his deeper moral reason or conscience, Deut. 30:11-14 Ps. 40:8
 Jer. Ch. 31:33 Jer. 22:16
 Is. 1:18, Ballou 956
6. Moral law governs history and life: nations that break the law of love will perish, in the long run; those that keep it will tend to survive. This is the over-all teaching of the great 8th and 7th century prophets, and states for them the fundamental law of history.
7. Note the significant, concrete expression of moral law in the personal and social ethics advocated by these prophets. They were against slavery and oppression; were for democracy and the rights of man; they insisted upon integrity in the administration of justice in courts of law, in economic and commercial dealings; they emphasized watchcare of the poor and needy in the community; they proclaimed a high, monogamous sex ethics, Ballou 713f. (Ex. 221f, Ballou 715)

D. The Idea of Evil and Salvation from Evil

1. Historic, social, human or man-caused evil, or sin (Man's inhumanity to man):

- a. God deals with this level of evil through moral law working in history as judgment. Human sin is thwarted by historical judgment and punishment. The message of Amos and the other great prophets formulated the inevitable outwork of moral law (we might call it today an over-all statistical average): according to the prophets men and nations that are corrupt perish; those that are kind and just survive.

Through moral law working in history and men's lives as love and forgiveness, when men repent. This would vouch safe the positive side of the working of historical law just stated, that men and nations which are kind and just on the whole tend to survive. Ballou 968-9, Der. 18.

- b. God works in life and history at the core of things through righteous persons, Ballou 959; Bible, Is. 32:1f. The saving effect of righteous personality is the root idea of the Messiah in the Old Testament. In Isaiah Ch. 53 the teaching is that love must turn suffering to good account; this is the ultimate positive way that God deals with suffering -- it may have a redemptive or saving role (compare the Buddhist idea of suffering).
- c. Through righteous social order or organization, Ballou 713f: The Ten Commandments and early laws of Israel. II Sam. 5:1f: sets forth the idea of "limited", or "constitutional monarchy". We find the idea of international law and world government in Isaiah and Micah, Ballou 952, 959. (Recall point 7 under idea of right and wrong).

At this place we might well summarize the Hebraic philosophy of history. History is "progressive", developmental, or linear. History for the prophets was like an arrow, rather than a circle (contrast Hindu and Greek cyclical conceptions of history). In spite of sin, historical evil, and reverses, man's history was moving toward a wonderful consummation. Apparently more optimistic about human social forces themselves, and the effect that God's spirit of justice and love would have in moving in them, some of the prophets thought this event would take place within historical time, and defined it as a Golden Age of universal, peace, prosperity, justice, and international law, under the inspired leadership of Israel and her ethical religion, Ballou 952, 959. The apocalyptic prophets, on the other hand, who were more pessimistic about the possibility of a happy outcome within history itself, looked for the consummation beyond historical time, in a transcendent or heavenly future, established by a direct, supernatural intervention of God.

2. Natural or physical evil, i.e. pain and disease: this is the special problem with which the Book of Job wrestles. Job repudiates the idea that disease is a divine judgment for sin, as did Jesus at a later time. Job hints at the scientific idea of the reign of natural law as the largest solution to the problem of evil, Job Ch. 38, Ballou 874f. Job questions the over-all teaching of the prophets that righteousness inevitably brings

health and prosperity, and wickedness calamity; for what about righteous individuals who suffer? The prophetic teaching about historical retribution may work for human life as a whole, considering men and human groups in the mass, as a kind of statistical average.

The deeper problem, however, of righteous individuals who suffer is considered by the Book of Job in the above way, and by the II Isaiah in Ch. 53. The latter sets forth the idea, as we have already noted, that through suffering, love and service salvation and betterment may ultimately come. In Isaiah and Job the Hebrews escape the utterly pessimistic conception of suffering of Hinduism and Buddhism, suggesting a theory of suffering in conformity with their optimistic view of life and existence in general.

Summary: The OT Idea of Salvation

By this time you are aware that there are two major streams of thought in the Old Testament that bear upon this theme: the priestly and the prophetic. The former concerned sacrifices and man's ceremonial duties; the latter man's ethical duties. Though they are sometimes rival forces, they are not, in the final development, entirely exclusive. On the one hand, we have seen how the highest prophetic insight utilizes the concept of "sacrifice" by turning it to profoundest ethical account in Isaiah 53. On the other, the Old Testament ceremonial-sacrificial tradition, in its later development, as revealed in many of the Psalms, expresses the characteristic Hebrew concept of salvation as ethical communion or fellowship with God.

Fosdick points out that we may trace the lift of the sacrificial-ceremonial tradition, toward the advanced spiritual or inward meaning of personal fellowship with God, in the major fact that "after the final destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, Jewish rabbis began teaching prayer as a substitute for the old offerings... (Ps. 141:2)" (GUB 205). * This development in the priestly tradition reveals the influence of the prophetic movement upon it. Fosdick continues, "the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, for example, represent the passionate devotion of the post-Exilic community, rebuilding the holy city and temple and restoring the sacrifices... 'Remember me, O my God, for good' (Neh. 13:31). Clearly, to men like this the sacrificial system was not a substitute for the interior practise of God's presence but rather the 'outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace'... It is in the Psalter, however, that the development of personal prayer within the sacrificial system is most convincingly made evident", as Psalms 27, 42, 43, and 66 bear our (GUB 218-20). *

On the negative side, salvation in all religious systems has meant escape, and attainment of ultimate security and peace, from evil of some kind or degree. On the positive side salvation has meant the process by which men come to stand within the divine favor or security. What constitutes "the divine favor" is defined differently at different historic levels of the Old Testament, according to varying conceptions of God's nature and requirements. In the highest reaches of Old Testament thought, salvation, or the state of standing in the divine favor and security, is defined as personal, ethical fellowship with men and God. We are now prepared to analyze this development more fully.

* Guide to Understanding the Bible, Harper, 1938.

In largest Hebraic understanding, the ultimate Good, to or for which men are saved, is the fulfillment of personal life, for oneself and others. Personal life is not to be denied or annihilated, as in Hinduism and Buddhism. "...Salvation...for [eastern] mystical religion is a union of substance in which the personal self is lost; for [Hebraic] prophetic religion it is a fellowship of persons in which the real self is achieved" (Harris Franklin Rall, Christianity 64-65). This concept of the ultimate good has as its background the Hebraic optimism about the finite material creation. The first chapter of Genesis declares that the world and man were created good and were intended for good. Finite personal being or existence is regarded favorably in the Hebraic view (in contrast to the Hindu and Buddhist), because all existence has its source in Ultimate Personality or an ultimate Person, God. The love of God that comes before all other love is recognition of the cosmic status and worth of personality. The fulfillment of personal life for the finite person would be fellowship with the Ultimate Person, as the ground and source of his being. But the sign by which we profess our knowledge and love of God, is the knowledge and love of our neighbor, concern for men as God's highest creative work, the expressions of his very being nearest at hand. Personal fulfillment in fellowship has an earthly realization in our social and historical relationships; and ultimately it has a heavenly and immortal consummation, according to Biblical thought.

The primary evil from which we are saved is ethical, rather than physical or metaphysical. (We have seen how the Hebrews dealt with the problem of physical evil, or pain, in Job). The evil from which we must be saved would be those inordinate forms of pride that would lead to sins of aggression and injustice. Man may fall into sin through temptation to use his higher spiritual capacities of freedom and reason for entirely selfish purposes.

According to the highest thought of the Old Testament, however, sin is not pre-determined or inevitable (Ez. Ch. 18); men may live, or come to live, prevailingly in freedom from sin; and salvation may be expressed in terms of initial and continuing sense of moral-well-being, as God's spirit may inspire and sustain the moral life.

This Old Testament doctrine of salvation in its most positive possibility, as freedom from sin, or relative sinlessness, as a legitimate practical ideal, does not mean, of course, that human beings, in their finitude, or limitation of judgment, experience, moral perception or moral will, do not sometimes fail in duty, or upon occasion blunder, to realize that action has been less than "perfectly ideal". A life is "justified", in the Biblical doctrine, if it is characteristically free from evil or hurtful intention, free from inordinate ranges of pride, and makes continuing effort to live "righteously", that is, humanely and justly, and in integrity.

When men do sin, however, salvation takes place through repentance and inward cleansing, the sacrifices of a loving and yielding heart, and is assured or guaranteed by the ethical nature of God as forgiving love. Thus, in most inclusive sense for the Hebrews, salvation is a fellowship of persons -- it is ethical and personal union or communion. It is love. The "salvation" which the Hebraic mind experienced was indeed "mystical" and "rapturous", but it was the mysticism and rapture of communion: with God and fellow creature. Love and compassion are the dominating emotional and intellectual characteristics of this salvation. In Hebraic thought, moral oneness with God constitutes

ultimate assurance of the divine favor or security -- a union of motives, purposes, and acts of will. The most intense expressions of this concept of salvation as ethical fellowship with God are found in the prayers of Jeremiah and in portions of the Psalms.

The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?
 The Lord is the stronghold of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?
 Ps. 27:1

Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord:
 And who shall stand in his holy place?
 He who has clean hands and a pure heart,
 who does not lift up his soul to what is false,
 and does not swear deceitfully.
 He will receive blessing from the Lord
 and vindication from the God of his salvation. Ps. 24:2-5

The Law of the Lord is perfect, reviving the soul;
 the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple;
 the precepts of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart;
 the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes;
 in keeping them there is great reward.
 Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
 let them not have dominion over me!
 Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression.
 Ps. 19:7-13.

He judged the cause of the poor and needy;...
 Is not this to know me? says the Lord. Jer. 22:16

Contemporary JudaismIII. Beginnings of Judaism: Exilic and Post Exilic Periods

At this point our study returns to where we left our discussion of major historical developments on page 90 and 91. Note again the paragraph on page 90 which referred to "Restoration prophecy under Ezekiel".

The classic Exile of the Jews to the city of Babylon, capital of the Chaldeans, is defined by the dates 586 to 532 B.C. Two important Biblical writings come from this period, those of "Second Isaiah" (principally Chapters 40 and 55 of our present book of Isaiah), and those of Ezekiel. We have already discussed the outlook of "Second Isaiah" (page 90), an unknown author, who many Biblical scholars believe wrote sometime in the latter half of the Exile period, possibly as a resident of Babylon. Somewhat earlier in the 6th century, Ezekiel formulated his plan for a restored Jewish nation. Much of Ezekiel's book seems to have been written during the time of the captivity, though some of it refers to the period prior to Nebuchadnezzar's final invasion of Judah in 587 B.C. From Ezekiel's time forward, except for the Maccabean period, the principal fact on the international scene was the continual subjection of the Jews to foreign overlords (recall the earlier destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in 721 B.C.):

Chaldeans	586-538 B.C.
Persians	538-334 B.C.
Greek and Hellenistic rulers	334-166 B.C.
(Maccabees)	166-63 B.C.)
Romans	63 B.C.-135 A.D., when Jerusalem was destroyed in reaction to Bar Kokba revolt.

1. Ezekiel: looked forward to a restoration of national life in Jerusalem, with restored Temple and purified worship; emphasized stricter observance of ceremony and ritual. (Ezekiel, Chapters 8, 20, 36, 43-46)

In 532 B.C., Cyrus the Great, Persian king, who had conquered the Chaldean power in 538, and inherited its empire, permitted a Jewish party under Zerubbabel to return from Babylon in order to restore the Temple and rebuild Jerusalem (Ezra, Chapters 1 and 2). In the middle of the next century, during the reign of the Persian monarch, Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.), Ezra and Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem to continue the restoration program attempted earlier by Zerubbabel.

2. Ezra and Nehemiah: These 5th century Jewish pioneers were evidently inspired by the ideas of Ezekiel, as revealed in their emphasis on an exclusive community, on ceremonial purity in strict keeping of the feasts and ritual observances, and on a theocratic or priestly organized state (Ezra 7:1-10; Nehemiah chs. 8, 10; Ballou 835-36, 839-40, 842-43. The numerous references in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah to the Law or Torah, which these leaders stressed as hereafter to be the authoritative standard for faith, conduct, and ceremonial observance, probably meant the Levitical, or Holiness code enshrined in the book of Leviticus, Chapters 17 to 26. Pious editors, thinking and writing in the priestly tradition in Israel, had long since been at work compiling such material.

At the time of the restoration, Israel's leaders believed that the only way the Jewish people could be returned to a position of influence in the world was for the nation to become a churchly community, whose ritual purity and ethical beliefs would be an example (Ezekiel) to the world. Was this, after all, the practical, institutional way the Jewish community could fulfill the missionary ideal of II Isaiah? In any case, Ezekiel's plan of a priestly or theocratic state prevailed, until the Romans destroyed the Temple in 70 A.D. (Through the eyes of early Christian criticism we get a glimpse of this priestly religion centering in Temple worship and animal sacrifice, in the Gospels of the New Testament). The emphases were: priestly authority, and law or Torah strictly observed in terms of ritual and ethical prescriptions.

3. The Pharisees: arose in late old testament times as a party; stressed observance of the Mosaic Law; understood religion to be a union of ethical righteousness and ritual formality.

Some of the Pharisees took to an extreme the concept of religion as performance of minute and numerous ritualistic duties. It was such groups that came under the criticism of Jesus and the New Testament authors. Other ancient Pharisees, and numerous former and modern Rabbinic scholars, while acknowledging the role of ritual in Jewish life and faith, have emphasized the ethical side of religion as primarily characteristic of Jewish piety. In the New Testament period the school of Hillel was the more liberal group of Pharisees; that of Shammai the more conservative or strict.

4. The Diaspora or Dispersion. After the Chaldean conquest of 587 B.C., the inhabitants of Jerusalem found life to be precarious indeed. They were never again permanently independent or economically secure. The exile of the Jewish leaders to Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar in the 6th Century grew in succeeding periods into a general exodus or dispersion of Jewish emigrants from the old home site in Judah. Jewish life was expelled by political catastrophe, and pulled by economic necessity, out upon the gentile cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Many descendants of the original captives remained in Babylon and Mesopotamia; others migrated to Egypt and Alexandria; to the islands of the sea; to the cities of Greece, and to Rome.

5. Rise of Synagogue system: churches or places of worship in cities of the diaspora; to take the place of the Temple and sacrificial worship after 70 A.D.

6. The Old Testament writings were completed between 500 and 100 B.C.
Editing and compiling of:

The historical narratives---

The legal literature---

The prophetic books---

The wisdom literature and Psalms.

In 90 A.D. a council of Rabbis at the city of Jamnia, on the coast of Palestine, fixed the canon of the Old Testament virtually as we now have it.

See p 131-134 for further discussion of the Pharisees including Kaufman Kohler's article from The Jewish Encyclopedia

(originating in pre and post exilic times)

- Between the 2nd and 5th centuries for these ages the Rabbinic were busy with an oral interpretation (Mishna and Gemara, canonized 2nd and 5th centuries A.D. respectively), existing side by side with the written text of the Torah, which helped to interpret the 108. text. For example the law of lex talionis was construed as monetary money substitution -- a process begun in late OT times.*
7. Growth of the Talmud: commentaries on OT and the Law. Jerusalem and Babylonian versions; finished respectively 4th and 5th centuries A.D. In Jewish eyes, almost equal to the Old Testament itself, the Talmud has remained a commanding source of authority and inspiration for Jewish piety and culture.

Medieval and Modern Developments

Post-Biblical and Medieval Judaism: period of formation of Jewish "Orthodoxy".

1. OT Canon fixed by 2nd century A.D. --- ~~literally interpreted~~. Talmud completed *by 5th century*.
2. Informal, nature of Synagogue worship.
 - a. Prayers take place of sacrifice.
 - b. Lay readers take place of priesthood.
 - c. Emphasis on social life and moral conduct, with continuation of traditional ceremonial, such as circumcision, Passover, and other feasts. Although Temple worship, animal sacrifice, and official priesthood were absent in the synagogue system, it realized a significant portion of Ezekiel's ideal and program in retaining and emphasizing the ethical side of Torah and much of the Law's ritual prescription. Stressing a religion of ethics, inner spirit and prayer, as flowing through one side of Ezekiel's thought, the synagogue gave important expression to the message of the 8th and 7th century prophets from Amos to Jeremiah.
3. Heightening of Jewish religious and racial consciousness as everywhere a minority group on defensive against Christianity and Islam (though Jews better off in Islamic countries). Ghetto life.
4. Main medieval intellectual trends:
 - a. Jewish Scholasticism or philosophy: Moses Maimonides, 1135-1204: great Aristotelian Scholar.
 - b. Kabbala: magic, occultism.
 - c. Hassidism or Chassidism: pietistic, mystic, purist (back to Scripture) revolt against Talmudic authority. "Hasid" meant pious. The modern phase of the movement was founded by Israel of Moldavia in 18th century Poland, but its ideas go back to 12th and 13th century Germany.

Judaism from the 18th Century to Present

1. Continuing of historic orthodoxy: Orthodox Judaism
2. Emancipation or modernization movement under Moses Mendelssohn 1729-86 in Germany. Hope of freedom of Jews culturally, ethnically. Hope of acceptance

by Gentile culture as effect of modern philosophic liberal enlightenment and scientific outlook.

This ideal has tended to fail, since Gentile civilization has not received the Jews in every way that the earlier "emancipators" hoped, e.g., to speak of Gentile opposition on its worst side, Russian programs under the Czars, Hitler's massacres, anti-Semitism in the U.S. and elsewhere. But "modernization" has achieved success in other ways, for example in: --

3. Contemporary liberalization movements within Judaism; these take two forms:
 - a. Reform Judaism: most modernistic or radical. Abraham Geiger 1810-1874. Acceptance of modern critical scientific outlook. Complete reformation and modernization of customs and theology.
 - b. Conservative Judaism: a middle way between Orthodox and Reform Judaism. Solomon Schechter 1850-1915.

4. Zionism: may have three expressions or meanings: --
 - a. Nationalistic: resettlement in historic home of Palestine. Theodore Herzl 1860-1904.
 - b. Religious: special religious mission or message to world in spirit of II Isaiah.
 - c. Cultural Zionism: Jewish people to maintain distinctive cultural characteristics, thereby making unique cultural contribution to modern world.

IV. Modern Judaism -- The Three Philosophies

Common Features of all Jewish groups:

1. A way of life, a culture, rather than a creedal system. No creed except Shema: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One", Deut. 6:4-9 (Ballou, p. 743)
2. General authority of certain scriptures:
 - a. Religious and ethical principles of the Torah, which means in general the OT. More specifically it means the Pentateuch, or Word of God as given to Moses in the first five books of the OT.
 - b. Talmud as common laws of Jewish ethical discipline.
3. All three groups friendly -- no sectarian schism.
4. No synod or hierarchical organization, or central church authority or government. Each congregation autonomous: the synagogue -- most ancient

democratic form of church government. Organized like Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Quakers in Christianity.

(Acknowledging the many degrees of opinion which exist among Jewish people individually relative to their religious philosophy, the following sketch does not presume to analyze all shades of difference. Rather what is suggested is the general outlook of each group as to what appears to the present analyst to be its distinctive intellectual values)

1. Orthodox Judaism: as to general outlook carries on the ancient traditions, the old Jewish forms of life, litany, dietary practices; literal interpretation of the Torah. Traditionally its theological tenets have followed the famous thirteen dogmas of Maimonides (1135-1204 A.D.):

God's existence.
 His unity,
 His incorporeality.
 His timelessness.
 Approachable in prayer.
 Belief in prophecy -- that God sends prophets.
 Superiority of Moses to all other prophets.
 Revelation of the Law of Moses in the Pentateuch.
 Immutability of the Law.
 Divine Providence.
 Divine Justice.
 Coming of a personal Messiah.
 Resurrection and human immortality.

For traditional orthodoxy Judaism has meant a specially chosen people of God (with its beliefs and practices) which by its example upholds the ancient prescriptions of the Mosaic Law in all possible detail as the ideal before all peoples. Accordingly, the Sabbath, the ancient festivals, and the dietary laws are strictly kept, and effort is made to avoid all prescribed defilement.

*as basis of
 interpretation
 - Rabbi M.*

In strictest sense, Torah or Law has traditionally meant the Pentateuch of the Old Testament (the first five books), which is believed to have been given by Moses on Sinai, to be supernaturally revealed, and to require literal interpretation. In wider sense, Torah has meant all teaching which is regarded as authoritative, both oral and written. With the tendency to think of revelation as now closed, change has been difficult in Orthodox Judaism. Where change has occurred it has been defined as "interpretation" rather than alteration or abrogation of the law.¹

Traditionally, Orthodox Judaism has looked for a personal Messiah, and has interpreted the messianic age as one of peace and brotherhood, to be realized on earth in historical time.² It favors a Zionest movement in Palestine only to the extent that traditional Judaism may become dominant there.³

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1. Rabbi Bernard Harrison, "Judaism", in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1948, p. 27-28
 2. Ibid p. 25, 28
 3. Ibid p. 27

Orthodox Jews claim some 2 million adherents in the United States.

Speaking of the difficulty of changing the law to meet new conditions, a Jewish analyst writes, "In truth it appears that only Moses can change the law of Moses. The difficulty is that no one recognizes a Moses--and so changes are not effected."¹ The resulting problem for Orthodoxy has been that of holding the younger generation, seeking some resolution of the inconsistencies between modern problems and thought and the ancient law. For example, Orthodox males should not touch a razor to the face. Is, however, the use of an electric razor proper, since, of course, no prohibition of this is found in the ancient law? The inconsistency between modern necessities and some ancient custom has led many of the younger group "either to a complete break with all observances or to a transfer to the other wings of Judaism."²

Characteristic of the following, more "liberal" forms of Judaism is the willingness to change, or to accept as principle, the validity of reinterpretation of the Law. Indeed the authority of the Pentateuch itself is sometimes cited for the right to believe that the law need not be rigidly fixed. In Deut. 17: 8-11 permission is given the "priests" and the "judges", "in those days" of the future, to decide cases for which there is no precedent, thus underscoring on Biblical grounds the belief that Judaism contains a philosophy of progressive interpretation adequate to meet the needs of developing civilization.

2. Reform Judaism: a thorough-going modern, rational approach to religion emphasizing extensive reform in thought and practice, by reinterpretation of the Law in light of modern knowledge and problems; stresses liberal, personalistic theological and humanitarian beliefs:

Personal God.

Freedom of man; man's dignity as a person: respect for persons as basic moral law.

Possibility of prayer.

Sin and evil are real and constitute a problem.

Immortality.

OT prophets, especially 8th-6th century B.C., in addition to Moses, are the basis of theology and ethics--hence a strongly social conscience.

For this group, Judaism, in its central philosophical significance appears to mean the ethical and theological teachings of the great 8th to 6th century B.C. prophets, from Amos to II Isaiah. "It is upon Prophetic teaching that Reform Judaism lays its stress."³ Originally for the Reform group, Judaism was more an ethic and a general theological outlook than a race, culture, cult, or creed. However, though it may still be said that their "emphasis is on conduct rather than a creed",⁴ in recent years, Reform Judaism has reemphasized (as in the Columbus Platform 1937) that "Judaism is the historical religious experience of the Jewish people".

1. Rabbi Bernard Harrison, "Judaism", in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1948. p. 28

2. Ibid p. 28

3. Rabbi Louis I. Newman, "Reform Judaism" in Religion in the Twentieth Century, ed. Fern, Philosophical Library 1948, p. 320

4. B. P. Church, A Faith for You, Rinehart & Co. p. 125

Inspired by the words of the Talmud that "the righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come", Reform Jews have a universal or inclusive conception of religion. "We believe with Lessing in Nathan the Wise, that any religion which leads its adherents to the good life is a true religion."¹ Though making no special proselytizing emphasis, but reflecting the spirit of II Isaiah, Israel's inspiring mission is to be a people chosen to responsibility rather than to privilege: "Because God revealed himself to them, they are chosen to lead the world into ways of truth and righteousness."²

With its fountain source in Moses and the prophets, revelation has a continued expression in the progressive, intellectual, spiritual, and moral development of the human race. Revelation is not closed, but is still open through all channels of human reason where truth is discovered; revelation is present in the advance of natural science and philosophy, and in humane ethical thought and social practice. The concept of progressive revelation is movingly expressed in a prayer found in The Union Prayer Book: "O Lord, open our eyes that we may see and welcome all truth, whether shining from the annals of ancient revelations, or reaching us through the seers of our own time; for Thou hidest not Thy light from any generation of Thy children that yearn for Thee and seek Thy guidance"³

Central to its concept of revelation would be Torah. Torah, however, is defined as "reason over tradition", and rather than a single deposit of supernatural disclosure to Moses on Sinai, it is "a record of the Spiritual insights of generations of Jews."⁴ Reform Judaism is "built upon the concept of Torah or Jewish religious culture or religious 'civilization'.⁵

Reform Judaism has a humanistic or generalized conception of the "Messiah": Mankind as a whole may be, or come to be, the "anointed", -- i.e. the new righteous humanity to come in the future will be "Messiah". "Reform Judaism interprets the Messianic ideal, not in terms of a person or a group of persons; it speaks rather of a Messianic Age with Israel as the Priest People and Humanity as its own Messiah".⁶ Reform Jews have not agreed among themselves over the Zionest issue; accordingly, adherence to Palestinean Zionism is left as a matter of individual conscience. This body of Jews have some 800,000 adherents in the United States.

Prof. Horace L. Friess and Herbert W. Schneider have summarized Reformed Judaism in the following terms: "In many ways Reform Judaism resembles Deism or liberal Protestantism more than it does the orthodox Judaism of the synagogue. Recently, however, there has been a tendency to shift from the rationalistic and cosmopolitan ground of the founders toward a more mystical theology and toward an appreciation of the Hebrew renaissance now taking form"⁷. Disillusioned with 19th century emancipation ideals, many modern Jews have come to feel that they can "emancipate" themselves in a more realistic sense by making a distinctive cultural contribution to the world. This can be done by maintaining their communal life as Jews, while at the same time accepting the good

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1. Louis I. Newman, "Reform Judaism" in Religion in the Twentieth Century, ed. Fern, Philosophical Library 1948, p. 319
 2. B. P. Church, A Faith for You, Rinehart & Co. p. 125
 3. Published by The Central Conference of American Rabbis, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1930, 1945.
 4. Harrison, op. cit. p. 29
 5. Louis I. Newman, op. cit. p. 319
 6. Ibid p. 319
 7. Religion in Various Cultures, Henry Holt & Co. p. 295

features of modern, scientific culture. Conservative Jews adopt this outlook as the best vision for Judaism.

3. Conservative Judaism (sometimes called Neo-orthodox Judaism): acknowledges the need for moderate reform, by accepting the facts of modern science and progress. This type of Judaism, however, desires to retain all hallowed Jewish practices. It seeks to keep the prescriptions of Torah in modified form, consonant with modern life. The watchword seems to be, keep "reform" Jewish -- do not reform to the point where Judaism is in danger of obliteration. On the ceremonial side of religion, as a kind of modernized orthodoxy, it protests against the excesses of Reform Judaism, though on the philosophical and theological side, like Reform, it accepts the modernist, rational approach as its predominant outlook.¹

Remnescent of Orthodoxy, Conservative Jews have a stronger sense of the significance of Judaism or Israel, than did early Reform. Without equivocation, "Judaism" means, not just abstract ethical doctrine, but a distinctive civilization. Conservative Judaism blends the cohesive, social and historical outlook of Orthodox Judaism with the theological outlook of Reform Judaism. A representative of Conservative Judaism writes: "Judaism, being more than a system of abstract universal ethical data, but an all-embracing comprehensive way of life, should seek to express itself in all forms of literature and art and communal organization, as well as Festivals, Sabbaths, Holy Days, daily ritual and synagogue."² Without implications of exclusiveness, the mission of Israel is defined in a way similar to Reform. It is hoped that Israel's righteous example will lead all men to God, though the non-Jew need not become a convert to Judaism. The non-Jew may find salvation by living according to the "laws of elementary decency and righteousness."³

By revelation and "Torah" Conservative Judaism does not mean supernatural disclosure, but, like Reform it means moral, rational, and spiritual insight.⁴ Torah means the special insight of the progressive intellectual, spiritual, and moral development distinctively of Israel.⁵ Torah includes Bible, Talmud, codes, and Responsa, the ceremonial laws and the ethical teaching, and "is binding, and its sanctity assured, not so much because it was revealed on Sinai, but because it found expression in Jewish life through thousands of years" and "embodies the historical experiences of the people of Israel."⁶ Robert Gordis in Conservative Judaism writes: "Our goal is loyalty to an evolving law, which is the will of God as revealed through the experience of Israel."⁷

This branch of Judaism rejects the traditional Orthodox concept of the Messiah, though in the conservative prayer book references to the Messiah

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1. Jewish interpreters recognize a "right", a "left" (the Reconstructionists), and a larger "centrist group" within Conservative Judaism, Bernard Harrison, op. cit. p. 31, note 32.
 2. Simon Greenberg, "Conservative Judaism" in Religion in the Twentieth Century, op. cit. p. 327, 325
See also Bernard Harrison, op. cit. p. 32
 3. Harrison, op. cit. p. 32
 4. Ibid p. 31-32
 5. Ibid p. 32
 6. Ibid
 7. Behrman House Inc., 1945, New York p. 77, quoted by Harrison op. cit. p. 32

Messiah are retained as a symbol.¹ Its concept of Messiah parallels that of Reform Judaism, described above. (With, however, the emphasis that Conservative Jews place on their historic social continuity, does Messiah mean to them the special role that Israel, as God's Messianic "Servant", people, or nation, are destined to play in the conversion of the Gentiles to ethical monotheism, as in the thought of Second Isaiah? If so, their concept of Messiah would lie somewhere between traditional Orthodoxy and Reform views, which stresses a more generalized, humanistic interpretation).

Zionism recruits much strength from Conservative Judaism. "With its strong sense of tradition and its emphasis on religious nationalism, the support of Zionism comes naturally to Conservative Judaism".² Conservative Jews believe that the Diaspora--the Jews living in the world at large--need a political center of life in Jerusalem,³ somewhat as the world-wide Roman Catholic Church needs Rome and the Papacy.

Conservative Jews number approximately 800,000 followers in the United States.

Summarizing Zionism, Profs. Friess and Schneider write: "Zionism is the contemporary and on the whole secular expression of the ancient Messianic hope in its nationalistic form, given impetus by the prevailing nationalism of recent times and by the revival of anti-Semitism, which gave pause to post-Emancipation enthusiasm."⁴

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1. Harrison op. cit. p. 31.
 2. Harrison op. cit. p. 33.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Religion in Various Cultures, op. cit. p. 296.

V. Major Aspects of Jewish Ceremonial: A Sketch

The Blessings, Synagogue, and Sabbath

"The fundamental concept of the Jewish ceremonial system is that God continually reveals Himself in nature, in history, and in man's daily life. Each ceremony seeks to emphasize some aspect of this Divine revelation, and thus becomes a special means for communion between man and God. By stressing the common dependence of all men on God, ceremonies strengthen the sense of human kinship. By drawing attention to the phenomena of nature, they help develop man's sense of the aesthetic, and increase his joy in the contemplation of beauty. By opening up vistas of achievement and satisfaction, they help free him from subjection to material needs and desires, and enable him to fulfill his higher potentialities."¹

1. Ritual blessings -- recited when a Jew "enjoys any particular aspect of the world," p. 26. Such as:
 - When he awakes in the morning--thanksgiving for rest, the new day, etc. Before and after each meal (p. 37 examples).
 - Special blessings such as at the sight of trees in spring; of the ocean; at meeting a friend after a long absence.
 - On hearing bad news, or occasion of bereavement (p. 38) -- blessing God as the ultimate Judge of affairs.

2. The Synagogue -- its supreme importance after the Temple was destroyed: -
 - a. Essential elements of the architecture:
 - The Ark, containing the Scroll of the Law.
 - A stand for the reader.
 - No human figures used in the decoration of the Synagogue.
 - Symbolic representation of the tablets of the Law on the Ark.
 - Candelabra of eight or nine branches.
 - b. Community prayer the chief element of the service. A quorum of 10 males over 13 required for service.
 - Any adult male Jew may lead congregation.
 - Sometimes special readers and chanters appointed.
 - Each synagogue has a board of lay directors and officers.
 - Traditionally prayer three times a day for every Jew: if possible, at public service, but may be recited privately.
 Important elements of the service: -
 - The 'amidah or "standing" prayer (p. 44-45)
 - Recital of the Shema, Deut. 6:14.

3. The Sabbath (Shabbot) -- the day of rest: -
 - Begins a little before sunset Friday.
 - Candles are lit in the home by the housewife--says a prayer of blessing to God before she looks at the light.
 - Service in the synagogue on Sabbath eve (Friday evening) and on the eve of the other festivals.

1. Louis Finkelstein, "Judaism" in The Religions of Democracy, ed. Robert A. Ashworth, the Devin-Adair Co. N.Y., 1949. p. 36

Family returns home for the Sabbath meal:

- Two loaves of bread, or hallos, symbolizing the manna in the wilderness.
- Cup of wine: head of household recites a blessing of sanctification of the day. Partakes of the cup and passes to others.
- Ritual washing of hands.
- Blessings for the bread, the meal, and after the meal.
- Hymns.

In Conservative and Reform congregations the Sabbath eve service occurs after the meal, owing to modern business life.

Traditionally no breakfast on Sabbath morning or other festivals, prior to morning service. A noon meal after service, like the Sabbath eve meal, and a late afternoon meal.

Concludes after sunset with a ritual blessing signifying the division between the Sabbath and the weekdays.

"The rigid prohibition of work on the Sabbath does not, as is frequently believed, make it a day of gloom for the observant Jew. On the contrary, the complete release from all mundane concern, the concentration on the study of the Torah, and the joy in the sense of communion with God, make it a day of great, though perhaps indescribable, delight."¹

Purpose of Major Jewish Festivals

"...The three festivals of the ancient pilgrimages, Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, are primarily periods of joy..."

"The significance of each festival is enhanced through the natural and historical interpretations associated with it. All of them are intended to increase man's faith in God by reference to His revelation in the natural order, and also in the succession of human events. Their symbols are particularly significant in an industrial and commercial civilization, where man tends to be separated from nature; and their reflection of the Divine purpose in history gives one strength in times of international crisis, and fills one with humility in moments of peace and prosperity. The purpose of the festivals may thus be said to place human life in both its cosmic and historical perspectives. They enable Man to see himself both as part of Nature and as distinguished through the providence of God."² The following four commanded in the Mosaic Law are regarded as "major festivals."³

1. Passover (Pesach)

- End of March, beginning of April.
- "The great festival of the re-birth of Nature",⁴ "and exodus from Egypt."
- "But the historical significance of Passover as commemorating the Exodus and the promulgation of the idea of freedom in the world, has far overshadowed the agricultural phase of the festival".
- Characterized by the eating of unleavened bread, "the bread of Affliction (Deuteronomy 16:3), recalling to each Jew, the bondage of his ancestry in Egypt, and emphasizing by inference his equality with the humblest and most oppressed of men".
- Ex. Chs. 11-12, Lev. 23:14, Deut. 16:3.

1. Louis Finkelstein op. cit. p. 55.

2. Ibid p. 55-56.

3. Ibid p. 70.

4. Finkelstein, op. cit. The quotations descriptive of these feasts are included between p. 56 and 70.

2. Pentecost (Shabuot)

- End of May, beginning of June.
- "the festival of the wheat harvest" (Ex. 23:16)
- "also commemorates the Revelation on Mount Sinai, and is therefore the festival of the Ten Commandments". (Ex. 19:20)
- Frequently confirmation of young people on first day.

3. Tabernacles (Sukkot) - Feast of Booths

- In October.
- Commemorates the late harvests.
- "also Commemorates God's protection during the period when Israel dwelt in the wilderness".

"While on these festivals communion with God is sought through joy, on Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur it is sought through solemnity. They are described as Days of Judgment when all living things pass before God, to stand in judgment for their deeds during the past year."

4. Jewish Religious New Years Day (Rosh Ha-Shanah) - earlier, Feast of Trumpets.

- Last three weeks of September or beginning of October.
- Sounding of ram's horn at the synagogue service each morning.
- Special prayers for Divine forgiveness.
- "The festival of Rosh Ha-Shanah itself is particularly devoted to prayers for peace and prosperity for all mankind, and for life and happiness for individual human beings".
- "It also emphasizes the recognition of God as King of the Universe".

5. Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur)

- Oral confessions of one's sins.
 - Distribution of money for charitable purposes.
- "The Day of Atonement is a season not only for repentance for trespasses against the ceremonial law, but more especially for trespasses committed against ethical conduct in relations between men. Forgiveness for these trespasses can only be obtained when the man who suffered wrong pardons the injustice. It is therefore customary for anyone who is conscious of having injured a neighbor, to obtain forgiveness before the Day of Atonement".
- "The Day of Atonement thus becomes a day for the renewal of bonds of affection and friendship between men".
- "The ten days beginning with the first days of Rosh Ha-Shanah and ending with Yom Kippur, are called the 'Ten Days of Penitence'".

Others: - Finkelstein speaks of these as the "two lesser festivals".

Purim: the feast of Esther, occurring in the first half of March. Exchange of gifts between friends; charity for the poor.

Hanukkah: the feast signifying the rededication of the Temple during the time of the Maccabees, December. The Feast of Lights. Sometimes thought of as the Jewish "Christmas".

Personalities of Reform and Conservative JudaismReformGermany

Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86)
 (Emancipation)
 Abraham Geiger (1810-74)
 (Change through growth)

United States

David Einhorn (1809-79)
 (Modern Prayer Book)
 Isaac M. Wise (1819-1900)
 (Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1873
 Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1875
 Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1899)
 Kaufman Kohler
 (Pittsburg Conference: platform of U.S. Reform 1885)
 Samuel S. Wise
 (Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1922)

Conservative JudaismGermany

Samson R. Hirsch (1808-88)
 Zecharias Frankel (1801-95)
 (Jewish Seminary of Breslau, 1854)

United States

Solomn Schechter (1850-1915)
 (The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York
 City, 1886)
 Mordecai M. Kaplan (1881-)
 (Reconstructionism)
 Louis Finkelstein (1895-)
 (Jewish Theol. Sem. of America)

The Jewish problem: a religious and racial minority.

How to solve? Three ways attempted in modern world by Jews:

1. Emancipation ideal of early 19th century Reform Judaism: hope that the Gentile community would accept Jews in every way as equals and brothers, partners in an enlightened, progressive civilization. Difficulties with this ideal:
 - a. Gentile prejudice prevented complete absorption; even burst into violent anti-Semitism.
 - b. Loss of distinctively Jewish cultural contributions, if absorption too complete.
 - c. Relation to Christianity?

2. Zionism: dawns as hope of mid-19th century.
 - a. But is Palestine, even if experiment there were successful, large enough for all Jews? Will there always be a diaspora?
 - b. Passes responsibility from the Gentile moral conscience to the Jew.
 - c. Arab hostility.
 - d. Moderate success may be possible.
 - e. Relieves immediate problem in post World War II Europe.

3. Diaspora nationalism doubtless the larger solution for most Jews.
 - a. With religious and moral "Zionism" as contribution to the world.
 - b. Constitutional minority rights for Jews must be secured.
 - c. As world presses toward democratic political international organization, security for Jews will increase, assisted by such developments as the Human Rights Charter, a deeper understanding between Jews, Christians, and other religious groups.

Questions on Old Testament Religion and Judaism

1. What major Jewish ceremonial interests or emphases suggest a "priestly" authorship of Genesis, Exodus, and the Pentateuch as a whole?
2. The Mosaic covenant with God contained what two major aspects? What importance for the subsequent history of Israel was the "free" contract between Yahweh and the people?"
3. What was Baalism and its significance in the history of Israel?
4. What was the significance of earlier prophets such as Nathan, Ahijah, Elijah as spokesmen for the Covenant with Yahweh in connection with incidents of social justice?
5. State the importance of the threat of foreign conquest by such world powers as Assyria, Chaldea, etc., to Israel's deepening understanding of God.
6. What was the significance of the prophetic reformers of the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. in Judah and Israel? What religious confusion did they attempt to clarify? Through what channel of human nature did they proclaim God as speaking? What was their conception of God? Of the nature of true religion? With what conception of religion in their day did this contrast? What did they "predict"? What to them was the nature or function of prediction? Refer to Amos, Micah, Isaiah, etc. in Ballou. What specific social evils did they denounce?
7. When was the great Exile, and what two theories concerning how the nation might be restored to significance in the world developed from it? State the significance of II Isaiah and Ezekiel.
8. What was the main idea of God in classic Hebraic thought? Cite passages from Ballou to bring this out. How did it differ from the Hindu and Buddhist views? Do you find ways to reconcile some aspects of these contrasting systems of thought about the Divine Reality?
9. What was the Hebraic conception and evaluation of nature? and of physical, earthly existence in general? How compare to the Hindu-Buddhist? To the Confucian?
10. What were the three main ways God was known or apprehended by the Hebrew mind? Cite passages in Ballou suggesting these experiences of God. Which of these "arguments" appeals to you most, if any? What value, if any, do you give to those that appeal less?
11. What are the main elements of the Hebrew concept of man? Compare with the Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian ideas of man. What element seems to come into sharper focus with the Hebrews?
12. If the Hebrews (and the Zoroastrians) were correct, how free are we as men? What would be the essence of our freedom? What is the relation of freedom to reason or intellect? How does freedom and reason give us a "conscience"?
13. Are we determined in life by any factors? By what and to what extent? Can we sometimes "rise above" and change the determining pressures upon our lives?

14. How is the "unity" with God, or the nature of the religious vision or experience, for the Hebrews different from the concept of unity with the Divine in Hinduism, Buddhism?
15. In what major respect is the Hebrew ethical philosophy like the Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian systems? Compare Moses's Commandments with Bhakti Yoga, with Buddha's 8-fold path.
16. What differences do you find between the Hebrew concept of moral law and the idea of karma?
17. What is the core of the Hebraic idea of moral law? Where and how brought out in Ballou? Do you think respect for persons, and love, are "moral law"? Defend your position. Must all societies be governed by a "Ten Commandments"? How far are Moses's commandments universal?
18. What is the Hebrew concept of history? How does it differ from the Hindu-Buddhist? Do you think there is a moral law of retribution and reward, in over-all sense, governing the destinies of men in the mass? Can you cite examples of the operation of such law? What experience of ancient Israel seems to bear out the working of this law for the prophets?
19. What levels of insight concerning the nature of evil and solution to the problems of evil did the authors of the Old Testament express? What deeper grappling with the problem of evil do we find in Job? How does II Isaiah give suffering a "positive" value? Do you think redemption or salvation, human betterment, comes by suffering?
20. What is the Hebraic conception of Salvation? How does it differ from the Hindu and Buddhist? Answer in terms of the varying conceptions of the ultimate "good" to be attained and the nature of "evil" to be overcome? In what practical respects regarding life are the Hebrew and these other concepts of Salvation similar?
21. Outline the formation of the basic structure of Judaism in the post-Exilic period. State the significance of Ezekiel's plan of restoration; the significance of Ezra's and Nehemiah's work; of the Pharisees; of the diaspora; of the synagogue; of the Talmud. Of what significance was the Jewish subjection to successive world empires?
22. What was the main philosophy regarding a program for Judaism of early reform persons such as Moses Mendelssohn? What difficulties stood in the way of "emancipation" ideals?
23. State the general outlook of each of the three modern Jewish sectarian groups: Orthodoxy, Reform, Conservative Judaism. How do each differ in their interpretations of "Judaism", "Torah", and "the Messiah"? In what respects concerning these major themes are they alike?
24. What is the main content of Jewish ceremonial life, including the nature of the synagogue, Sabbath, the festivals?
25. What is the Jewish "problem"? Recent types of answers to the problem? And, in your opinion, the best solution to it?

A STUDY GUIDE TO
MAJOR LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

PART III
Spring Term:

CHRISTIANITY

ISLAM

by

Douglas Straton

For the exclusive use of students at the
University of Oregon

Grateful appreciation is hereby acknowledged
for the permission of publishers to quote
from sources herein noted.

CHRISTIANITY:

- I. Origin and Dates of the New Testament Writings.
- II. The Historical Background of Jesus' Ministry.
- III. The Life of Jesus According to the Synoptic Tradition - An Outline.
The Problem of the Historical Jesus.
- IV. Basic Teachings of Jesus.
- V. The New Testament and Concepts of Jesus' Messiahship, Death, and Resurrection: Basic Issues in Christian Theology.
- VI. Schools of Christian Thought - Principal Sectarian Divergencies.

This sections to be completed by end of summer.

Then, section on Islam will be added.

I. Origin and Dates of the New Testament Writings

In 90 A.D. a council of Rabbis at the town of Jamnia in Palestine fixed the Old Testament canon largely as we now have it.

The primary sources for the life and teachings of Jesus are the four Gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and to some extent, the letters of Paul. Why did the early church come to accept these literary sources? What are their characteristics of authorship and dates of composition, and to what extent may we rely on them as authentic sources? A study of the life and teachings of Jesus presupposes such questions as these, concerning the nature, and general trustworthiness, of the primary documents. Specifically, for our introductory purposes, we shall consider briefly two problems: how did the early church come to have a New Testament canon which it regarded as authoritative scripture? and what are the sources of the Synoptic gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke? These three Gospels are called "Synoptic" because they all present the incidents of the life and ministry, and the thought of Jesus, in very similar terms. The Gospel of John differs from them in a number of significant details, both as to the life and interpretive outlook.

A. The New Testament Canon

1. The need for a canon: Why did need for an authoritative Christian Scripture arise? In the growing competition of writings, it became urgent to find a basis upon which the early church could counter fantasy and heresy. For example, there were the following prominent influences: --
 - a) Gnostic heresies, one form of which said that Christ had not really lived as a flesh and blood man, but was a ghost or phantom who had appeared to the Apostles.
 - b) Apocryphal Gospels, which were circulating fanciful stories in connection with the life of Jesus, e.g. Ballou p. 1256.
 - c) Marcion's Bible, 150 A.D., which ruled out all the Old Testament and included only Paul's letters and Mark.

It became "imperative to have some standard by which the teaching of the church could be regulated."¹

2. The process of selection. By what process were our present New Testament books selected as Holy Scripture? Irenaeus's principles, 180 A.D., were a second century formulation of canons of excellence, trustworthiness, and authority that might guide the early churches in their evaluation of numerous documents circulated among them. A document must have:
 - a) The tradition of an apostle as its author, or someone closely associated with the apostles.

1. E. F. Scott: The Literature of the New Testament, Columbia University Press 1940, page 289

- b) Must contain nothing contrary to the rule of faith, e.g. that expressed in the early sermons of Peter and other apostles, as reported, e.g., by the Book of Acts, emphasizing Jesus' death, resurrection, and saviorhood.
- c) Must be supported by one or more of the leading churches.

These rules of selection represented the effort of a thoughtful leader of the 2nd Century church to bring principles of rationality to bear upon the problem of the authenticity and value of early writings.

Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria (293-373 A.D.) published his famous Easter Letter, 367 A.D., enumerating the present books of the New Testament and declaring that henceforth they would be the authoritative body of Christian Scripture. By what authority did Athanasius make his list? His opinion reflected the good judgment of the church at large. Among numbers of disputed books, he selected those which, by common agreement, had come to be regarded as best. The NT Scriptures were an empirical growth: in the early competition of writings those established themselves which appealed most deeply to the experiences of the early Christian heart, will, and intellect. "The selection was made unconsciously the the mind of the church at large...The church, in the end, selected those writings which had already selected themselves...It was by their intrinsic work that the writings won their place."²

Gospels

B. The Sources and Trustworthiness of the Synoptic Method

3. The Synoptic Problem. What are the conclusions of modern Biblical scholarship as to the composition and general dates of the Synoptic Gospels? A study of this question is called the Synoptic Problem. Briefly stated, such a study observes the similarity between Matthew, Mark, and Luke and seeks to discover their historic relationships, concerning matters of authorship and relative dates of writing. In pursuing this it discovers the sources upon which these Gospels are based. E. F. Scott has expressed the findings of modern Biblical scholarship relative to the Synoptic Problem in these terms: "The Gospels, as actual compositions...may be late, but they are made out of materials which had existed long before."³ Contemporary scholarship points to the introductory paragraph of the Gospel of Luke as a first important clue leading to the above summary. Careful reading of Luke 1:1-4⁴ reveals the following significant data: --

2. Scott, op. cit., page 293

3. Scott, op. cit., page 19

4. "Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a narrative of the things which have been accomplished among us, just as they were delivered to us by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having followed all things closely for some time past, to write an orderly account for you, most excellent Theophilus, that you may know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed." Luke 1:1-4 (RSV)

- a) The author tells us that a number of writings, ("many have undertaken to compile a narrative") existed previously to his own composition, i.e. the Gospel of Luke, v. 1, and the implication is that he is basing his own writing upon them. By Luke's comment, then, we are certain that the literary codification of Jesus' life had already begun by the time Luke writes.
- b) Luke suggests that he himself was not an eyewitness to these events, but that he is attempting to be a conscientious transmitter of the information that came to him, which he believes had its origin with "eyewitnesses," v. 2.
- c) He further says that he has studied his sources closely; that he has now revised them into a more orderly account; and he affirms his faith in them that they are true.

This introduction states Luke's purposes in writing his Gospel. Part of his intent resembles what we would call today that of an "historian," a recorder, a transmitter. The first point above indicates that he uses existing documents, and such a method is the first principle of valid historical writing. His other intention is to be an interpreter, or theologian, as were the other Gospel authors. We must conclude, then, that in the light of his own set of values and commitment to the Christian movement, Luke tries to be a trustworthy reporter of the accounts that came to him.

4. The Documents to which Luke alludes. Where are these earlier written materials of which Luke speaks? Are they extant anywhere; can we find them? Some of these sources are quoted verbatim in our present Gospels. In order to locate these source documents we have to examine a scientific kind of book called a "Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels,"⁵ published in three columns with the texts of Matthew and Luke on either side and that of Mark in the center. The arrangement discloses how Matthew and Luke resemble Mark; resemble each other, and how they differ from Mark, and finally from each other. An analysis of the following diagram will reveal why Mark is placed in the middle and how scholars conclude that Mark is the oldest of the three Gospels.

	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Mark</u>	<u>Luke</u>	
Virtually all Mk., word for word is found in Mtt. and Lk.	Mk.	Mk.	Mk.	1.
About 1/6 of Mtt. and Lk is constituted by "Q," another source than Mk, and not appearing in Mk. (except possibly in fragmentary form).	Qm		Ql	2.
	Mtt.			3.
			Lk.	4.

-
5. E.g. Burton and Goodspeed: A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, Scribner's, 1929.

What conclusions may we draw from an analysis of the Harmony?

- (1) Mark is the oldest of these three Gospels. Obviously, had Mark copied from Matthew and Luke he would have most certainly used the extra material they had, in order to round out and enrich his own report. Accordingly, the simpler and shorter document, that of Mark, argues for its priority in time; Matthew and Luke write later, using Mark as their primary source. The Mark material emphasizes the life, or ministry or "acts" of Jesus, and to less extent the sayings.
- (2) The symbol "Q" comes from the German word "quelle," meaning "source." Q seems to be itself older than Mark, because as many ⁶ modern scholars believe, Mark to some extent seems to use Q, or a version of Q. Q was a written source, and had circulated as such when it came to the hand of Matthew and Luke. We know this because the Q material, frequently word for word, appears the same in Matthew and Luke. Prominently characterizing "Q" are the sayings of Jesus, such as, The Sermon on the Mount, found in Matthew and to a considerable extent in Luke (Burton and Goodspeed, Harmony page 42-43.)
- (3) Reading across each level of the diagram above and down the entire picture at the same time, we discover that we have increased our sources by one. The four sources now are:

Mark, Q, the Lukan source, the Matthian source.

When we ask, To what extent may we trust the Gospel record as to its general historicity or authenticity, concerning the main features of Jesus' life and teachings? our confidence is supported by the discovery: (1) that the Synoptics are based on earlier accounts -- there were a variety of sources; (2) some of which at least we know to have been fixed in writing (e.g. Q, Mark, and some of the latter's sources⁷); (3) with all of them basically agreeing as to the main features of the life and teachings. Prof. Amos Wilder of Harvard University concludes: "In this way our ultimate sources are not the synoptic Gospels, but their principal sources, Mark and Q, both representing oral tradition slowly taking shape in the 40's and early 50's, tested by continual repetition before eye-witnesses and subject to their criticism. So behind the most important parts of our Synoptic Gospels stand not three, but twelve, even hundreds of eye-witnesses. It is true that the earliest form of this tradition was later subject to some unconscious shaping, especially perhaps in the process of being written down."⁸

5. The Formation and dates of the New Testament Literature. If we divide the first century of the Christian movement into three "generations" of the classic span of thirty years each; and ask what may have been the primary

6. E.g. see Burton and Goodspeed, sp. cit. pp. 43, 77 for suggestions of Q in Mark.

7. For a detailed study of the Sources of Mark, the student should consult the "Introduction" to a standard modern commentary, such as H. Branscomb: The Gospel of Mark, in the Moffatt Commentary series, published by Harper and Brothers.

8. From class syllabus, Andover Newton c. 1940.

literary interests of each of these periods in the developing church, the following arrangement has sometimes been suggested as a convenient way to indicate the dates of the New Testament literature:⁹

1st generation, 30 - 60 A.D. Primary interest in: --

- a) Preservation of Jesus "sayings," e.g.
 - "Q," Sermon on the Mount material, etc.
 - "Lk" source on the Parables.
- b) Report of the main incidents of his "life," e.g.
 - Mark's sources, both written and oral
 - Accounts of the "passion" week: --
 - Jerusalem ministry, trial, death, resurrection
- c) Circulation of the letters of the missionary movement, i.e. Paul's letters written at firsthand, the dates of many of which can be ascertained quite accurately, e.g.: --
 - Galatians, 49-51 A.D.
 - 1st Corinthians, 54-57 A.D.
 - Romans, 57 A.D.

2nd generation, 60 - 90 A.D. Primary interest represented by the effort to preserve contact with the past by collecting and writing the accounts of Jesus as Messiah and Savior (recall Luke's introduction, Luke 1:1-4): --

- a) Mark c. 70-85 A.D.
- b) Luke - Acts c. 85-95 A.D.
- c) Matthew c. 90-95 A.D.

Another major concern of this generation must have been to speak to the growing problem of persecution, e.g. Revelation.

3rd generation, 90 - 120 A.D. -- Primary interests: (1) to interpret Christianity in the light of Gentile (Greek) philosophy, and (2) to speak to important problems of the early church as a growing institution, e.g.: --

- a) John's Gospel and First Letter
- b) II - III John, II Peter, Jude

9. For detailed discussion of the establishing of these dates a standard modern commentary may be consulted, such as, The Interpreter's Bible, or other standard works such as E. F. Scott, op. cit.

Study Questions

1. Why did an authoritative scripture come to be needed?
2. By what process and persons were our present New Testament books finally selected? What final date? How do you evaluate the discovery that the NT was canonized as Holy Scripture by a rather natural process?
3. Why is Luke 1:1-4 an important record in the study of the origin of the Gospels?
4. Where, and what are, the earlier writings to which Luke refers in his introduction? What is the Synoptic problem and what is its importance?
5. Of what significance are these sources in establishing the general historicity of Jesus?

II. The Historical Background of Jesus' Ministry

A. The Political and Economic Situation:

1. Roman domination. For many centuries the Jewish nation in Palestine had lain under the heel of foreign overlords:

-Assyrian conquest of Israel and threat to Judah	721-610 B.C.
-Chaldean (Babylonian)	597-538 B.C.
-Persian	538-332 B.C.
-Greek and Syriac Hellenistic	332-166 B.C.
-(Maccabean period of precarious independence)	166-63 B.C.
-Roman	63 B.C.

Pompey conquered Jerusalem in 64 B.C. Although the Roman administration, in the application of principles of law and justice, attempted in some respects to be a humane one, it was resented by the freedom loving Jewish nation. To cushion their overlordship, the Romans permitted the Jewish dynasty of the Herods, father and three sons, to rule as puppet kings.

2. The Ambitions and Cruelties of the Herods:

-Herod the Great.	40-4 B.C.
-Archelaus, Judea-Samaria.	4 B.C. - 6 A.D.
-Philip, Decapolis region.	4 B.C. - 34 A.D.
-Antipas, Galilee and Perea.	4 B.C. - 39 A.D.

3. A succession of Roman governors ruled Judea after Archelaus was deposed in 6 A.D. Pontius Pilate was governor between 26 and 36 A.D., the time of Jesus' ministry. For twenty-odd years Judea had felt the direct weight of Rome.
4. The principal economic problem was the over-taxation of the people by various authorities. The pretentious building activities of the Herods (e.g. Herod the Great's new Temple; the costly Hellenistic cities of Sapphoris and Tiberias of Herod Antipas) were financed by levies upon the people. In addition to this, Roman taxes were raised by local Jewish appointees (the tax collectors or "publicans" mentioned in the NT), who practiced extortion in the exercise of this function. Lastly, there were the Temple taxes or tithes commanded by the Jewish law. The wealth and power of the priestly caste, the Sadducees, or the temple rulers in Jerusalem stood in great contrast to the humble situation of the poor, the artisans, farmers, fisher folk. The picture is reflected in the Gospels in such parables as the Widow's mite, or in the incident of Jesus driving the money changers from the temple. By this act he indicated his opposition to the commercial debasement of religion.

B. The Religious Situation:

The religious circumstances of Jesus' day were characterized by two main concerns, one, an emphasis by leading groups on ceremonial observance as constituting the indispensable heart of religion; and, two, various types of Messianic hope.

1. The growing emphasis on keeping the Law or Torah, since Ezekiel's time (Ezekiel chapters 40-46; Ezra, Nehemiah). Christians have customarily called this aspect of the religion of the time the outlook of the Pharisees, and have described the chief "sins" of such "legalistic religion" as: --

- "undue emphasis upon the external observance of the Sabbath,"
- "the importance attached to the distinction between the clean and the unclean" (foods, people, ablutions),
- "hypocritical assumption of special holiness: in prayer, almsgiving, and fasting."¹⁰

At its extreme, such religion attempted to keep every minute rule that tradition had built up around the Torah or Law of Moses. As a group the Pharisees felt that the coming of the Messiah depended on the literal keeping of the law. Jesus was opposed to a legalistic religion of seemingly mere form, rather than genuine ethical substance, "a burden grievous to be borne," he said, Mtt. 23:4 (Ballou 1134, 40)

However, in order to see the controversy between Jesus and the Pharisees in broadest perspective, it should be kept in mind that opinion differed widely among Jewish teachers as to the scope of one's duties in keeping the law; and between the Pharisees as a whole and the Sadducees as a group. It may have been the narrower or more conservative school of Pharisees, that of Shemmai, in contrast to the liberal more progressive school of Hillel, against which the criticisms of the New Testament are mainly directed. In defense of the Pharisees of that time, Jewish scholars indicate that as a whole they were the progressive group in Judaism as opposed to the Sadducees, or Temple authorities. In addition to its severe criticism, the New Testament suggests that Jesus was, upon occasion, friendly with Pharisees and Scribes:

Mark 12:34; Matthew 22:34 - He said that some were not far from the kingdom, i.e. those who shared his deeper spiritual sensitivity and discernment.

Luke 7:36; 11:37 - Had fellowship with the Pharisees at dinner.
13:31 - Warned by them that Herod was seeking his life.

John 3:31 - Came to him for teaching.

Matthew 5:17-18 - Jesus not opposed to the law.

Acts 5:33-38 - Pharisees friends of early Christians.

10. An Introduction to the Study of the Bible, by James Anderson, et.al. Published by the College of Wooster, page 150

Concerning the Pharisees and the problem of the New Testament presentation, Kaufman Kohler, noted Jewish scholar wrote the following:¹¹

"No true estimate of the character of the Pharisees can be obtained from the New Testament writings, which take a polemical attitude toward them...nor from Josephus, who, writing for the Roman readers and in view of the Messianic expectations of the Pharisees, represents the latter as a philosophic sect."

"The Pharisees formed a league or brotherhood of their own (haburah), admitting only those who, in the presence of three members, pledged themselves to the strict observance of Levitical purity, to the avoidance of closer association with the 'Am Ha-Harez' (the ignorant and careless boor), to the scrupulous payment of tithes and other imposts due to the priests, the Levite and to the poor, and to a conscientious regard for vows and for other peoples' property."

Their progressive qualities and emphases:

- Asserted "the principles of religious democracy and progress" against the Sadducees or Temple rulers. Emphasized "the priestly sanctity of the whole people of Israel."
- "The very institution of the synagogue for communion, worship and instruction was a Pharisaic declaration of the principle that the Torah is 'the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob'" (Deut. 33:3).
- Less rigid in the execution of justice than the Sadducees, e.g. interpreted lex talionis to mean "due compensation with money" -- whereas Sadducees interpreted lex talionis literally.
- Liberalized and deepened the spiritual significance of the Festivals e.g. Relative to the Day of Atonement, "the Pharisees wrested the power of atoning for the sins of the people from the high priests (see Lev. 16:30) and transferred it to the day itself, so that atonement was effected even without sacrifice and priest, provided there was genuine repentance."
- Liberalized Sabbath practices, e.g. made allowance for carrying things (Jer. 17:21-4): extended the definition of 'place' to include a mile radius (old rule: could not leave your place on the Sabbath, Ex. 16:29). "..."their object was to render the Sabbath a 'delight' (Is. 48:13), a day of social and spiritual joy and elevation rather than a day of gloom."
- Strengthened the position of women in the home "against the caprice of the husband," by introducing the marriage document. Women after childbirth could return to the household without protracted isolation for weeks, even months, as prescribed (Lev. 12:4-7; 15:19-24)"...the Hillelites, and

11. Excerpts from The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, ed Isidore Singer, Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1905 p. 661-666. Heb: "Peruishment"; Aramaic: "Perisha" (the singular of "Perishaya") "denotes 'one who separated himself,' or keeps away from persons or things impure, in order to attain the degree of holiness and righteousness required in those who would commune with God..." Gk: Pharisaioi

especially Akiba, in being more lenient in matters of divorce, had in view the welfare and peace of the home, which should be based upon affection..."

-Stressed learning: The Sadducean part represented "the interests of the Temple, while the former, the Pharissic party were concerned that the spiritual life of the people should be centered in the Torah and the Synagogue. While the Sadducean priesthood prided itself upon its aristocracy of blood...the Pharisees created an aristocracy of learning instead, declaring a bastard who is a student of the Law to be higher in rank than an ignorant high priest.

Aspects of their philosophy:

-"The aim and object of the Law, according to Pharisaic principles, are in the training of man to a full realization of his responsibility to God and to the consecration of life by the performance of its manifold duties..." (664).

-people to deal with one another "according to the dictates of love."

-acceptance of God's kingship: implies acceptance of God's special decrees; also commandments "dictated by reason and the human conscience."

-the avoidance of sin.

-the fulfillment of God's commandments "without expectation of reward."

-stressed "Be holy as the Lord your God is holy" (Lev. 19:2) -- the imitation of God as an ultimate sanction for ethics(cp. Jesus).

-"Love thy neighbor as thyself" is declared by them to be the principal law.

"It is a slanderous misrepresentation of the Pharisees to state that they 'divorced morality and religion', when everywhere virtue, probity, and benevolence are declared by them to be the essence of the Law..." (665).

Evaluation of the Pharisees:

"Still, the very air of sanctity surrounding the life of the Pharisees often led to abuses..."

"...they added new restrictions to the Biblical law in order to keep the people at a safe distance from forbidden ground: as they termed it, 'they made a fence around the law'...Thus they forbade the people to drink wine or eat with the heathen, in order to prevent associations which might lead either to intermarriage or idolatry...After they had determined the kinds of work prohibited on the Sabbath they forbade the use of many things on the Sabbath on the ground that their use might lead to some prohibited labor...It was here that the foundation was laid of that system of rabbinic law which piled statute on statute until often the real purpose of the Law was lost sight of..." (664).

"An ancient baraita enumerates seven classes of Pharisees, of which five consist of either eccentric fools or hypocrites: (1) 'the shoulder Pharisee,' who wears, as it were, his good actions ostentatiously upon his shoulder; (2) 'the wait-a-little Pharisee' who ever says 'Wait a little' until I have performed the good act awaiting me;' (3) 'the bruised Pharisee,' who in order to avoid looking at woman runs against the wall so as to bruise himself and bleed; (4) 'the pestle Pharisee,' who walks with head down like the pestle in the mortar; (5) 'the ever-reckoning Pharisee,' who says 'Let me know what good I may do to counteract my neglect;' (6) 'the God-fearing Pharisee,' after the manner of Job; (8) 'the God-loving Pharisee,' after the manner of Abraham...R. Joshua b. Hannaniah, at the beginning of the second century, calls eccentric Pharisees 'destroyers of the world'...and the term 'Pharisaic plagues' is frequently used by the leaders of the time."

"It is such types of Pharisees that Jesus had in view when hurling his scathing words of condemnation against the Pharisees, whom he denounced as 'hypocrites'... 'offspring of vipers'... 'whited sepulchres'... 'blind guides'... He himself tells his disciples to do as the Scribes and Pharisees who sit on Moses seat bid them do, but he blames them for not acting in the right spirit...for pretentiousness in many...things (Mtt. 23:27). Exactly so are hypocrites censured in the Midrash (Pes. R xxii ed. Friedmann, p. lll), 'wearing tefillin and zizit (phylacteries and fringes), they harbor evil intentions in their breasts. Otherwise the Pharisees appear as friends of Jesus (Luke 7:37, 13:31) and of early Christians (Acts 5:38; 29:9)."

Only in regard to intercourse with the unclean and unwashed multitude, with the 'am-haarez,' the publican, and the sinner, did Jesus differ widely from the Pharisees (Mark 2:16; Luke 5:30; 7:39; 11:39; 15:2; 19:7). In regard to the main doctrine he fully agreed with them, as the old version (Mark 12:28-34) still has it. Owing, however, to the hostile attitude taken toward the Pharisaic schools by Pauline Christianity, especially in the time of the emperor Hadrian, 'Pharisees' was inserted in the Gospels wherever the high priests and Sadducees or Herodians were originally mentioned as the persecutors of Jesus (see New Testament), and a false impression, which still prevails in Christian circles and among all Christian writers was created concerning the Pharisees..."

"...Jewish life was regulated by the teaching of the Pharisees; the whole history of Judaism was reconstructed from the Pharisaic point of view, and a new aspect was given to the Sanhedrian of the past. A new chain of tradition supplanted the older, priestly tradition...Pharisaism shaped the character of Judaism and the life and thought of the Jew for all the future. True, it gave the Jewish religion a legalistic tendency and made 'separatism' its chief characteristic; yet only thus were the pure monotheistic faith, the ethical ideal, and the intellectual and spiritual character of the Jew preserved in the midst of the downfall of the old world and the deluge of barbarism which swept over the medieval world."

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2. The types of Messianic hope present another important aspect of the religious situation in Jesus' day. The people of Israel had long believed that they would win a victory over their enemies, the succession of foreign oppressors, and that an age of righteousness and peace would finally come, not only for

themselves, but, in its best expectation, for the world and mankind as a whole. Their Messiah would be God's agent in bringing in the new day. There was difference of opinion, however, as to what kind of Messiah he would be. The word "Messiah" means one who is especially "anointed," or appointed of God to do a task,¹²

In general terms, we find two predominate views of the Messiah in Jesus' time: first, the Messiah as "Son of David" or a political figure; and second, the apocalyptic or heavenly "Son of Man" conception. In addition to these, a third concept, that of the suffering "Servant" of Yahweh, was present in the literary tradition of the Old Testament. Although this third view may not have been held by any particular group--save possibly by Jesus himself in relation to the Son of Man idea--it constitutes for some modern students an important clue to Jesus' self-interpretation, and to his historic significance.

The central questions, however, of historical importance and of New Testament scholarship, are whether Jesus associated his work, or himself, with any of these views, and, if so, with which one, or which combination, and in what sense or meaning? How these questions are answered will influence the interpretation of Jesus' "ethics," that is, his teaching as to the "Kingdom of God," its nature and requirements. Modern scholars differ in their points of view. Presently we endeavor to outline the main possibilities. In the meanwhile we should describe more fully what the three views were. Judging from Old Testament material and extra-Biblical sources of late Old Testament times, we discuss these views in the probable order of their historical appearance:--

- (1) The idea of a political or kingly Messiah, a descendant or "Son of David," who would lead Jewish armies in victory over the Romans, and set up a world-wide kingdom of righteousness and peace under the leadership of Israel. He would be a man especially endued of God, with power to overthrow Israel's enemies, to rule in righteousness and justice and do away with all human evils. He would be part military leader, royal judge, and ethical teacher, a divine or semi-divine king of the messianic age. Some of the prophets envisaged this age to come on earth as the outcome of historic time. It would be a day of universal peace, plenty, and justice. (I Isaiah, Micah--Ballou 959). In some quarters, the outlook in Jesus' time had corrupted this broader vision into an emphasis on vindictive punishment of Israel's enemies under the victory of a military messiah.
- (2) The Messiah as a Servant of God, who, by his suffering for righteousness sake, would be an agent of salvation in the world. We find this understanding of the Messiah in the "Servant" passages of Second Isaiah (notably chapters 41-53). Such personage would, by long suffering, gentle persuasion, by teaching and example of loving sacrifice, bring Israel's message of ethical monotheism, with its concern for justice and brotherhood, to the world.

Biblical scholarship is divided as to whether the Second Isaiah intended the portrait of the long-suffering "servant" in chapter 53 to be that of an individual, or simply the personification of Israel, the nation, now living in exile and captivity. Israel,

12. Heb. "Mashiach;" Aramaic; "Meshicha;" Grecized form "Messias," (Encyclopedia of Religion; ed. Ferm, Philosophical Library, p. 485)

the nation, is so portrayed a number of times in the Servant poems of Second Isaiah prior to chapter 53. Be this as it may, the idea of messiahship as primarily gentle-service, rather than military or political power, constitutes the main point, and is found as a significant element in the Gospel picture of Jesus.

- (3) The apocalyptic Son of Man. The Greek word "apokalyptein" means to "unveil" or "uncover." Apocalyptic writings purport to unveil, that is, to reveal the time of the end. This type of literature flourished in Israel in the last two centuries before Jesus, and into the Christian era. It was characterized by cryptic, symbolic figures of speech, such as those encountered in the book of Daniel in the Old Testament, and in Revelation in the New Testament. As the most noted Biblical examples of apocalypse, a study of the book of Daniel or of Revelation, will disclose that they were written at a time of persecution by the foreign power, in the case of Daniel that of the Syrio-Greek ruler Antiochus IV, about 168 B.C.; Revelation suggests one of the Roman persecutions of the late 1st century A.D., perhaps that of the Emperor Domitian (81-96 A.D.). The over-all purpose of such books was to inspire courage and hope in a persecuted people, by proclaiming that the end of their suffering was near, and a time of glorious deliverance at hand, by God's supernatural intervention in the affairs of men. God's angelic, messianic agent, or "Son of Man," would appear on the clouds of heaven to perform this work. (Daniel chapter 7, Ballou pp. 1022-1023). Accordingly, in this view the Messiah was to be a supernatural hero, a transcendent being, to whom divine powers were delegated. Other important features of apocalyptic thought and writing are the following: --

- Israel would have opportunity to take vengeance on her foreign enemies, who would be overthrown by the Son of Man.
- Cosmic signs and dire portents would indicate the end of this world age, such as: stars would fall,
moon would turn to blood,
sun would be darkened,
supernatural beasts would come out of the sea,
human calamities and distresses would increase.
- A new, immortal age would be issued in, in which the old world would be supernaturally transformed, history ended, the dead resurrected to stand at the Last Judgment, presided over by God himself, "the Ancient of Days."

Though the Jews may have developed apocalyptic ideas on their own, many scholars believe it to be likely that they borrowed some of these conceptions from the highly apocalyptic religion of the Zoroastrians, or Persians, under whose rule they had lived for two centuries. In any case, there were many apocalyptic books in late Old Testament and early Christian times. In addition to Daniel, the books of Joel and Zechariah are prominent expressions of apocalypse in the canonized Old Testament. Moreover, many non-Biblical or non-canonical apocalyptic tracts were written in this period. Among these were: --

- The Book of Enoch, c. 64 B.C.
- The Assumption of Moses, c. 1 century A.D.
- II Esdras (4th Extra), c. 1 century A.D.
- The Apocalypse of Baruch, 2nd Century A.D.

Such names in their titles as "Enoch" "Moses," etc., indicate that many of these books were written as pseudonymous works. Many scholars believe that such is the nature of the book of Daniel in the Old Testament. (Apocalyptic writings have been collected in the Oxford Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, edited by Charles.)

Discussion of Apocalypse brings to the fore the use of another, associated term, eschatology. Eschatology ("eschatos": the furthest, last) is any doctrine of the last times, or the outcome, or end of history. We have just reviewed apocalyptic eschatology, and prior to that the messianic-political type of eschatology of the Son of David tradition.

We have stated that the chief problem of New Testament scholarship is to determine, if possible, with which concept of the messiah and his "kingdom" Jesus may have associated his work and life; or with which combination, or modification of concepts. Did Jesus have specific or particular eschatological views? What eschatological hope formed the background of his ethical teaching, and his preaching of the kingdom of heaven? Some such question as this states the problem of the Gospels in broadest terms, so far as modern scholarship's effort to come to understand the historical Jesus is concerned.

Phrased in its most critical way the specific issue is: was Jesus an "apocalyptic" prophet, that is, a preacher avowing the apocalyptic type of closure to historic or mundane affairs? The attempt to answer this question, or indication of the several ways in which it has been answered in contemporary times, constitutes the underlying duty of any effort to present an interpretation of the life and teachings of Jesus. The following summary anticipates our type of resolution to this problem.

- C. Types of Jewish Reaction to Rome and the Central Concern of the Christian Movement
1. Compromise and Collaboration with Rome: the policy of the Sadducees and Herodians. The Sadducees, who derived their name as the heirs of Zadok, high priest in David's time, included the priestly rulers or temple powers, and other wealthy, commercial and aristocratic groups. Secure economically, they did not desire change. Accordingly they were indifferent to messianic and apocalyptic hopes, but rather supported the house of Herod. They embraced a more conservative view of the Torah than the Pharisees by ruling out the oral tradition and insisting on the letter of the written law.
 2. Revolt against Rome: advocated by the "Zealot" party. This group were political direct-actionists, who wanted no compromise, such as Sadducees and Herodians were making. On the other hand, they wanted no waiting for

signs from heaven, such as the apocalyptists expected. They said, rather, "Let someone arise to command them, in the spirit and valor of David of old, and they would hail him 'Son of David' Messiah---and rally...to his standard..."¹³ They exemplified one side of the political materialism that dominated the day. The Sadducees and the apocalyptists each expressed other sides of the current materialistic outlook.

3. Apocalyptic intervention from the skies: the apocalyptists looked for the descent of super-natural, divine armies (cp. Joel 3) that would break the Gentile yoke; or for the appearance of the Son of Man on the clouds, whose supernatural power, in the form of a flaming breath (cp. 4 Ezra 13) would destroy Israel's enemies. Some of the apocalyptic literature expressed a spirit of vengeance, taking delight in the expected destruction and punishment of the Gentiles (cp. Assumption of Moses 10). The apocalyptic literature was not all of the same value. Some of it breathed a larger and more universal outlook in the ideal of the conversion of the Gentiles (e.g. Daniel 4, and 1 Enoch 48).¹⁴

As a group the Pharisees shared the view that the Roman yoke could be broken only by a direct intervention of God. Accordingly, they adopted a policy of watchful waiting, stressing in the meanwhile strict observance of the Law. Some of them believed that if the Law could be kept perfectly for just one day throughout Judaism the messiah and the ideal kingdom would come.

4. Announcement of the kingdom as a present, and presently fulfilled ethical and spiritual reality, which all men may enter now: the program of Jesus. Professor Amos Wilder has trenchantly summarized the several points of view: "The Zealot said, Win the kingdom; the Pharisee, await it; and Jesus said, Enter it."¹⁵

Jesus essentially revived the universal ethical outlook upon religion of the great 8th to 6th century B.C. Prophets, (e.g. Ballou 943 D, 949 C, 954 C, 956A). He rejected the popular political conception of the Messiah, and although he embraced the eschatological outlook of his day (that is, the belief that the end of the Age was imminent or near), he came to view his mission in the spirit of the Suffering Servant ideal of II Isaiah, as passages like Luke 4:16-22 (Ballou 1063 C), suggest. He apparently used, but spiritualized apocalyptic ideas, including the Son of Man terminology; this he relates to, or re-evaluates in terms of a suffering service role, e.g. Mark 8:31; 10:45 (Ballou 1091 C; Mtt. 20:26-27).

13. Walter Bell Denny: The Career and Significance of Jesus, Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York, 1939, p. 74.

14. See for examples of this literature, C. K. Barrett: The New Testament Background: Selected Documents, Macmillan, New York, 1957, p. 227f.

15. Andover Newton, Theological School, 1939-1941.

Scholarship is divided as to the exact relationship to each other, and the place in the life and thought of the real or "historic Jesus," of these ideas or roles of suffering service, the Isaianic Servant, and the apocalyptic Son of Man. The Gospels do not give us a perfectly clear picture. We shall presently outline the major differences of view concerning this central problem of New Testament scholarship. Suffice it for the moment to summarize in two ways what for many Christians may be regarded as the overall reaction and significance of the Christian movement.

First, in the words of Steven Liberty: The "clash of political forces and aspirations bade fair to bring disaster upon the religious future of mankind through the extinction of the national faith of the Jews...It was through political aims and theories that, to the outside observer, human wilfulness appeared just then to make hopeless the progress of true religion--on the one side the great governmental ambition of Rome that would listen to no spiritual authority in limitation of its absolute control, on the other the...Judaism...which more and more identified the nation with a policy of obstinate intransigence."¹⁶

Second, as expressed by the noted 19th Century theologian, Albrecht Ritschl: "Jesus...introduced a new religion,...by setting free the lordship of...God from national and political limitations, as well as from the expectation of material well-being, and by advancing...for mankind...a spiritual and ethical union, which at once corresponds to the spirituality of God, and denotes the...end of spiritual creatures."¹⁷

It should be said, of course, that the deepening spirituality of Judaism itself, in the growing Synagogue culture which was maturing at that time, outside the Christian movement, was in its right a significant force in the advancement of the ideals just expressed.

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. Give a sketch of the main political situation and problem of Jesus' day. Of the economic situation.
2. Describe and state the significance of the Pharisaic emphasis on keeping the Law as one main aspect of the religious situation in Jesus' day.
3. Describe the types of Messianic hope as the second main phase of the religious situation, and indicate main OT passages which describe these views of the Messiah. What does the Hebrew word "messiah" mean?
4. What was the main content of apocalyptic thought as a whole and two prominent places in the OT which contain these views?
5. Give a sketch of the four main types of Jewish reaction to Rome.

16. The Political Relations of Christ's Ministry, Oxford, 1916. p. 31.

17. The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation. T and T Clark, Edinburgh, 1902 p. 455).

III. The Life of Jesus According to the Synoptic Tradition

A. Mark's Outline:

1. The Period of Preparation: (Mk. 1:1-13) John the Baptist; the Baptism; the Temptation.
2. The Ministry in Galilee: Mk 1:14-8:26.
 - (1) Announcement of the Kingdom; teaches with authority; works of power: Mk. 1:14-45.
 - (2) Controversies with Scribes and Pharisees begin: Mk. 2:1-36.
 - (3) Jesus' popularity in contrast to official opposition: Mk. 3:7-5:43.
 - (4) Mounting crisis: popular confusion; mounting opposition: Mk. 6:1-8:26. Withdrawal from immediate vicinity of Capernaum and Nazareth, 7:24.
3. The Retirement with Disciples for Re-examination of Effect and Purpose of His Mission: Mk 8:27-10:52.
 - (5) Peter's Confession at Caesarea Philippi; consequences of Messiahship and discipleship; the Transfiguration: Mk. 8:27-9:13.
 - (6) Journey to Jerusalem: Mk. 9:14-10:52.
4. The Jerusalem Ministry: Mk, chs. 11-16.
 - (7) Jesus' final challenge to the nation: Mk. 11-13. Entry; cleansing of the Temple; Conflict with the authorities; the Forecast of Doom.
 - (8) The Passion "Week": Mk. 14-16.
Last Supper; Gethsemane; Trial; Crucifixion, the Resurrection.

B. The Problem of the Historical Jesus

Before we attempt to outline the basic teachings of Jesus, we should realize that he taught with eschatological expectation. That is, he anticipated the imminent consummation of the Age, the coming of the kingdom by the power of God, as the vindication of his preaching the message of the kingdom, and of himself as its spokesman under God. In a number of places he is reported as announcing that the end would come before "this generation" would "pass away" (e.g. Mark 9:1; 13:30; 15:62; Lk. 22:67-9; Mtt. 10:23).

This historic circumstance, that, characteristic of his time, he announced the end of "history" as coming soon, interjects into his ethical teachings or gospel of the kingdom a tension which modern studies should acknowledge.

The critical, historical issue, however, is that the end of this world did not come, as he and many of his contemporaries expected. The problem, then, of his life for modern Christian scholarship, for historical science, psychology, philosophy, theology, and faith—centers in the question: What aspects of his teachings contain (or may be interpolated without undue distortion as containing) universal perspectives and values that transcend the specific apocalyptic outlook or setting of his own day and circumstance? Do his words speak with some validity for subsequent times? Moreover, for Christians particularly, what light or shadow might the first century eschatological expectation, in which Jesus apparently shared, cast upon Christian faith in his role as the Divine Son and Savior?

To answer these questions fully now would take us deeply into a study of the New Testament teaching about Jesus' views of his own person, as various modern interpretations have considered this problem. We presently analyze contemporary views of the "messiahship" — particularly as it relates to the apparent references of Jesus to himself as "Son of Man" and to the expected parousia, or coming of this figure in power on high; and other matters involving his use of apocalyptic thought and terms.

It must suffice for the present to state that some of Jesus' utterances about himself as messenger of the kingdom, and the relationship of men to him, or the requirements of "discipleship," are cast in the "crisis" (Wilder) expectation of the imminent parousia, and take on a quality of "crisis ethic." Particularly a crisis doctrine of discipleship appears, as his mission to evangelize the nation approaches failure, and he himself faces martyrdom.¹⁸ At the same time, however, while much of his teaching is invested with such "eschatological tension" (and all of it should no doubt be initially viewed against this background) other phases of his teaching seem more universal and timeless. He himself refused to calculate the time of the parousia, and he sometimes spoke of the qualities of the new age in spiritual rather than in literal or material way (Lk. 17:20-21; Mk. 12:24). He often depicted the kingdom in the parable and simile of real-life situations. It is in his true-to-life pictures or parabolic sayings, and in his frequently direct announcement of principles of the kingdom, as a present force here and now, where Christians have found the abiding values of his teaching.

18. Amos N. Wilder: Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus, Harper, 1950.

The tone of many of Jesus' utterances, their note of ageless wisdom that appeals directly to mind and heart, to experience, reason, and aspiration, suggests that he was speaking of God and Man in terms relevant to life as such on any plane in both its personal and social needs. In such clues the faith of the expositor finds in Jesus' sayings an understanding of life, in its religious dimensions, that transcends the particular apocalyptic outlook of the first century. This analyst is in agreement with the form of interpretation which believes that, as we study the Gospel record closely, we hear Jesus speaking with a genuine concern for historical reality and the problems of this world, with a gradual lifting of vision toward eschatological and transcendental themes.¹⁹

19. e.g. Wilder, op. cit.

IV. The Basic Teachings of Jesus

As systematized in one possible way, the basic teachings of Jesus encompass four major themes: his view of men; his view of God as the loving Father, and love as the substance of morality; his view of human duty, or ethics, in the society of fellowship, or the "kingdom of heaven"; and, as a summarizing theme, his concept of salvation and destiny. In addition to these themes, regarding life and reality as a whole, there is Jesus' view of himself as God's messenger of the kingdom. We will consider these teachings in this order, reserving for a separate section the last mentioned, presented as the problem or idea of Jesus' messiahship.

A. Jesus' Concept of Man

1. Fundamental to Jesus' outlook was his belief in the sacredness of human personality, its supremacy in value and being, derived from his Jewish heritage. In Fosdick's trenchant phraseology the distinctive Hebrew-Christian outlook emphasized "personality as boundless in value and possibility" and expressed the faith "that God and his universe are pledged to the satisfaction of personality's inherent promise."²⁰ True to his Jewish inheritance, Jesus possessed an optimistic view that man and life are good. His affirmation of the sacredness of human personality is asserted in such passages as the following:

Matthew 5:43---Love enemies.

Ballou 1123-9

6: 26, 30---You are of more value than the birds
and grass of the field.

Ballou 1127

7: 12---The Golden Rule

10: 29-31---You of more value than many sparrows;
the hairs of your head are numbered

Ballou 1130

20: 1-10---Parable of the laborers and the hours.

Ballou 1166

16: 25---The Great Paradox

Ballou 1133, 1091

20: 26-27

Luke 10:25-37---The great Commandment, and parable of
the good Samaritan: love God and
neighbor as thyself.²¹

Ballou 1171

Mark 2: 27----- Man takes precedence over sacred
institutions e.g. the Sabbath.

Ballou 1073

2. Jesus often thought of men as being like "wandering sheep" who need guidance.²² This evaluation is suggested by the familiar parable of the lost sheep (Luke 15:5f), and, in John's gospel, by the figure of Jesus himself as the Good Shepherd.

20. Guide to Understanding the Bible, op. cit., p. 97

21. Deut. 6:5, Lev. 19:18

22. As phrased by Wesley G. Nicholson

Jesus enjoins repentance at the beginning of his ministry (Mark 1:15), and it is reported that he forgives the sins of people who came to him needing help. This does not mean, however, that Jesus believed that all men were abject, gross, or depraved sinners. Like Jeremiah (31: 29) and Ezekiel (chap. 18) he did not seem to believe in inherited "original sin." His sayings, as "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven" (Mark 10: 14, Kg.J.); or, "It is not the will of my Father, who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish" (Mtt. 18: 14), suggests his positive or optimistic outlook on human nature in its original state. In the incident of the healing of the blind man in John 9: 3, he is reported as saying, in direct answer to the question whether the man had sinned, "It was not that this man sinned, or his parents." Furthermore, there are those passages where, in quite natural way, he assumes that many men are "righteous":

Mark 2: 17-----Came not to call the righteous but sinners.

Luke 15:7-----The 99 righteous who need no repentance.

Matthew 25:31, 37----The quiet, unassuming righteous who were not aware of their virtue.

5:18-The Beatitudes.

5:45-God's sun shines on the just and the unjust.

In enjoining repentance Jesus points to the sound psychological principle of being willing to change our mind, to remake values that guide us, indeed to acknowledge past mistakes and sins, if they have occurred, and to resolve toward renovation and improvement. Such attitude of mind makes moral growth possible.

That the need, and the experience, of renovation and growth is normative for most human life may be the implication of Jesus' saying in the Q document (Mtt 7:11) where, in the larger context of affirming God's forgiving and bestowing love, in contrast to imperfect humanity, he is reported as saying: "If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him?" (The New English Bible and Smith-Goodspeed translate: "bad as you are"). Indeed in the famous saying in Mark 10:18 Jesus apparently included himself among "imperfect" men.

3. One summarizing affirmation is certain: Jesus, like his prophetic forefathers, believed in human moral freedom, and appealed to men's inherent possibility to be righteous. This all-encompassing outlook embraces his parables and teachings.²³ He believed that human life could become predominantly, or characteristically free from sin, Matthew 5:38-48, 13-16. In addition to saying that God's nature as love, and his own example, were present to inspire men in the quest for the good life, he suggested that, men's reasons--as native impulse--could guide them, Matthew 7:24-27; 9:13; 12:7; Luke 12:57. Jesus put his faith in all kinds and conditions of men. He excluded none from his society or assistance, not even official outcasts such as publicans or harlots. The often quoted interpretation in John's Gospel, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" has summarized for Christian faith Jesus' understanding of men in the positive terms here set forth.

23. E.g. The Great Commandment, The Good Samaritan, Lk. 10:25-27, etc.

B. Christian Love

In this section we will suggest some of the central concerns and perspectives of the Christian ethic. These are, the idea of God as loving heavenly Father; the Christian understanding of love as Agape, the New Testament term that has come to summarize the "Christian ethic," in much contemporary Christian discourse, and the place or role of the self in the society or fellowship of selves, which is the kingdom of God.

1. The Fatherhood of God: Jesus carried over from his Jewish background and reemphasized the belief in God as a Father, concerned for, loving, and forgiving men "their trespasses," if men in a like spirit of loving concern forgave one another's trespasses--to cite the familiar translation of the Lord's prayer. The phraseology, God as "Father," appears in the Old Testament and in other Jewish literature of the late Old Testament age.²⁴ In the book of the prophet Hosea in the Old Testament God is tenderly depicted as a father in his relation to Israel, "my son." The expression translated "mercy" or "steadfast love" is chesed, a Hebrew counterpart for the New Testament agape.²⁵

In the New Testament, the phrase describing God as "Father" appears a number of times, for example, in the Sermon on the Mount (Mtt. 5-7, Ballou 1123-29), and, in that context, with love, or agape as descriptive of the fatherly nature of God.²⁶

Inspiration for the moral life is here described as flowing from this quality or nature of the divine reality (Mtt. 5:44-48, Ballou 1125D). Central to the religious experience of Jesus was an intense (and for Christians regarded as unique) reliance upon, and fellowship with, God as the Heavenly Father of Love.

2. Agape Love: Christian love is the love for another, or for others. It is respect for persons activated, into out-going, self giving service, which may call for varying degrees of self-denial or self sacrifice in our human relationships. However, rather than some inflexible "law" or demand, it is the spirit of willingness to serve, to yield, "to wash one another's feet," in joy and in freedom.²⁷ The English expression "altruism" sometimes means a kind of dry, distinterested duty; as we use it below, however, we will mean by it Christian love, or the dynamic love of persons.

In varying syntactical forms within the New Testament, the Greek word "agape" often means this active love of persons, and is translated "love."²⁸ In much contemporary Christian discourse it summarizes the Christian ethic. Both the term and the idea are found in such well known places as the following:

Matthew 5:44-48: Love enemies, etc.....Ballou 1125
 22:37-40: Great Commandment.....Ballou 1171 (Lk. 10:25-37)
 Luke 10:25-37: Good Samaritan.....Ballou 1171

24. Psalm 68:5, 103:13; Ecclesiasticus 23:21; Book of Jubilees 1:24-5
25. Hosea 11:1; 6:6; 10:12; 12:6. See also Hosea 11:4 and 14:4 for the idea of outgoing, serving, and forgiving love.
26. "...I say to you, Love(agapete) your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven..." Mtt. 5:44
27. Agape is not "other" than justice, but includes or relates to justice, as that spirit which sometimes calls for arbitration or harmonization of sincere conflicts in interest.
28. In the New Testament, forms of Agape are used in varying senses, for

thymself."³⁰ Or it has been argued that Christian ethical motivation is not based on the infinite worth of personality³¹--but rather that agape means to love another even though he be "worthless."

Other Christian opinion insists that the self is described in the Gospel as having and playing a legitimate role in being; that the largest aspect of Christian teaching is the worthfulness of all persons; that all persons mutually share a right to existence, one's self as well as the other, and that the Christian Gospel of love solves the tension between the altruistic and the egoistic impulses.³²

According to such view the solution to the ethical problem may be suggested by Jesus' famous "paradoxical" utterance itself, where he expressed the principle: "whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life will save it." (Mk, 8:35; Mtt. 16:25, Ballou 1133D). The problem is to interpret what the losing of the self means. Does it mean self-abnegation and the obliteration of the self, its reduction to zero, or its complete erasure? Does Jesus mean that desire, or the impulse to live, intrinsic to personality or selfhood, is evil and should be destroyed? Actually the great paradox has its parallel or alternative phrasing where, if we may join the two sayings, losing the self is defined as the dedication of self in service, (Mk 10:42-45; Mtt. 20:26-27; Ballou 1091C): "...whoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant (KJ Mtt. 20:26-27). Jesus teaching here seems to be that a full-orbed motive for life would be one of dedicated self-giving in service looking to the needs of others, concern for them and their welfare, over and above and beyond mere concern for one self. That Jesus did not mean, by such sayings as the great paradox, to rule out legitimate self-interests, seems affirmed in the Great Commandment, or in the Golden Rule, where the self is expressly included as having rightful place in the ethical relationship. If one insists on terminology or the letter, in the phraseology of the Great Commandment, agape expressly includes the idea of legitimate self-esteem, self-regard, or "love of self" along with love of neighbor.³³

The Christian Gospel is a gospel of self-realization for all selves inclusively. Indeed, it is not an ethic of self-realization in an exclusive or "selfish" sense. Jesus' ethical teachings in their full context suggests that agape is psychologically satisfying, whereas eros alone or by itself, as a sole motive for life, would be self-defeating. Live life in terms of a hypothetical eros alone, that is, in terms of self-seeking, deaf to, or heedless of other lives around us, and we will miss the secret of life, or that very self-realization which we legitimately crave. Live life, however, in the spirit of agape, and we not only serve and help others to fulfill their lives, but we find highest joy, and fulfill our own lives in the highest way, by so living--this, in our view, is the meaning of Jesus' paradoxical utterance. The total outlook of Jesus teaching and the New Testament (as does the Old Testament in its highest reaches of thought),--as mankind searches for the solution to the ethical problem--is found in the fellowship that agape establishes, or tends to secure.

30. cp. Rudolf Bultmann: Jesus and the Word, Scribners, 1958, p. 114-119

31. cp. Paul Ramsey: Basic Christian Ethics, Scribners, 1950, p. 94

32. For forceful statements of this view see Josiah Royce: The Religious Philosophy of Josiah Royce. (ed. S.G. Brown) Syracuse Univ. Press, 1952, p. 146-7. Albert C. Knudson: Basic Issues in Christian Thought, Abingdon, 1950, p. 191 and A. C. Knudson, The Principles of Christian Ethics, Abingdon, 1943, p. 178

33. See note 28

Psychological reality seems to be this: that the love and respect that others have for one's self is the highest form of self-realization. Agape achieves this; eros alone or by itself, does not. When one reaches out toward another, in the spirit of agape, that is, to love him and serve his interests and needs, over and beyond one's own--when the other realizes that his life and welfare is your concern too--confidence and friendship are established. Then, as a product of this relationship, when one stand in love and fellowship with others, one experiences full or highest well-being or joy or happiness. We know this in our deeper human friendships. Agape does not rule out legitimate ranges of eros; it simply says that life lived solely in terms of eros, will not complete its destiny in fellowship; whereas in agape we find life's highest satisfactions.

Life is a proper mixture of eros and agape, with agape a more inclusive statement of motive, indicating the design of others desire to live along with the self, and in the highest sense, together in fellowship.

True, agape should over-reach in its aim just the closer circle of one's more intimate friends--to include all and sundry and even those who may be antagonistic, or one's enemies, as Jesus says (Mtt. 5:46). It is active good will toward all men as sacred in their persons. In his saying in Matthew 5:46--"if you love those who love you, what reward have you?"--Jesus seems to mean that love should be more, or reach beyond, or rise higher than, bare utilitarian or mutual or market love--the love and service of others only if they love and serve in return.

3. The Self in the teachings of Jesus: Such passages as the following emphasize or suggest the right to personal life, fulfillment or self-realization as included in the meaning of agape and the kingdom of heaven. This theme is an extension of the primary New Testament teaching of the sacredness of personality.

Mtt 5:3f	--The Beatitudes: "Blessed are those who," etc.	Ballou	1123D
6:32-33	--On anxiety and trust, and recognition that God affirms our need for material security.	"	1127C
7:7-12	--Ask and it will be given you, and Golden Rule.	"	1128A
25:21	--The faithful servant in parable of the talents to enter into the joy of the master	"	1170B
Mk 12:30-31	--The Great Commandment: Love neighbor as self	"	1138A
8:35;	--He that loses life in service will find it.	"	1133D
10:42-45			
Mtt 16:25; 20:26-27		"	1091C
Lk 6:38	--Give and it shall be given you.		
Act 20:35	--It is more blessed to give than to receive.		
Jhn 16:24	--That your joy may be full.		
10:10	--That men may have life abundantly.		
Mtt 5:23	--Passages including the idea of justice,		
Lk 18:2-16	acknowledging men's fundamental right to selfhood, fair play, and the principle of arbitration and adjustment between persons.		
Mtt 7:6	--The defense of one's person, values, and accomplishments against heedless, unjust, or malicious attack or abuse.		

- (Rom. 12:6, 18 --Acknowledgment of personality differences or "gifts," and personality conflicts and problems, setting limits to comradeship.)
- Mk. 3:14
Mk 9:2f
14:33f --Where Jesus selects the disciples so that they would be near him, and passages which expressed his need for fellowship with special friends.

We may conclude by saying that there is an explicit doctrine of "rewards" in the Gospel, which emphasizes the self. (Mtt. 5:3, 8, 10; 6: 4,6; 10:42; Lk. 6:35; 11:28; Mk. 9:47).

Christianity has two ultimate objectives, an objective of motive, and an objective of results. Its objective of motive is Agape; its objective of results is the Kingdom, or Fellowship. Each of these may be transposed and become means and result for the other. In stressing agape we must not forget that one ultimate objective of the Christian ethic is fellowship, and fellowship implies oneself and one's fulfillment as well as the other self and his fulfillment. Agape is the means to fellowship. We should expect to experience a sense of well-being, or personal fulfillment (or "self-realization") in doing any right or duty, including Agape. (Mtt. 5:1f; Acts 20:35; Lk. 6:38; Mtt. 25:21, 7:7-12). The Agape-Fellowship polarity of the Christian ethic means the self-realization of all selves in a bond of serving love to each other. The Christian ethic, of course, is not self-realizational in the sense of realizing the self in exclusion of, or at the expense of others.

The Christian metaphysics and Christian ethics includes oneself as well as other selves. The ultimacy of personality in being and value is the cardinal motif--all persons, everywhere included, one's own as well as another are sacred. The problem of Christian ethics is to solve the "tension" between the legitimate claims of one's own "ego" and those of another. Fellowship solves this tension and agape creates fellowship. The motive of agape is to love the other person, in his material and spiritual need, first, in the sense that it transcends thought of material reward for oneself, or even of the reward of winning friendship. One may not win friendship in some particular isolated case; but he must still love in agape. However, the facts usually are that friendship and fellowship are established; accordingly agape tends to solve the deepest need of the self as a by-product of its activity. Usually agape establishes the earthly fellowship with men, as the normal outcome of the moral laws of the universe. Agape always establishes the fellowship with God.

Self-love is an express aspect of Christian ethics, if it means one's self-respect, and one's self-acceptance as a sacred person along with other persons, created as such by God. Agape does not mean self-denial or self-abnegation, or self annihilation in some morbid or extreme sense. (This would rather be the ethics of extreme philosophic Hinduism or Buddhism.) Jesus' highest ethical teachings include the self: The Golden Rule, Matthew 7:12, The Great Paradox, Mark 8:35; 10:43-44, The Great Commandment, Mark 12:30-31. It is a mistake to say that Christian ethics is not self-realizational in the highest sense advanced in our preceding discussion, or that Christian ethics rules out self-love, in the terms expressed above: i.e. as legitimate self esteem, central to stable personality. It would indeed rule out self-realization or self-love in some inordinate sense that would exclude others from fellowship with the self, or that would seek to dominate others and to live at their expense, in the true meaning of "selfishness" or sinfulness.

Furthermore, for there to be love, there has to be one who loves, i.e., one's self or one's own person. For others to be served there must be a self or oneself

who serves. Therefore, love itself implies one's self or one's own person and establishes it in value and in being. The concept of service implies two selves, one's own and the other. The Christian ideal of self-forgetfulness or self-sacrifice does not mean to destroy the self, but to let the self become completely outgoing and loving as God's own self is. Consciousness lies at the heart of the idea of the self. The difference between Christian self-consciousness and pagan or utilitarian self-consciousness or selfhood is that the latter is dominated by consciousness of one's own needs; whereas Christian selfhood is dominated by consciousness of the needs of others over and above and beyond mere concern with the needs of the self, but not exclusive of God's ultimate aim of the establishment of all selves in fellowship. Christian consciousness does not deny the legitimate claim and right of oneself to existence, or question the value of self-existence, as the Eastern religions in some respects seem to do.

Agape includes the self. The Christian ethic is like an eclipse: it has two foci. One focus is self-realizational in the highest form of fellowship--the focus which is the self. However, the other focus, the focus centering on another life, is absolutely essential, if the focus of the self is to be realized or to have legitimate meaning and status. Likewise the other person is commanded to focus on us in agape, to establish us. There could be no focus of agape, or the love and service, and establishment of the other, for the sake of the other, if there were not the focus of the self who serves and establishes, and is likewise a focus to receive the agape of the other. The outer curve of the ellipse itself is the society or fellowship established by these two principles, both selves going out to each other in agape, as the moral gravitation by which these foci are maintained in being. The Christian ethic is inter-self-realizational.

C. The Kingdom of Heaven

Jesus' ethical ideas come to a focus in the phrase, kingdom of heaven. We cannot here trace exhaustively his teaching concerning this figure of speech. We suggest the following outline as indication of the main points. The passages cited range beyond contexts where the phrase "kingdom" is specifically used. Rather our effort is to look at the teaching in an over-all interpretative way, which this phrase suggests. The final two points acknowledge the important historic fact which must be considered in stating Jesus view of the kingdom, namely, its eschatological framework. Finally the allusions under point 3 to "political" and "economic" concerns imply interpolation of such sayings to modern experience. We present here an outline to guide the reader into a complex theme.

1. The Kingdom begins as individual in quality, quiet, unobtrusive, noticed by those with spiritual discernment--an immanent, spiritual force or power: Agape.

Mt 5:3f	--Beatitudes	Ballou 1123D
Lk 13:20; Mt 13:33, 44	-- leaven, treasure hid	" 1164D
Lk 17:20-21	--within or among you	
Mk 4:26f, 9	--mustard seed, Kingdom as growth	" 1164D (Mt 13:3)
	--who has ears to hear, let him hear.	
Lk 10:25	--coordinate expression, "eternal Life"	
Mt 11:20		

Mk 22:21-22 --though quiet, spiritual, individual and inward, would finally
Lk 11:20 burst and transform the old order, is irresistible, spiritual
power. (A point which may have come later in the ministry)

2. It is to be realized in a measure here and now on earth--by the instrumentality of God's Spirit of love working in and through men; is a present activity.

Mt 5-7	--Sermon on Mount	Ballou 1123f
5:13f	--Ye are salt of earth, light of world	" 1124A
6:10	--Will be done on earth (Lord's Prayer)	" 1126C
7:24-27	--House on a Rock	" 1128D
Lk 10:25-37	--Good Samaritan	" 1171
Mt 25:14-30	--The Talents	" 1169-70
25:31f	--Since ye did it unto the least of these	" 1143-44

3. It has a social or universal outcome--to include all worthy men, not just Israel.

Mk 3:31-35	--Whoever does God's Will is my brother	
12:9	--vineyard to be taken from unworthy tenants and given to others	
Lk 10:25-37	--Good Samaritan, any person in need is one's neighbor	
Mt 8:11-12	--Many to come from east and west to sit at table in the Kingdom	
13:38	--The field is the world	
21:43	--The Kingdom to be given to nations more worthy of it	
Mk 12:13-17	--Tribute money to Caesar: the Kingdom's "political" implications	Ballou 1102 (Mt 22:15)
Mt 20:1-16	--Laborers and Hours: Kingdom's "economic" implications	" 1166

i.e. The Kingdom is a Fellowship of persons: the aim, end, or objective, of the Christian ethic:-

Mt 5:3-16,	--Beatitudes	Ballou 1123f
38-48	--Love enemies, etc	"
6:19-34	--Love of men before material goods	"
7:1-14	--Judge not, Golden Rule etc.	
8:11	--the Kingdom's banquet	
25:1-13	--the wedding guests and Virgins	" 1169
Mk 2:13-17	--meal with publicans and sinners in Levi's house	" 1070 (Lk. 5:29)
10:14	--Suffer the little children to come	" 1091
Lk 15:11-32	--Prodigal Son	" 1173
14:15-24	--Banquet for the poor and outcasts	"
17:20	--Kgd. among you	
Rom 12:1-21	--(Christian virtue)	" 1194
1st John	-- " "	" 1229-32

4. Its final victory or consummation lies in the future (possibly ultimately a transcendent Heavenly future, miraculous, ineffable, glorious) an outcome which Jesus may have anticipated soon. Possibly he came to think of it more as a future realization, then a present possibility, as his tragic career moved toward its end, and the Kingdom seemed to be hindered by the stubborn opposition of men:--

Mk 9:1; 14:25; 13:32-37 (a parable of watchfulness)

Lk 19:11

Mt 8:11; 13:24-30 (parable of the harvest)

25:1-13 (wise and foolish virgins)

Ballou 1169B

In any case, Jesus left the fulfillment of the kingdom up to the Father's plan and will, strictly refusing to suggest when it might be, saying that only the Father knew, not even the Son.

Mk 8:11; 4:26-27; 13:32-33

Lk 17:20; 19:11; 11:16-20

Mt 25:13

In the meanwhile, men are to realize the Kingdom in their ethical action here and now.

Mt 5-7

--The Sermon on the Mount

Ballou 1123f

Jesus' teaching that the kingdom was in real sense already present eventually lessened the tension of expectation in the church and helped Christian history to look toward a stable growth beyond the specific eschatological hope of the earliest decades.³⁴

5. The Kingdom will judge men, if they do not accept it--it is urgent:--

Mk 12:9

Lk 17:22f

Mt 8:12; 13:24-30; 21:43; 25:1-46

Ballou 1142:44

1169-70

But it brings judgment on all evil men, who reject it, Israelite and others; it is not merely apocalyptic judgment on Israel's national enemies.

In sum, Jesus' expression 'The kingdom of heaven' defined the good life as fellowship or society. The kingdom idea and his teachings on the sacredness of personality and love are mutually implicated. The kingdom, in most general sense, means that one finds love and fulfillment of personality, and true "righteousness," only in the best social relationships; and suggests the reciprocal point that respect for personality and love lie at the foundation of all good society.

The social implications of the Kingdom. From the standpoint of our contemporary interest in social ethics, it should be acknowledged that Jesus does not say in specific terms what an ideal political or economic order would be. He was not a political or economic philosopher. Christian interpreters believe, however, that his great sayings and parables are filled with basic principles of ethics, founded in the love commandment, which by implication, are ringingly democratic. His

ethical utterances would make tyranny and slavery impossible. The nearest we hear him speak to the express problem of the state and to economic society, are found in two sayings, perhaps, the tribute money to Caesar (Ballou 1102) and the parable of the laborers and the hours (Ballou 1166).

Far from implying that Christianity is passive, or indifferent to type of political order, we may interprolate from the discussion about the tax that it is a teaching bursting against totalitarian philosophy. In addition to acknowledging a duty to Caesar, or the state, Jesus suggests here that we owe ultimate allegiance to God, over and above Caesar. The deepest implication of this saying is that the duties and rights of individuality and personality transcend those of the state--ultimate matters of conscience are for individuals before their God to decide, not for Caesars to decide!

The laborers and the hours parable, over and beyond its basic idea concerning the lavish grace and love of God in the kingdom fellowship, in contrast to the ordinary prudential and calculating relationships of men, suggests a message for economic order. It is that economic society should minister to human need; that "industry shall exist for man, and not man for industry."^{34a} More basic than profit motive even, or conjointly with it and humanizing it, the principle of respect for, and service of persons is the larger motive for economic life and relationships, as it should be for all human relationships.

Jesus' Concept of Salvation and Destiny

1. His prophetic outlook. If we may define salvation, in general way, as a condition of "good" or "well-being" for life free from evil that may beset it, then Jesus' view of salvation would be a state of joyous sonship to, or fellowship with God, the heavenly Father, in a life of love, neighborliness, social conscience and "oneness" of moral purpose, expressed as the "kingdom of heaven" and as "eternal life." On its negative side, the evil from which freedom is sought, would be the "sins," with their practical consequences, which might beset us--evil, aggressive life heedless of others, inordinate self-centeredness, and selfish pride, to continue in which is a state of "darkness," judgment, and apartness from God.³⁵

Typical passages which throw light on Jesus' view of salvation would be the following:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Mk. 1:14 | "Repent and believe in the gospel." |
| 3:35 | "Whoever does the will of God is my brother." |
| 8:35 | "Whoever loses his life...will save it." |
| 2:5 | "My Son, your sins are forgiven." |
| 5:34 | "Your faith has saved you; go in peace." |
| Lk. 7:50 | "Your faith hath made you well; go in peace." |
| 10:25-37 | In reply to the lawyer who asked: "what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" he repeated the parable of the Good Samaritan and then said: "Go do likewise." |
| 15:32 | Speaks of the Lost Son who repented and returned to his father. |

^{34a} George Buttrick, The Parables of Jesus, Harper, 1928, p. 161

³⁵ Mtt. 6:23 cp, also Mtt. 8:12; 22:13; 25:30; Luke 11:34-36; 22:53.

- Mtt. 5:7 Sermon on Mt.: Whoever does and hears, his words will stand like a house upon the rock. (7:24)
- 6:14 "If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will forgive you."
- 22:47-50 Love God and your neighbor as yourself, thus fulfilling "all the law and the prophets."
- 25:40 "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me."
- Jn. 13:14-17 "You also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you also should do as I have done to you... If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them."
- 14:15-- John's Gospel emphasizes ethical action or the practice of Jesus
- 15:14 commandments whereby the believer may become "one" with him and with God.

In sum, Jesus has a thoroughly prophetic concept of salvation.³⁶ To the question, What shall a man do "to inherit eternal life?," Jesus replied in the simplest ethical terms: repent, love and serve thy neighbor, honor and love God.³⁷

2. The sanctions of his ethic and program. For what ultimate reasons does Jesus appeal to men to enter the Kingdom of God? What are the final sources of authority of his ethic and plan of salvation? Jesus emphasizes four sanctions primarily. The first three of these Prof. Amos Wilder calls the "fundamental sanctions" while the fourth in its transcendental aspects he terms a "formal" sanction, the nature of which Jesus could anticipate only by symbolic expressions suggested by the apocalyptic thought forms of his day.³⁸

- (1) The appeal to reason and common sense; to moral truth, and the innate moral possibility of men:³⁹
Mtt. 7:24-27; 9:13; 12:7; Lk. 12:57
- (2) The appeal to the nature of God as Love; this is the ultimate sanction;
Mtt. 5:45; 48; 7:21; 10:8b; Mk. 12:30-31; Lk. 6:35-36; 15:3-24
(I John 4:7-21)

In Lk. 15:7 and 23:43 it is evident that God to Jesus was interested in repentance, not in punishment. (I John 4:18)

36. See analysis of the OT concept of salvation, p. 103-105

37. Recall our discussion of "repentance" under Jesus' concept of man, page 143, and the distinction between normative and inordinate or excessive "pride" in the discussion of "sin" in the OT section of this Guide, page 99-100. We should distinguish between normal and necessary "pride" or self-respect, basic to stable personality, and inordinate or "selfish pride" that hinders love and fellowship with others. Doubtless most human beings would do well to acknowledge a tendency toward self-centeredness and inordinate pride of which we should be willing to divest ourselves, or "repent," with the help of Divine grace, if we are to get along with people in the best way, and fulfill the spirit of the kingdom.

38. Eschatology and Ethics in the Teachings of Jesus, op cit esp. pages 116f

39. "And why do you not judge for yourself what is right?" (Lk. 12:57)

"Every one then who hears these words of mine and does them will be like a wise man,...."etc. (Mtt. 7:24)

"Go and learn what this means, 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice.' For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners." (Mtt. 9:13: cp 12:7)

- (3) The authority and example of Jesus himself:
Mtt. 7:24; 10:38; 16:24; 25:40; Mk. 8:34; Lk. 9:23; 14:23; John 13:14-17;
17:20-21
- (4) The appeal to consequences, i.e. to reward and judgment here, and here-
after: Jesus broadens and deepens moral motive by the power of an
endless life, as Bacon has expressed it, relative to the belief in a
hereafter. He measures things temporal by comparison with things
eternal:
Mtt. 5:12-16; 5:29-30; 7:14; 18:7-10; Lk. 10:25; 23:43; John Chaps. 14-15

The appeal to consequences may be summarized as the appeal of the blessedness of life when in harmony with the will of God. The Beatitudes are typical. The appeal to consequences on its this-worldly or practical side are expressed, perhaps most succinctly, in the Sermon on the Mount, in those words describing the Christian, or Christian life, as "the salt of the earth" and "the light of the world," whose "good works" are to shine forth as the enlightening and transforming influence.

Jesus ethical teaching as a "social ethics" or a "social gospel" is of course, more a matter of contemporary interpretation of the basic gospel of love, than an express doctrine of the 1st Century New Testament records. Many, however, in modern times believe that the sayings and parables profoundly imply a social gospel, based on the love commandment, emphasizing human dignity, freedom, justice, and democracy. Such would be the widest practical consequence of the kingdom.⁴⁰

3. Jesus on himself as an instrument of salvation. The following resume anticipates the discussion of the messiahship in our next section. Suffice it here to say, as the messenger of God's kingdom of love and brotherhood, he came to think of himself in quite a normal way--just as any teacher or prophet might do--as an instrument of moral salvation. He realized that he was helping men to become citizens of the kingdom, that he was serving and saving them by his own living example, his forgiving attitude, his healing power (Mk. 2:5; 10:43-45; Lk. 11:20).

The famous saying reported in John's Gospel, 14:6: "I am the way, the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me," is often interpreted in negative, narrow, or exclusive terms. Actually the larger context of John's gospel suggests that this saying can be understood rather with a positive, inclusive meaning. In these central chapters of the New Testament Christology, John 14-15, the love commandment defines the way, the truth, the life, and the union with the Father. Verses 15, 21, 23 of chapter 14 and verses 7-17 of chapter 15 breathe a liberating inclusive spirit, rather than a confining, exclusive one (Ballou 1154-1158):-

"If you love me, you will keep my commandments...He who has my commandments and keeps them, he it is who loves me; and he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him...If a man loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him...If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatever you will...As the Father has loved me, so have I loved you: abide in my love. If you

40. e.g. Walter Rauschenbush: The Social Teachings of Jesus
" " " A Theology of the Social Gospel
John C. Bennett: Christianity and Communism

keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love...This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you...This I command you, to love one another" (RSV)

The author of John's Gospel began his interpretation of Jesus in terms of Greek metaphysical doctrine. He describes Jesus as the "word" (or "logos,"⁴¹) that is, the rational, formative, moral power of God that goes forth to create the worlds. He spoke of Jesus as "full of grace and truth;" and as "The true light that enlightens every man..." (1:9, 14). Such terms, and those quoted above suggest moral rationality and an inclusive universalism, to the effect that the life of love and moral truth, expressed in Jesus, is the only ultimate way men anywhere, find salvation--it includes any or all who live this "way" this "truth" this "life." As suggested in John, Christians may have the faith that Jesus utters and exemplifies, the moral truth by which all men come to God, if they wish to come. The statement of the way the truth and the life is found in the general context about keeping his commandments--that is, living life as he enjoins in agape--if we would become "one" with him and the Father. This might include those not technically disciples, a point in fact, which John 10:16 suggests, where we read.. "I have other sheep, that are not of this fold"; though, indeed, the ultimate aim in John's outlook is to bring them also, that "they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd."

In the meanwhile, however, there is the "other...fold." Christianity may be interpreted as historically flexible and inclusive. It need not be viewed as having a "built in intransigence."⁴¹ What, in its institutional details, the ultimate unity of religious faith for mankind may be in the far reaches of the historical future, no one may presently say. We may believe, however, that such faith will not be greatly different from the highest we already know in the Christian agape and its counter parts in the other world religions.

The spirit of universalism and religious inclusiveness is also present in the Synoptic Gospels themselves.

Indeed, these Gospels contain the record of an increasing call by Jesus to personal discipleship to him as his historic career moved toward martyrdom--as the issues between him and the religious opposition were drawn ever more sharp and he felt the need for uncompromising support, commitment and loyalty on the part of his followers. In this historic circumstance, we have the report that he enjoined his followers to give up personal ties for the sake of the mission; that he even described the commitment to discipleship in terms of "self hatred" that is, the hating of, or turning of one's back upon the things dear to one's self and one's family, ties that might temporize the effect of the mission. To follow him will be to "renounce all" that one has, to bear one's "own cross," and to meet with persecutions.⁴²

While recognizing this aspect of drastic summons, reflecting the historic crisis as Jesus felt it--to the effect that commitment to the kingdom came to be

41. Confining terms which this analyst heard one denominational representative use.

42. Luke 14:26-33; Mk. 10:29; Lk. 11:23--"he who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters."

commitment to himself, or loyalty to his person; we should consider such sayings in the total context of the record. They certainly make clear that Jesus expected thoroughgoing and radical changes of disposition and life on the part of all who repented at his preaching.⁴³ But confession or discipleship did not mean that all were necessarily to follow in his personal or immediate company as did the Twelve, and others who were specially summoned. There was Zacchaeus, the tax-collector, who continued in his own calling. We mention again the lawyer who asked the way to eternal life, for whom Jesus spoke the parable of the Good Samaritan, and then said go, do as the Samaritan had done. Many were healed or helped of whom we hear no further—a leper, a paralytic, a centurian, Jairus, the Syrophenician woman. Men may continue in their own vocations, with their varied gifts and callings, as Paul, writing within the first generation of Christians, interpreted the message.⁴⁴

The Synoptics bear record that "whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister, and mother." (Mk. 3:31) When asked by the disciples whether the man who was casting out demons in his name, but who was not following them, should be restrained, he said: "Do not forbid him; for no one who does a mighty work in my name will be able soon after to speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is for us." (Mk. 9:39-40) And concluding this point at the moment, concerning the spirit of universalism which we find in the Synoptics, we may cite his words reported in Matthew 8:11-12: "Many shall come from the east and the west to sit at the table in the Kingdom of Heaven."

As a major point of theology we reserve for fuller treatment presently the meaning of his death in the Christian concept of salvation. It must suffice here to state in general terms what the approaching death may have meant to Jesus as he faced martyrdom. After it became clear that the conflict with the religious authorities might result in apprehension and death, Jesus began to connect his message and work with his suffering and death, and trusted that God would vindicate the kingdom in, through, by, or beyond his death—as the climactic event of his total life of self-giving and service. To anticipate what we discuss more fully later, in Lk. 4:17; 22:27, 37 he associates himself with the Isaianic suffering servant. In Lk 13:33 he speaks of his death as the perishing of "a prophet." Though it is difficult to formulate exactly what Jesus' theology came to be in the late hours of his life, we might safely conjecture that, with such Isaianic passages in mind, he may well have come to look upon his death as an occasion God would use to disclose some deepest meaning of his suffering and sacrifice, as Mark 10:45 or Mark 14:22 imply.

4. Jesus conception of judgment. In treating this element of Jesus teaching, bear in mind that he shared in the main eschatological thought form of his day—that God would soon end this world age and usher in the consummation of the kingdom. Also recall the prominent aspects of his teaching on the blessedness or joy of life in accepting the kingdom as expressing the positive spirit of his appeal.

He is reported, however, as also using such negative or warning terminology as the following concerning the judgment, hell and perdition: "eternal" or "unquenchable fire," the "furnace of fire," "where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth," "Where their worm does not die," a "place of torment," "cast into hell," "eternal punishment."⁴⁵

43. Wilder, op. cit. p. 109

44. St. Paul, Romans 12:4-8

45. Mk. 9:43-49; Mtt. 5:29; 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; 41, 46; Lk. 13:38; 16:19-31; 17-22

Note also that he speaks of perdition or the judgment as "outer darkness," the place where "both soul and body are destroyed," as being swallowed up by the sea.⁴⁶ How may we evaluate these sayings?

Firstly, we may conclude that Jesus believed that failure to live the message of the kingdom would bring judgment or distress. To live heedless of persons and of love will make for unhappiness of spirit on the subjective plane and discord and conflict on the social plane. Failure to heed the moral laws of our world will bring its judgment. The son in the parable of the Prodigal met his retribution for his life of too self-indulgent pleasure when he found himself living with the swine. Jesus anticipated that the nation would be destroyed, if it continued to reject the kingdom of love he had announced, Mk. 13:3 (recall pages 137-138). Such is his concept of judgment on the natural or historic plane. What is his belief relative to the transcendent or eschatological aspect of judgment?

Secondly, references to torment, hell fire, and eternal punishment, such as in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31) and the Last judgment (Mtt. 25), were traditional descriptions. The idea of hell, or (in the Greek) Gehenna, (Mk. 9:48) had its actual counterpart in the refuse dump outside Jerusalem, where fires were kept perpetually burning. The Greek expression Gehenna comes from the Hebrew Ge Hinnom. It was in the valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, where, in earlier times, the Israelites had sacrificed children on fiery altars to Molech. This came to be a place of abomination and refuse.⁴⁷ The scene in the parable of the Last Judgment where sheep are separated from the goats, and a sharp division is made, is in form like typical apocalyptic thought. We have noted that Jesus uses apocalyptic thought forms but we are also observing that he transcends much of their grosser element. He suffuses or spiritualizes apocalyptic terms and concepts, and seems to employ some of them in metaphorical ways.⁴⁸ To what extent Jesus was an apocalypticist, in contrast to possible other interpretations, we have yet to examine.

Thirdly, the idea of a literal, eternal fire of torment, a vindictive, non-remedial punishment seems utterly contrary to Jesus' conception of the forgiving love of God. (Some commentators feel that such places as Mtt. 25:46 may be the Gospelists rather than the historic Jesus speaking.)^{48a} In any case, Jesus seems to teach in many places that personality is never totally lost or worthless, but that God's love is always prepared to go out to the sinner. Such hope is suggested in the great parables: the Prodigal son, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, etc. The references to eternal punishment must be considered alongside such passages as Mtt. 7:7-11; 18:21-22; Lk. 17:3-4, sayings that announce the immediate response of God to the sincere

46. Mtt. 6:23; 8:12; 22:13, 25:30; Lk. 11:35; 22:53; Mk. 9:42.

47. An Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. Ferm., p. 295. Note the repetition of the wording of Is. 66:24 in the report in Mk. 9:48; and that Mtt. and Lk. omit 9:48.

48. Mk. 8:31; 10:45--as in the lowly and suffering role of the "Son of Man." Mk. 12:18-27--as in his opinion concerning condition of life in the "resurrection."

Lk. 11:20; 17:20--where the divine kingdom is announced in its aspect as a present reality in their midst.

Lk. 12:49--where the expression "to cast fire upon the earth" is a metaphor for the natural divisions that his message and movement would create among men.

48a. Eg. Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 7, Abingdon Press, 1951, p. 566; The Abingdon Bible Commentary, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1929, p. 992.

seeker, and the divine forgiveness seventy times seven. This metaphor stresses the indefinite or infinite quality of God's desire and readiness to forgive, in response to true repentance.

The important thing for Jesus was salvation from the personal condition or "sin" that may lead to "hell" or a state of separation from God, and the fellowship of the kingdom. Fosdick has said that the main point of the parables of judgment was to define "the qualities of character that are eternally disapproved by God,"⁴⁹ so long as such attitudes and qualities remain. The principal teaching of these parables, e.g. that of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19-31) is not to announce the eternal nature of hell so much as to stress the importance of making our decisions for the Good here and now; that life has its important issues, which must be decided freely and on their own merits by free personality, without compulsion by the supernatural; and that there is some irrevocableness or finality about our decisions.

Hugo Gressman in 1918 found some parallel to the Dives and Lazarus theme in Rabbinical literature, and its possible source in an Egyptian tale, which recounted a reversal of conditions for a rich man and poor man after death.⁵⁰ This fact suggests that Jesus used a traditional story. Is it necessary to believe that Jesus endorsed the imagery of the story, in some total or literal sense, any more than he endorsed the grudging attitude of the unjust judge, or the authoritarianism of the nobleman who became a king, characters in two other parables?^{50a} The nature of many of the parables is that they are graphic figures of speech--not anecdotes of literal happenings--designed to teach important qualities of spirit that characterize the kingdom of heaven, and the urgency of its appeal, under the eschatological thought form or tension which Jesus accepted and felt. For inspiration for the characters and circumstances which he depicted in the imaginative stories which are his parables, he no doubt often drew from familiar real life situations, in their varied color and experience.

In any case, the irrevocableness of the award and the unforgiving nature of God as implied in the parable may be balanced by the sayings on the unlimited character of the divine disposition to forgive. Recall also Lk. 15:7, "I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents," etc.; Mtt. 5:44, "I say to you Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven," and the Luke version of this saying: "Love your enemies...and you will be sons of the Most High; for he is kind to the ungrateful and the selfish. Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful." (6:35-36)

Fourthly, Jesus' references to hell as an objective place of eternal "fire" (Mk. 9:48; Mtt. 5:22; 13:42; 25:41) stand in contrast, if they are taken literally, to his references to judgment as "outer darkness" and a subjective state of soul (Mtt. 6:23; 8:12; 22:13; 25:30); and to his objection to the belief of the Sadducees that material conditions obtain in the after life (Mk. 12:18). In one place the wording is that the soul is "destroyed" in hell, Mtt. 10:28; in another that the judgment of those who reject truth

49. Guide to Understanding the Bible, op. cit., p. 283

50. References to this source: William Manson: The Gospel of Luke, Moffatt New Testament Commentary, Harper, p. 190; The Interpreters Bible, Vol. 8 p. 289; Hillyer H. Straton, The Parables of Jesus, Eerdmans, 1959, p. 187.

50a. Hillyer H. Straton, *Ib.* p. 189. Lk. 18:1-8; Lk. 19:12-27.

and love would be like being swallowed up by the sea, Mk. 9:42. These and the idea of outer darkness may suggest that "hell" in Jesus thought meant the annihilation of unworthy personal life. In any case, it is obvious that such expressions as "fire" and "outer darkness" are metaphors, symbolic of a possible truth about the condition of souls in an after life, who, by their own choice, are unprepared to enter the fellowship of God's kingdom.

We conclude that such judgment or perdition could only be conditional, if we trust Jesus' conception of God as Agape love, which would forgive seventy times seven, even the soul standing apart who might turn to Him for forgiveness and acceptance.⁵¹ The larger note of the Gospel is that "perfect love casts out fear" (I John 4:18). Jesus appealed fundamentally to the blessedness of life in fellowship with God as the inducement to men to enter the kingdom. The Beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount are typical.⁵²

The uniqueness of Jesus as teacher and man in Christian faith. Fosdick has well summarized that the uniqueness of Jesus as teacher lay in the "selective attention"^{53a} with which he treated the great themes of his heritage, or the intensity with which he focused upon the theme of the sacredness of human personality, and Agape love as the essence of moral reality, reflecting the Divine Fatherhood.

For Christians, he has also been regarded as unique in himself as expressive of the Divine Reality. Our task, as we look at the problem of the messiahship, is to illuminate this area of understanding, both from the perspective, as an historic fact, of what Jesus may have thought about himself--in so far as this issue may be clarified from the accounts in the gospels--and what the New Testament authors or interpreters of his life thought about him or came to think about him within the framework of theological evaluation.

51. It is interesting that there is the idea of hell as purgatory in I Peter 3:19, 4:6 where the tradition is that Jesus, between his crucifixion and resurrection, preached the message of repentance to the souls in hell, signifying that early Christians were not constrained by belief in irrevocable judgment. In St. Paul there is the suggestion of belief in a universal salvation, I Cor. 15:28; Eph. 1:23. The Fatherly God of Jesus seemed concerned about repentance and renovation of character rather than punishment and retribution, Lk 15:7; 23:43; Mtt. 9:13.

52. Mtt. 5:16; 48; 9:13; 10:8b; 12:7; Lk. 6:35-36, 12:57.

53a. Guide to Understanding the Bible, op. cit., p. 42.

V. The New Testament and Concepts of Jesus' Messiahship, Death, and Resurrection:
Basic Issues in Christian Theology

A. The Problem of the Messiahship

The reader may recall our discussion on the types of messianic hope in Israel in Jesus' day, p. 134-139, and our preview of the type of role which we believe he represented, p. 138. Also recall our statement of the problem of the historical Jesus p. 140-141.

1. The critical historical question is how to evaluate the apocalyptic element in the gospels at those express points where Jesus is reported as claiming to be the supernatural "Son of man," who is to appear immediately upon the clouds of Heaven?

William Manson in his study, Christ's View of the Kingdom of God, points out the several possible ways modern thought has treated the apocalyptic element in the Gospels.

First, it is possible to look at the apocalyptic element or terminology in Jesus' teaching as incidental, a mere husk, that may be stripped away and more or less ignored. This type of evaluation is strengthened by the recent opening up of the apocalyptic writings of the later Jewish period, which reveal that many of the eschatological ideas in the Gospels were not original to Christianity. Furthermore, there is the possibility that the apocalyptic element represents the interpretation of the evangelists, or Gospel authors themselves in the early church, rather than that of the historic Jesus. According to this view the evangelists interpreted Jesus in the light of the apocalyptic ideas predominant in their time.

Indeed, there appears to be without doubt a heightening of ideas in the record in the direction of an interpretation of Jesus as apocalyptic Son of man, a development suggested by a close comparison of the Synoptic Gospels in some places.⁵³ Harvie Branscomb believes that the title in its apocalyptic sense was applied to Jesus by the early church, and presents a strong argument to support this view.⁵⁴

The tendency of interpretation in this direction, then, may be to say that the message of the historic Jesus was centered on ethical and spiritual teaching; and to conclude that, as he may have thought of his mission as being in some way especially appointed, it was a "Messiahship of service" to which he was called.⁵⁵

The second possibility is represented by Schweitzer's classic affirmation that the apocalyptic element is all-essential, the very kernel of the Gospel story. In his famous study, The Quest of the Historical Jesus, (1906) Schweitzer announced that the man of Nazareth was a radical apocalyptic thinker and prophet, who deliberately allowed himself to be martyred, believing that God would vindicate him by causing a metamorphosis of his person into that of the transcendent Son of man.⁵⁶ This interpretation

53. E.g. Burton and Goodspeed: Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, op. cit., p. 118-21, 187, 241, 226, 247-249.

54. The Gospel of Mark, Harper, p. 146-149.

55. So Branscomb, *Ib.* p. 153.

56. Chapters XIX-XX.

relies on such passages as Mk. 13:26, 30; 14:61-62; Mtt. 10-23. In an eloquent portrayal Schweitzer says that the historical Jesus threw himself against the wheel of history and was crushed by it! Christianity, however, continues as a historical force because of the "spiritual" power of love that Jesus has released into the hearts of men.⁵⁷

We have already presented in outline the possibility of a third point of view.⁵⁸ It has been ably expressed in similar vein by three respected scholars in the following memorable summaries:

"The truth is...that in Jesus' mind the two conceptions were really one (ethics and eschatology). Religious thought always moves around two foci, that of experience on the one hand, and that of hope on the other. On the one hand there is no religious faith which does not include the sense of Divine forces already at work to produce a present salvation which does not involve the sense of deficit, a something wanting, which has still to be looked for from the skies. The religious conception always turns on these two factors, experience and hope, ethic and eschatology...The complexity of the Gospel data is however due to this that in Jesus' teaching we see a process going on by which apocalyptic ideas are being translated into terms of present and living reality... Jesus, in proclaiming the kingdom of God, and applying to Himself the title 'Son of Man,' was taking up apocalyptic ideas, and giving His Gospel an initial relation to apocalyptic hopes...Apocalyptic supplied the form, therefore, in which Jesus announced His specific message. ...In the sense of having and possessing God Himself He had the assurance that God's idea for humanity could not be long hindered. He had only to reveal God to men, and the Kingdom would have come...The Gospel of Jesus, by presenting the Kingdom as something already cast like a seed into the ground, breaks through the moulds of apocalyptic thought, and diffuses itself in the world as a religion of realized redemption...The teaching of Jesus, therefore, will not be compressed within the limits of an apocalyptic doctrine of the Kingdom..."⁵⁹

57. More recently, Rudolf Bultman, accepting the apocalyptic school of interpretation initiated by Johannes Weiss (1882), and carried in one direction by Schweitzer, believes that the only way to save Jesus for the modern scientific world is by a radical process of "de-mythologizing" the New Testament apocalyptic picture. That is, "de-mythologizing" would divest the New Testament of its plainly eschatological setting and message--as irrelevant to modern scientific ears--and reinterpret it in terms of the contemporary existentialist philosophy of man. The main drift of Bultmann's view is that "Jesus Christ" as savior, the core of the divine "word" in the Gospel, is relevant to modern man personally in his need as "sinner"--whose soul may be renewed in vertical or subjective dimensions by God's acting through the power of this "faith," a supreme mystery of renewal hidden in the depths of being. Modern scientific man need not, indeed cannot, accept the eschatological framework of thought of the First Century when the New Testament was written. See Rudolf Bultmann: Jesus Christ and Mythology, Scribner, 1958.

"De-mythologizing," however, is not understood by Bultmann as a process of "rationalizing" or "naturalizing" or "ethicizing" the New Testament message, as a former humanistic and liberal Biblical interpretation and theology supposed was possible. The similarity of Bultmann's view to Barth's and to Niebuhr's, and his opposition to "liberal Christologies" (though not to contemporary Biblical criticism) is evident.

58. See p. 138, 140-141.

59. William Manson: Christ's View of the Kingdom of God, T & T Clark, Edenburg, 1918, excerpts from pp. 60-101.

"The use of apocalyptic terms whether by Jewish writers or by Jesus in no way indicates an exclusively otherworldly outlook. Allowance for the symbolic character of these forecasts allows us to see that their concern is in part with the this worldly future of man. Those elements that appear to set a term to the life of this world are in part transparent and disclose in mythical form a future of men under divine judgment and grace, indeed, but not transplanted to other conditions of existence. It is not claimed that Man's deepest intimation of a finally transcendent destiny is absent from apocalyptic, but that this is joined in it with equally compelling intimations of divine operation in the social-historical future. What form this latter would take would only be suggested by imaginative terms, and these merge imperceptibly into the imaginative terms with which the final goal of existence is described." 60

"He believed that the day of God's rule was near at hand...But there are differences from apocalypticism that are...significant. Jesus had none of the hopeless pessimism of the apocalyptists...True, it was God and not man that was to bring the kingdom; but man had something to do. He must repent...The beginnings of the kingdom were here...Satan's kingdom was already being overthrown (Lk. 11:20; 10:18; Mtt. 11:4, 5, 25-30)... And one other difference; the apocalyptists were always anxiously scanning the heavens for signs, and calculating times and periods. Jesus left this all with God... ..The emphasis of Jesus is upon the moral character of God. God's relations with men are primarily personal and ethical. Hence the rule of the inner spirit.

"Did the kingdom of God, then, mean for Jesus simply something individual and subjective: That does not follow from the position taken above...The spirit is one of good will, expressed actively in service, and the final test of its presence is just this service (Mk. 9:35; 10:42-45; Mt. 25:31-46). We are dealing here, then, not with mere inner emotion or mystical experience, but pre-eminently with a social spirit that can be expressed only in human relations. The goods of the Kingdom which God gives are conquest of evil, forgiveness of sins, the vision of God, the gift of the spirit-- in a word the gift of life (Lk 11:20; 24:47; Mt. 5:8; Mk. 10:17f). Such gifts cannot be passively received. They make searching demand. And that demand Jesus makes plain. He calls men to repentance, to utter change of heart and devotion of life...The will of God becomes not something passively accepted, but actively practiced." 61

In debate concerning Jesus' relation to apocalyptic thought students have pointed out certain striking contrasts between his views, as expressed in much of the Gospel materials, and the outlook of some of the apocalyptic tracts of the late Old Testament and New Testament periods, such as:---

60. Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus, op. cit., p. 53. See also p. 133.

61. Harris, Franklin Ball, in The Abingdom Bible Commentary, p. 911-913.

Apocalyptic:
e.g. Joel, Enoch
literature ⁶²

Jesus' Teaching:

World situation hopeless.

World situation not hopeless:
Jesus earnestly expects or
hopes that his message might
be accepted of men, right up
to the end: His appeals for
repentance, Gethsemane prayer.

God must end the world order
abruptly, catastrophically.

Parables of the Kingdom as
growth and, as inward and
spiritual.⁶³

Kingdom possible only in heaven
after world is dissolved by fire.

Kingdom possible on earth,
God's will to be done on earth;
his message and work is in
behalf of a present redemption⁶⁴

Son of Man to take vengeance on
Israel's enemies.

Jesus teaching that the King-
dom is to include any men who
do God's will.⁶⁵

A wrathful God to blot out sinners.

Jesus belief that God is love,
anxious to save sinners.⁶⁶

Extravagant imagery.

Teaches by natural life-like
examples. e.g. the parables.

The end calculated by
cosmic signs.⁶⁷

His announcements that the
time of the end cannot be
forecast.⁶⁸

If Mark 8:31 or 10:45 is authentic, it is clear that Jesus uses the term 'Son of Man' in a sense unlike apocalyptic thought--Jesus has spiritualized the concept: (1) the son of man is already here in himself; he is not a future figure to come; (2) he is a dying Son of man, a suffering Son of man, not an omnipotent, supernatural destroyer of the Gentiles,⁶⁹ sinners, and an evil world.⁷⁰ He was a "son of man" who "came not to be served but to serve."⁷¹

62. Joel, 2:30-3:21; C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background, Selected Documents, op. cit, p. 235-253.

63. Mk. 4:20f; Lk. 11:20; 17:20-21; 19:11.

64. Mk. 10:25-37; 19:11-26; Mtt. 6:12, 7:24; 20:1-16; Lk. 4:16-19.

65. Mk. 3:31; 12:9; Lk. 10:25-37; Mtt. 8:11-12; 13:38; 21:43.

66. Lk. 15:1-32.

67. Mk. Ch. 13.

68. Lk. 11:16f; 17:20-21; Mk. 8:11-13.

69. Barret, op. cit. 242, Assumption of Moses 10, where, not a Son of man, but "the Eternal God alone...will appear to punish the Gentiles," that Israel can be "happy," "exult," and see its "enemies in Gehenna, and... recognize them and rejoice."

70. *Ib.*, p. 236, where--in 1 Enoch, 48, 69, the Son of man is to destroy "sinners"; and similarly spoken of the supernatural "man" who "flew with the clouds of heaven" in 4 Ezra 13. Compare Daniel 7.

71. Mk. 10:45. There is also the possibility that Jesus uses the term "Son of man" not of himself, but of another personality, eg. Lk. 9:26-27; 17:24.

2. A messiahship of Service. Regardless of his express use or not of the Son of man terminology, many scholars of our day believe that Jesus assumed and emphasized, more or less consciously, his role as a "messiah" or spokesman of service, inspired possibly by the Suffering Servant ideal of the Second Isaiah. The value of this interpretation, if true, is that it would depict the historical Jesus as a personality who was more in touch with human reality as we know it. It would understand him in terms less extreme than the apocalyptic interpretation; it views him as a prophet for the ages, and less a child of the first century. Is it a true interpretation? Did Jesus identify himself with the Suffering Servant theme of the Great Isaiah (Chapt. 53); or in what way or to what extent might Jesus, in the last tragic hours of his life, have taken comfort in this theme? Scholarly opinion is open;⁷² the individual student will have to decide the issue for himself, on the basis of the evidence as he may see it.

We here attempt to throw light on the problem in the following way.

Much of the liberal tradition in New Testament interpretation has believed that the historic Jesus, if he claimed to have a special role at all, associated his life and work primarily with a message of suffering service.

However, in a number of places Mark emphasizes Jesus as the "Son of man" in the highapocalyptic sense, eg. 13:26; 14:62--who declared he would return on the clouds of heaven before his own generation would pass away. Matthew, whom you will recall used Mark as one of his sources, follows the latter quite closely in such a presentation. Yet even Mark reports that Jesus refused to lay claim to the Messianic office as popularly conceived (8:11-13).⁷³ Jesus refusal to give a "sign" in this passage suggests particularly the refusal to identify himself with the full apocalyptic notion of the messiah, whose coming, it was supposed, would be preceded by many signs.⁷⁴ We also recall how Mark cites Jesus as a lowly and suffering "Son of Man."

72. Eg. for a significant defense of the Suffering Servant interpretation see John Wick Bowman: The Intention of Jesus, Westminster Press, 1943. Also R. H. Strachan: "The Gospel in the New Testament," Interpreters Bible, Vol. 7, p. 15; Vincent Taylor, "The Life and Ministry of Jesus," Interpreters Bible, Vol. 7, p. 117; Harvey Branscomb, The Gospel of Mark, op. cit., p. 145-158.

For criticism of the view that Jesus identified himself with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah see Clarence T. Craig, "The Identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant," Journal of Religion, XXIV, 1944; p. 240-45; C. T. Craig, "The Teachings of Jesus, The Proclamation of the Kingdom," Interpreters Bible, Vol. 7, p. 149.

Craig cites James Moffat, The Theology of the Gospels, 1912; C. J. Cadoux, The Historic Mission of Jesus, 1943; A. E. J. Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of Christ, 1926; Rudolf Otto, The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man, 1938; C. C. Torrey, "The Influence of II Isaiah in the Gospels and Acts" (Journal of Biblical Literature, 1929, p. 249-61) as supporting the Suffering Servant thesis; and K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity; F. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings, 1924, as opposed to the identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant figure.

73. See parallels in Lk. 11:16, 29F; 17:20-1.

74. This contrasts, of course, with the "Little Apocalypse" of Mark 13.

Although Luke, like Matthew and Mark, includes the eschatological view of the kingdom as awaiting a future, heavenly or transcendent consummation, this writer believes that the third Gospel presents Jesus in a number of places in a modified apocalyptic light.^{74a} Along with his eschatological concept of the kingdom, to be sure, Luke sets Jesus forth significantly as fulfilling a role described in two passages which come from the Second Isaiah.

In Luke 22:37 Jesus is reported as directly quoting from Isaiah 53:12, the heart of the Suffering Servant passages, the line which says that "he (the Servant) was reckoned with transgressors." According to Luke Jesus appropriates the sentiment of this Isaianic line as descriptive of his own destiny. Since this particular quotation from Isaiah is not found in Matthew or Mark, its presence in Luke suggests a trend in this Gospel toward interpreting Jesus in the Suffering Servant light.

Scholarship is divided as to whether Jesus' quotation in Luke 4:10-19, from Isaiah 61:1-2, in which he identifies his role as that (or being like that) of the speaker in Isaiah--is a Servant passage. Many, however, have so identified the speaker in the opening lines of the first chapter of Isaiah.⁷⁵ However these finer points of scholarship may be settled, the tradition of Jesus as fulfilling the role of a messenger or a prophet of suffering service is strong in the New Testament.⁷⁶ Indeed, within the very traditions which declared him to be "Son of man," we have seen the central and new note that he is a serving and suffering Son of man. Luke has captured this spirit of Jesus, as the humble server of men, in the question, put to his disciples:

"For which is greater, one who sits at table, or one who serves? Is it not the one who sits at table? But I am among you as one who serves." (22; 27)

Again a trend in Luke stressing Jesus as servant, or server, may be observed in the fact that this particular question and its reply, does not have its exact parallel in Matthew and Mark,⁷⁷ though it is immediately preceded by the Markan source: "Let the greatest among you become as the youngest, and the leader as one who serves." (22:26). This latter saying is found in all three Synoptics.

74a. One such significant place is the trial scene, which we shall presently examine.

75. George Adam Smith, who believes that it is an open question, but sides with those who view the speaker as "the prophet" rather than "the Servant" of chapter 53, mentions Driver, Box and others who hold to the Servant interpretation of Isaiah 61:1-2, The Book of Isaiah, vol. II, Harper, p. 472, note. So, it seems to me, is the effect of Rogers' view, who sides for the prophet interpretation but says the message reflects the imagery of the suffering servant, Abingdon Bible Commentary, op. cit. p. 672. William Manson apparently sides with the Servant interpretation, along with the Jewish scholar Montefiore, The Gospel of Luke, Moffatt NT Commentary, Harper, p. 41. Craig, in the article before cited, says that Isaiah 61:1-3 is not a servant passage (p. 244).

76. In addition to the possible interpretation of Lk. 4:16-19 and 22:37 in this light, there are Luke 22:24-27; Mk. 6:4; 8:31; 10:42-25; Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30.

77. See Burton and Goodspeed, A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, op. cit. p. 240.

Our point here is that, whereas Mark (in which Matthew follows Mark) presents us with a high apocalyptic Christology (to be sure not without its servant note too), Luke gives us more clearly a servant Christology. Perhaps the place of critical difference between the two Gospels, concerning Jesus role as messenger of the kingdom, is found in the two versions of the trial scene:

Mk. 14:60-64

Lk. 22:66-71

"And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, 'Have you no answer to make? What is it that these men testify against you?' But he was silent and made no answer. Again the high priest asked him, 'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' And Jesus said, 'I am; and you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.' And the high priest tore his mantle, and said, 'Why do we still need witnesses? You have heard his blasphemy. What is your decision?' And they all condemned him as deserving death."

"When day came, the assembly of the elders of the people gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away to their council, and they said, 'If you are the Christ, tell us.' But he said to them, 'If I tell you, you will not believe; and if I ask you, you will not answer. But from now on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God.' And they all said, 'Are you the Son of God, then?' And he said to them, 'You say that I am.' And they said, 'What further testimony do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips.'"

As one ponders these reports for clues which may throw light on what the historic Jesus believed about himself, one notices, as we have already suggested, that the Mark version is a clearly apocalyptic one: it seems to say that Jesus is the Son of man and that they (in their day) will see the Son of man coming. Luke, however, writes more cautiously. If Luke's version is apocalyptic in some respects it is modified. For one thing, Jesus' reply, to the high priest is not an outright affirmation as it is in Mark, but is ambiguous. To the question in Luke, "If you are the Christ, tell us," he replies, "If I tell you, you will not believe; and if I ask you, you will not answer;" and farther on he says "You say that I am." For another; he says that the Son of man will be vindicated by the power of God, not that they will see him come.

Do we have here a significant difference and a clue that leads us to believe Luke is presenting us with a more historic account than Mark? In any case, the differences between the two accounts, and Luke's ambiguity, keeps the possibility open of answering the foregoing question in the affirmative. Luke's ambiguous answer suggests that Jesus may have been signifying that they would not understand him in his true role as a messenger of suffering service. Why should they? They had not so understood him all along. Why now could any one expect them to understand in this late hour? Luke makes clear, of course, that Jesus in some sense claimed to fulfill a messianic role, and also that the kingdom would be realized, no doubt soon, as an act of God.⁷⁸

In aligning, however, the career of Jesus with the suffering messenger, or the suffering servant interpretation, it is undoubtedly wise to view the

78. Luke includes in his over-all presentation the view that the "suffering servant" would ultimately be triumphant in the indefinite (but possibly near) future as the exalted "Son of man": Lk. 9:26-27; (12:9); 22:29-30, 69. But note various details: Lk 21:31 reads "the kingdom of God is

issue with the caution and realism of C.T. Craig. In his article, "The Identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant,"⁷⁹ in which he criticizes the view that Jesus specifically made this identification, he suggests that Jesus was a sufferer, not because he consciously or deliberately chose to fulfill the role of the Isaianic Servant, but rather because events shaped themselves with this significance for his life. Craig's conclusion bears repeating:

near" rather than, as in the Mark and Matthew versions, "he is near," Mk 13:29, Mtt. 24:33. Lk. 9:27 and 22:29-30 refer again to the exalted "kingdom" without the "Son of man" references that appear in the parallels in Mtt. 16:27 and 19:28-29. Lk 21:27 and 17:23-24 refer to the coming of the "Son of man," "in a cloud with power and great glory" and "as the lightning flashes," -- apocalyptic ideas. But observe that Lk. 21:27 is an exact borrowing of Mk. 13:26; that Lk., chapter 21, parallels Mk, chapter 13, concerning the signs by which we may predict the kingdom's advent and seem contradictory to Lk. 17:20. (Many scholars commonly agree that Mk. 13 was a written source, an apocalyptic tract, which Mark used among other sources--see Branscomb, Gospel of Mark, op. cit., p. 231f). In Luke's version, however, of the "little apocalypse" appears the significant commentary (not present in Mk. 13 or the parallel in Mtt. 24) that "Jerusalem will be trodden down by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled," after which, following Mark's wording very closely, Luke speaks of the cosmic "signs" and the coming of the Son of man. Luke's version here seems to extend the event of the appearance into the indefinite future, and compares favorably with the announcement in Lk. 17:20, 23 and 19:11 that the consummation cannot be predicted, although he does say in 21:32 that "this generation will not pass away till all has taken place," following Mark 13:30.

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that at least in some places Luke seems definitely to qualify the common apocalyptic expectation that the end would be "immediately"; or that the time of its coming could be calculated exactly (in these matters recall Paul's counsel in the Second Letter to the Thessalonians). Recall also that the Gospel authors are second generation editors of materials representing various traditions, and that what we find in their books is a faithful reporting or composit of several accounts of the events and the sayings. The student should examine closely for himself a Harmony such as Burton's and Goodspeed's at such places as:

Lk. 9:27	with	Mk. 9:1	and	Mtt. 16:28
18:29 & 22:30				19:28
21:31 & 22: 29-30		13:29		24:33
22:67f	with	14:62f	and	26:64f
23:47		15:39		27:54

We cite also Clarence T. Craig's analysis of Luke's enforcement of the eschatological message of Jesus (Interpreters Bible, VII, p. 147):

- 12:49 -- had come "to cast fire upon the earth."
- 51-53 -- and bring a sharp division among men.
- 54-56 -- the people of that generation could not read the signs of the times--otherwise they would get right with their neighbors.
- 57-59 -- soon they would face the judge and it would be too late.
- 13: 1-9 -- judgment would come as suddenly as the tower of Siloam fell on the eighteen.
- 23-25 - they should strive to enter the narrow gate for soon the door would be shut.

"How did Jesus discover that his own career, which I believe was in some way messianic, was to involve suffering? Surely not from a book, but from the actual situation in which he lived. Men may choose to be a supreme servant of their fellow-men. That choice Jesus certainly made. It is not proved by individual verses, but by his whole life-career. That this service should involve suffering depended not upon himself, but upon the reaction of others to his mission. Though he appears to have been driven into retirement from Galilee, and though he doubtless suffered much mental anguish from the failure of his people to repent, he underwent no special physical suffering up to the time of his arrest. What occasion would he have had to say to himself or any one else, 'I intend to be the Suffering Servant of the Book of Isaiah'? He was a 'suffering servant' because of the turn which events took, not because it was a role which he could have deliberately chosen.

"It is conceivable, of course, that, as the probability increased that his ministry would end in death, he may have found comfort in this chapter in Isaiah. The meaning of his death, if it came, would be like that of the Servant portrayed there.....

"To the early Christians, who had to overcome the shame of the cross, it was exceedingly important to show the fulfilment of predictions in the scriptures. But why should that type of apologetic be continued in the twentieth century? The true moral grandeur of Jesus is seen, not in his following a path predetermined in a book, but in choosing what seemed to be the will of God in the confidence that God would use such obedience in his own way to his glory. Therefore, it seems to me to be irrelevant to claim that Jesus combined the figures of Suffering servant and the Danielic Son of man. That he identified himself in some way with the coming Son of man I find an inescapable conclusion. If that Son of man had to share in suffering, what was that but a participation in the messianic woes which must, according to tradition, precede the ultimate deliverance. Beyond that, I do not see how we can affirm more than that the secret of his mission lay in his own realization of the will of God. With true insight the author to the Hebrews applied to Jesus the words, 'Lo, I have come to do thy will.' (Heb. 10:5-9) The discovery of what that involved was not mediated by any one passage of scripture, but by his own oneness with the Father amidst the critical scene in which he was called to work." (p. 244-5)⁷⁹

Note, however, concerning 12:49 S. MacLean Gilmour's comment, "In the light of vs. 51-53 it is evident that Luke thinks of it as the fire of conflict that will compel men to align themselves for or against the Messiah" (Interpreters Bible, Vol. VIII p. 235). The saying then in Luke is a figure of speech, like its Matthean counterpart "a sword" (Mtt. 10:34) in which Jesus recognizes the inevitability of conflict between his movement and the old order. I Peter 4:12 speaks of the fire of persecution; could Jesus have had this in mind in using the expression "fire"? Is this reference then, a good illustration of the way he used apocalyptic terms and thought forms as high metaphors of real experience and real events, current or expected?

79. Clarence T. Craig, op. cit. note 72, p. 244-245.

3. The understanding of Jesus as Divine in Christian Thought. Our discussion now enters an area of theological evaluation centering in the question: within Christian thought what meaning may the term "divine" have as applied to Jesus's life or person?

a. The traditional Christian view reflects the over-all outlook of the Synoptic Gospels, and the Gospel of John. The authors of Mark, Luke and Matthew believe (1.) that Jesus is the Messiah, who came to proclaim the good news of the ethical and eschatological kingdom of righteousness; (2.) who performed mighty acts (or miracles) to prove his authority (or perhaps more precisely described, to show that his ministry had come with power);^{79a} (3.) who was rejected, crucified, and yet rose triumphant; (4.) whose death, and victory over the grave, performed a work of salvation for men. (5.) They emphasize or assume that God was active in him in a special way, without explaining at length in what philosophic or metaphysical terms this is to be conceived. Such reports as the Baptism, Peters' Confession at Caesarea Philippi, and the Transfiguration illustrate the way the Synoptics set Jesus forth as Son of God, Savior, Messiah, who was, more or less, conscious of such a role from the beginning of his ministry. The synoptics emphasize his miracles, above all his resurrection, and imply that his death has a special significance in the salvation of men.

In extension of the somewhat more realistic or historical picture painted by the Synoptics, concerning some of these details, John's Gospel heightens the evidence of the miracles and the portrayal of Jesus as a supernatural being. In the very opening of John Jesus is announced to be a pre-existent divine being, one with the creative Logos of God. John depicts him as fully omniscient, and as proclaiming himself to be the way to eternal life, through whom men may find union with God.

Traditional, "conservative" Christianity has emphasized the portrayal of Jesus in John's Gospel as an entirely supernatural being. Fundamentalist sects today take the Markan account of Jesus as apocalyptic Son of Man, who is to appear on the clouds of heaven, and interpret it into a doctrine of the "Second Coming" of Jesus—that is to say, he is to appear yet again in the future history of the world.

b. The more "liberal" or historically minded Christianity recognizes a difference between what Jesus may have thought about himself and the over-all highly theological presentation or evaluation of the four gospels. Liberal Christianity approaches the problem in the manner of our previous discussion of the messiahship, in which we reviewed the hypothesis that Jesus believed himself to be a messenger of suffering service. Its literary and historic assumptions are that the Gospels as we now have them are not kinds of stenographic reports written by people who stood at Jesus' elbow. But rather that the Gospels are fairly late, compositions of the second generation period, though they are compiled out of

79a. See our discussion of the miracles, page . The Synoptics report that Jesus refused to give miraculous proof of his authority, Mk. 8:11-13; Lk. 11:29f; 4:9-13. Rather his acts of healing in his ministry attest that the kingdom had come with power, Mk 2:3-11; Lk. 11:20. Even in Mk. 2:3-11 his moral message and ministry precede his healing ministry.

earlier documents and sources.⁸⁰ The liberal perspective on the literature believes it finds evidences of growth in the traditions about Jesus. It is willing therefore to say that every detail of the stories in the several sources need not be taken as literal history. As late first century writings, coming after 70 A.D., there was time for the legendary and the imaginary to have crept into the picture; above all, time for a possible early Christian interpretation of Jesus as apocalyptic Messiah to have made its stamp upon the record. Having several sources behind them, however, we have also observed that the Gospels include the suffering service concept, and we have interpreted this as alternative to, or in addition to, the portrayal of Jesus as a person preoccupied with apocalyptic hopes.

Furthermore, a realistic type of appraisal of the life of Jesus finds evidence for growth or development in his own sense of mission, as his ministry moved toward its tragic climax, and triumph, on the Cross. The tradition of the temptation suggests an early inner struggle within himself, a resolution of conflicts and a setting of his face toward a prophetic ministry. His retirement to Caesarea Philippi, after his Galilean ministry had stirred up opposition in the authorities and some confusion among the people, and the record of his pointed questions to his nearest friends about the meaning of himself in relation to his message, suggest a maturing, personal idea of his own life and work.

In any case, stated somewhat negatively, the thought of Jesus as a kind of celestial play-actor, who assumes the role of a suffering human being, as if wearing a mask, without really entering fully and seriously into the life of humanity, may happily be abandoned. Such would be an artificial view, which the

80. We should, of course, consider the possibility that Mark or Luke--if these names are used to refer to the authors of the books bearing them, or to the primary sources of these works--were younger "first generation" personalities who, at an earlier day, had some contact with eyewitness groups, as both early traditions and some evidence in the New Testament outside these books suggests. Our present Mark or Luke as we now have them were written in the second generation period. Though the issue remains in some dispute, many modern scholars indeed assign our present Luke-Acts work to "Luke", the physician and companion of Paul (Col. 4:14), and believe he was the author of the striking "We" diary passages of Acts, as well as the first person author of the prefaces to Luke and Acts.

synoptic Gospels themselves do not contain.⁸¹ The New Testament portrays him as a man "tempted in all things as we" but, in the ultimate Christian evaluation, "without sin" (Hebrews). He listed himself, however, with the rest of imperfect humanity and submitted to John's baptism of repentance.⁸² In any case, all Christians may join in thinking of him as "divine" (if we are inclined to use this adjective of him) by his own moral victory in trying to live fully God's will, in the message and life of Agape. This indeed is the deeper image in which all four Gospels, and St. Paul, do present him.

c. Where all Christian may join: Assuming that Jesus had a sense of special mission, which the tradition has called "messianic," what reported words of his disclose his belief concerning how God's Spirit was working in or through him? What was the quality of such level of consciousness with him? Some of the New Testament phraseology itself remains our best clue to this question. On the meaning of his messiahship and the idea of the divine quality of his life the New Testament is simpler and more appealing in its insights than later churchly formulations, such as that of the Council of Nicea, 325 A.D.

81. The Gospels portray Jesus as conscious of himself as living under the finite limitations of human life:

1. His physical experience was human or normal: capacity for pain, privation, fatigue, need of sleep, thirst, tears--his body of flesh and blood.
2. His moral or emotional experience was human or normal: his clear sense of duty, courage, fidelity, patience, indignation and temper, even fear and temptation: "Why call me good, none good but God," Mk. 10:18; Gethsemane.
3. His intellectual experience was human or normal: he was not omniscient.
 - NT says he grew in stature and in wisdom
 - "Of that day or hour knoweth no man..neither the Son", Mk. 13:32.
 - Asked questions to elicit information:
 - regarding site of Lazarus's tomb
 - asked who touched him when woman with issue of blood, etc.
 - number of loaves
 - name of the demented Gadarene.
 - Lacked modern scientific knowledge: believed in the demon possession theory of disease, and in the imminent end of the historic age. Jesus may have had an extraordinary range of discernment beyond the usual, but the record indicates that he was not omniscient.
4. His religious life was normal:
 - habit of prayer to the Father.
 - simple faith in the Father's guidance.
 - his search for and desire to do God's will.
 - his sense of obedience and duty when God's will was found.
5. His healings limited, depended on faith of patient--he was not omnipotent.

82. Mark 10:18

In our analysis we shall include the philosophic reflections of John, author of the Fourth Gospel. Along side his artificial depiction, of Jesus as entirely supernatural being (an emphasis which some Christians will continue to make) St. John has given the Christian tradition at once its most natural and profoundest insights into the significance of Jesus and the meaning of his life.

We find in the New Testament records the following primary points which help to illumine for Christians the quality of Jesus's life as "divine":

(1.) Jesus emphasized his "works" of love as expressing the Father's Will and purposes:

"But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you." (Lk. 11:20).

"The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness to me...I and the Father are one...I have shown you many good works from the Father...If I am not doing the works of my Father, then do not believe me, believe the works that you may know and understand that the Father is in me and I am in the Father." (John 10:25, 31, 32, 37-38).

"Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me? The words that I say to you I do not speak on my own authority; but the Father who dwells in me does his works. Believe me, that I am in the Father and the Father in me: or else believe me for the sake of the works themselves." (John 14: 10-11).

Luke's saying above is the nearest Jesus comes in the Synoptics to describing how God is working in him.^{82a} We find no formulation beyond this point, but the insight is clear and relatively simple. God's spirit was in the truth of his thoughts and the righteousness of his deeds. He proclaimed his message of the kingdom, in parables, sermons, and neighborly deeds, as God's will and work expressed among men. As we might phrase it today, his own "moral personality" in thought and action was to him a medium or expression of God's will.

Though the author of John's Gospels depicts Jesus with the aura of a supernatural being, the above essential and simpler insight--or the emphasis on the works--is not lost in John, as the above quotation, and those to follow suggest.

We are reminded that the belief of Jesus at this point appears to be quite like that of his spiritual forefathers among the great prophets of Israel. Relative to the way God is present in, and works through, life, Micah phrased it: "I am filled with power, with the Spirit of the Lord, and with justice and might, to declare to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin." (3:8). Or as Jeremiah said, speaking no doubt of king Josiah: "He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well. Is not this to know me? says the Lord." (22:16) Second

82a. Note also the similar saying in Luke 7:22-3, where in reply to the question of John's disciples as to whether he is the messenger of the kingdom Jesus replies: "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them. And blessed is he who takes no offense in me."

Isaiah, from whom incidentally Jesus quoted the following words according to Luke, phrased it this way: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed...." (Is. 60:1-2; Lk. 4:18).

Christians have called Jesus divine by the love content of his life. We may profitably listen to the formula of St. Paul in the Letter to the Romans, where he speaks of Jesus as God's "Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead." (1:3). Here the suggestion is that he is God's Son by the power of his life of love, or "holiness," and that this quality of his nature is attested in power by the resurrection.

Writing a generation after Paul, the author of John's Gospel stresses the same point, we believe, in his central chapters 14-15, which should be read in their entirety. We see the main point we are endeavoring to make in the following:

"I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you. He who has my commandments and keeps them, he it is who loves me; and he who loves me will be loved by my Father, and I will love him and manifest myself to him...If a man loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home with him....Abide in me and I in you...He who abides in me, and I in him, he it is that bears much fruit, for apart from me you can do nothing... If you abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatever you will, and it shall be done for you...As the Father has loved me, so have I loved you; abide in my love. If you keep my commandments, you will abide in my love, just as I have kept my Father's commandments and abide in his love...This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you...This I command you, to love one another."

We recall the saying, reported in John, "I and the Father are one" (10:30). It is clear by the context, above reviewed, that a moral oneness of will, purposes, and action is meant. Jesus's moral purposes and values were the same as the eternal moral purposes of God.^{82b}

82b. Such may be the quality for modern Christians of the ancient theology of Christ's pre-existence expressed in John 8:42, 58. "...I proceeded and came forth from God; I come not of my own accord, but he sent me....Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am." Is it John's view that Jesus identified himself with God in some "metaphysical" totality or unity? Characteristically in John's Gospel, Jesus addresses God as his "Father," as if a more ultimate source of being than himself. In the Lord's Prayer reported in the synoptics it is "Our Father."

(2.) Our second major consideration, is to note Jesus's sayings that if others practice his commandments, they too may become "one" with him and God-- the content or quality of the Divine Life may be shared by all.⁸³ Speaking of the high, moral mysticism expressed by the above passages, Harold De Wolf writes, "It is not metaphysical unity that he (Jesus) is asking. It is a unity of the most intimate sharing in understanding purpose, and love."⁸⁴ Reinhold Niebuhr has phrased it in a magnificent paragraph:

"The God of Christian revelation is not disengaged from, but engaged in, the world by His most majestic attributes; it is consequently not the highest perfection for men to achieve a unity of being from which all natural and historical vitalities have been substracted. The highest unity is a harmony of love in which the self relates itself in its freedom to other selves in their freedom under the will of God".
(Nature and Destiny of Man, Vol. II, p. 94-95).

In John's Gospel Jesus says in the great prayer,

"...They may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, So that they also may be in us, so That the world may believe that thou hast sent me....the love with which thou has loved me may be in them, and I in them." (17:21, 26).

Such is the formulation of St. John concerning the divine nature in Jesus, and we have seen that the author of the Fourth Gospel includes also the possibility of other men sharing in the divine life.

This concept of the immanence of the divine life and power in moral terms, not only in Christ, but also in his followers, was beautifully stated again by St. Paul, or a Pauline disciple, in Ephesians:

"..Be strengthened with might through his Spirit in the inner man, and that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith; that you, being rooted and grounded in love, may have power to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, that you may be filled with all the fulness of God." (3:16-19).

(3.) Our third point concerns the philosophical, psychological or metaphysical question for modern Christians: in what sense may personalities experience "union"? Only a dynamic theory of personality as intellectual and moral energy can answer such a question. Persons may experience "union" in two ways, (a) in the common awareness of truth on the intellectual plane, and (b) in the quality and direction of will on the moral and active level. We have just reviewed how St. John described the union of Christ with God -- and of his followers too with himself and the Father -- in the profound moral sense of union indicated by our second way just mentioned. Relative to the first mode of union or sharing of life, was John referring to our common awareness of truth on the intellectual level when he wrote such words as: "...the Spirit of truth...dwells with you, and will be in you...When the Spirit of truth comes, he will guide you into all the truth...."? (14:17; 16:13).

83. See also 1st John 3:25; 4:7, 11, 12, 16.

84. Theology of the Living Church, Harpers, 1953, p. 237.

Persons conjoin when they share values together. The values which Jesus conceived and the purposes which he sought to realize were the abiding values and purposes of God -- such is one way of describing the heart of Christian faith and commitment concerning "the Incarnation".⁸⁵

B. The Meaning of Jesus' Death on the Cross

Beyond his teachings on such themes as the nature of God, Man, and the Good Life, the three chief aims of Christian theology have been to interpret Jesus' person as "Messiah" or the divine son; to understand the saving efficacy or power expressed in his death on the Cross; and to accept his "Resurrection" as reality. We continue with a brief consideration of the last two of these theological issues.

1. The outlook of the New Testament as a whole. In the apt summary of George B. Stevens, the first Christians, and the New Testament as a whole, "clothed the death of Christ with saving significance".⁸⁶ Though there is in the New Testament writings, primarily in Paul's letters and the Hebrews, some conscious attempt to elaborate a theory of the Atonement, on the whole St. Paul, St. John, and other New Testament authors stress the point that Christ's death has a saving significance, without explaining exactly how it saves. The problem parallels their emphasis that God was in Christ, without telling expressly, in some metaphysical theory, how this was possible.

Such conscious theorizing as we find in St. Paul develops along two lines. One of these suggests a "penalistic" or "juridical" concept of the Atonement (elaborated in the later penal, legalistic, and juridical theories of the church); and the other has often been called the "revelational" theory, and the "moral" or "moral influence" theory. We shall presently refer to this second possibility as the "moral-energy" view. In our opinion, it is the predominating outlook of the Pauline letters, and of the other NT authors, where they refer to the significance of the death.

Prior to summarizing these two theories, however, we should recall Jesus' concept of salvation in the setting of his over-all teaching, and, expressly for our present purpose, consider his reported words relative to his death or impending martyrdom.

2. His concept of salvation was discussed on pages 152-153. Recall his thoroughly prophetic view. To the question: What shall a man do "to inherit eternal life", he replied in the simplest ethical terms: repent, love and serve

85. For this mode of interpretation of "The Incarnation", see Arthur Cushman McGiffert: Christianity as History and Faith, Scribner's, 1934, p. 110-130, 178-182. Also Wm. Newton Clarke: An Outline of Christian Theology, Scribner's, 1898, 19-?, 295-297. Also Hugh Ross Mackintosh's searching treatise: The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, Scribner's, 1912.

86. G. B. Stevens: The Christian Doctrine of Salvation, Scribner's, 1917 (?), p. 58.

thy neighbor, honor and love God. Review also our discussion of the concept of himself as an instrument of salvation, pages 154-156, where we said that "...as the messenger of God's kingdom of love and brotherhood, he came to think of himself in quite a normal way -- just as any teacher or prophet might do -- as an instrument of moral salvation. He realized that he was helping men to become citizens of the kingdom, that he was serving them and saving them by his own living example, his forgiving attitude, his healing power".

Beyond this we may "state by way of conjecture what the approaching death may have meant to Jesus as he faced martyrdom. After it became clear that the conflict with the religious authorities might result in apprehension and death, Jesus began to connect his message and work with his suffering and death, and trusted that God would vindicate the kingdom in, through, by, or beyond his death -- as the climactic event of his total life of self-giving and service".

3. Words of Jesus relative to his death. Without intending to present an exhaustive commentary, we shall pursue this topic by confining ourselves to the Synoptic tradition as based on Mark, the center of the historian's material about Jesus.

In Mk 8:31; 9:1; and 14:21, we find references to his impending martyrdom, and expressions of trust that the Kingdom would triumph in spite of his death. The martyrdom loomed as the inevitable result of the free decisions he had made. "For the Son of man goes as it is written of him..." (Mk 14:21) may simply mean -- if Jesus had Is. 53 in mind here -- that he realized his role as servant would end in suffering and death, as described of the innocent sufferer of Is. 53. This suffering role Jesus himself seemed to be fulfilling -- not as a predestinated outcome of a clairvoyant prediction, but as a natural fulfillment of the type of life that he had freely chosen. The suffering outcome of such a life would be inevitable in his time and circumstance in Israel. Moffatt translates this passage, "The Son of man goes the road that the scripture has described for him". In other words, the prophecy is "prescriptive" of what will happen to the kind of obedience Jesus exemplified. It need not be understood as "prescriptive" of the end of Jesus's life in some kind of mechanical, predetermined way.

Jesus did not die by a mechanical fate, or an unalterable Divine "predestination" -- he died rather as the consequence of the type of life he himself freely chose, Mk 14:35-36; Jn 10:15, 17-18. The parallel passage to Mk 14:21, in Luke 22:22, says, "as it has been determined", which may reflect predestinationist ideas of the early church. But even here in Luke, "determined" need not be taken in any mechanical sense: it can mean, as it often does, the natural outcome of free choice. (Clairvoyant and predestination ideas would, no doubt, be aspects of a conservative interpretation).

Recall that Lk 4:17f and 22:27, 37 associate Jesus with the suffering service ideal of Second Isaiah. Lk 22:27 may even suggest his conscious fulfillment of the Suffering Servant role of Is. 53. Luke's "reckoned with transgressors" (a quotation of Is. 53:12) seems a natural reference to the fact that he was being classified as a criminal in the late hours of his life. This verse in Luke of itself does not elaborate any special theory of the Atonement; if the latter had been in Jesus's or Luke's mind they could have better quoted Is. 53:10 or the last part of v.12. Lk 13:33 refers to his death as the perishing of "a prophet".

Mk 10:45 - "to give life a ransom for many": The passage does not say to whom a ransom is paid (as, for example, to God, or, as one ancient theory had it, to Satan); neither does I Tim. 2:5-6, which uses the ransom expression. It may simply mean here that his life is given for many, that is, in behalf of many. "Ransom" may mean that release is brought to captives, and the simplest meaning of the saying is that by his death he brings release to those in sin (the main point elaborated by St. Paul in Romans Chs. 3 and 5). His death is to be effective in saving men from the captivity of sin. "This saying does not formulate a theology of the Atonement, but it is one of the data upon which any theology of the Atonement must rest" (Inter. Bible VII 819). The Luke version of the saying in Luke 22:27 omits "ransom".⁸⁷

Mk 14:22-25 -- "My body...and my blood": There is no special theory of the Atonement formulated here. The natural explanation of the passage would be that the references to bread and wine as "body" and "blood" are symbolic in meaning, since Jesus real body, or flesh and blood, was standing there officiating at the supper. Our clue, then, from the circumstance itself, is to interpret the reference to blood shed and body broken as symbolic expressions of the loving, sacrificing kind of life that does indeed save our human situation from sin and evil. The passage as a whole, of course, may reflect the sacramental and theological interests of the early church, to the effect that there is saving efficacy in Christ's death. See I Cor. 11:25. (Exodus 24:8: where "covenant" is symbolical; or, if Jesus meant Jeremiah's new covenant, Jer. 31:31 suggests that the interior knowledge of moral law is the way of salvation).⁸⁸

Mk 15: 34 -- the cry on the Cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" is a quotation of Psalms 22:1, a description of some ancient sufferer in the last moments of life. Jesus's repete of a line which was no doubt familiar to him would represent a natural cry of despair, perplexity, and loneliness over the tragic outcome of his efforts to win the nation; it is not necessarily a cry of dereliction or abandonment by God (as some theories might suppose). In a cry reported in Luke 23:46 -- "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" -- Jesus sensed that he was not abandoned by God. Mk 15:34 expresses Jesus's feeling of "Loneliness and perplexity over the betrayal, the desertion, and the Cross".⁸⁹

Our conclusion: the implication of the Gospels is that Jesus's death constitutes a means of delivering men from sin, or symbolizes some way in which they are delivered. The problem is, What way? What theory may be constructed from the sparse sayings above mentioned, and the references particularly from Paul's letters on the subject? We have mentioned the two possibilities in our introduction above, as the legal or judicial type theory on the one hand, and the moral-energy or revelational understanding of Christ's death on the other. We now outline the substance of these two views.

87. See Burton & Goodspeed: Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, op. cit., p. 191.

88. See pages _____ where we present the Roman Catholic view of the Eucharist.

89. INTERPRETERS BIBLE, op. cit., Vol VII, p. 906b.

4. The two main theories of the Atonement of Christ:

- (1.) Penal or Legalistic Theory⁹⁰ It has been said that Jesus's death is a kind of ransom paid to God (or to the Devil, in the crudest form of the theory). Christ's suffering and death are a penalty or punishment (which really should be exacted from men because of their sin) but which Christ assumes in our place, or which God lays on Christ in our place.

Resumé: Its Leading Ideas -

- a.) The Divine Wrath is emphasized.
- b.) Requires a penalty (of hell?) or "punishment" for man's sin.
- c.) Removal of the penalty is necessary.
- d.) Christ's sacrifice ("shed blood") is a literal, human sacrifice that appeases the Divine wrath. (Compare OT animal sacrifices).
- e.) Man is hopelessly corrupt and helpless; is saved by prevenient, irresistible grace (automatic grace); is a passive spectator of something that is done for him.

Sum: removal of a penal judgment and its requirement of punishment.

- (2.) Revelational and Moral-Energy Theory⁹¹ This view may also be interpreted from the Pauline scriptures, e.g. Rom. 3&5; and to its advocates represents the dominant side of Paul's thought, and the over-all teaching of the NT, in so far as it suggests a theory of the Atonement. The principal theme of the moral energy theory is that Christ's death reveals God's full Agape, which removes -- not a legal debt or judicial penalty of some kind -- but the actual power and presence of sin in men's lives. In other words, God's love, acting to forgive and to empower is the "grace" and "redemption...in Christ" of which Paul speaks in Romans 3:25.

90. For classic expressions of this point of view see such sources as Irenaeus (2nd century), Henry Bettenson, Documents of the Christian Church, Oxford, 1947, p. 43; Rufinus of Aquileia (5th century), Ib., p. 49; St. Anselm (11th century) Cur Deus Homo, Open Court, 1944, p. 207; St. Thomas Aquinas (13th century), Selected Writings, Everyman Library, Dutton, 1943, p. 253. Luther, Hugh T. Kerr: A Compend of Luther's Theology, Westminster, 1943, p. 52. Calvin, Institutes, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, Vol. I, p. 552, 554.

The classic theories of the Atonement have been variously described as the Ransom to Satan theory (Irenaeus, Rufinus); the Feudal Honor theory (Anselm); the Penal theory (Aquinas, Luther, Calvin); the Governmental theory (Hugo Grotius, 17th century).

91. A history of the moral theory may be traced from the New Testament, through Peter Abelard (11th century), the Socinians (16th century), to various modern interpreters.

For representative discussion of the history and types of theory of the Atonement see L. Harold DeWolf, A Theology of the Living Church, Harper, 1953, Chap. 31; George B. Stevens, The Christian Doctrine of Salvation, op. cit.

For penetrating discussion of such classic problems of the Atonement as the relation of "law" to "love" in God's attitude and the idea of the Cross as representing "satisfaction" for God, see William Newton Clark, An Outline of Christian Theology, Scribner's, 1898, p. 326-29; 347-48.

Resumé: Its Leading Ideas -

- a.) Divine Love (Agape) is predominating point.
- b.) The condition or situation of human sin, failure, shortcoming.
- c.) Removal of "sin" and its power and influence over us, and its result, consequences or "judgment" in "death".
- d.) Christ's Sacrifice ("shed blood") reveals and releases the love-energy of God. The shed blood terminology is a symbolical expression of the Divine or Self-sacrificing love that removes sin; and expresses God's suffering concern for sin.
- e.) Man morally free--may receive the Divine grace as Agape flowing through his life; is an active participant in a process of renewal.

Sum: removal of actual sin in life through God's real Love-energy. The Divine "wrath" or "judgment" is expressed concretely in life and history when men fail to let God's Agape flow through them. The judgments of which Paul speaks in Romans 5:16, which are removed, are "sin" and "death". See the following passages:

Rom: 3:21f; 5:5-8, 12, 17b, 21b; 8:3, 35, 39

Col. 1:19; 2:6, 13b

II Cor. 5:14, 17, 19, 21; 6:2-7

Eph. 1:5

Gal. 3:10-13 (where Christ's death removes the "curse of the law," not God's curse).

In Rom. 8:3 and II Cor. 5:21 where Paul speaks of Christ as entering into man's sinful state he seems to mean something like this: "Christ by God's will so identified himself with sinful men that in some way, Paul senses, he became involved with their sin; he helped them not by standing aloof and giving them directions as to what they should do, but by entering so completely into their situation that he stood in their place, shared their lot, and grappled with the problem for them".⁹²

5. The universal or practical meaning of Jesus's death to Christians. The Christian Cross has been the sign of God's Grace, His forgiveness, understanding, and bearing love. We make decisions; sometimes well-meaning and innocent of evil, or hurtful intent; sometimes out of hasty spite or malice; and sometimes out of seeking pleasure or security in a too self-centered or inordinate way. In any case, we come to realize our decisions might have been other or better than they were. But it is too late now to change them. We have to go on in faith that God has understood and understands; bears their consequences whatever they may have been; that He overpasses in His love and mercy; that He forgives where necessary. An experience of "repentance" may be a factor in such realization -- recall our previous discussions of repentance, pages 97, 99, 143.

Our decisions are made from the standpoint of our finitude, our ignorance, and our sometimes heedless blunders; our sometimes too self-centered desires and passions. To know of, feel, believe, the sustaining and understanding, bearing, forgiving love and grace of God has been a type of experience of utmost value to religious souls. And we have seen its parallels in other religions we have studied.

92. Interpreters Bible, op. cit., Vol. 10, p. 344.

C. The Problem of the Resurrection

Climactic in Christian faith has been the affirmation that Christ "rose from the dead". What meaning may this have for modern Christians, as also for those who may observe Christianity and Christian belief from the outside? We shall look at various meanings that the resurrection belief has had, ranging from the most objective or "bodily" understanding of the resurrection to more subjective or "mystical" forms of belief, including denial that the resurrection was "reality" in any sense. In attempting this we shall indicate the particular philosophic stance or values of each point of view. The topic may be helpfully divided into the following three basic questions: (1) How far does the historical evidence concerning a "real" resurrection reach — i.e. what is the basis of the historic, common-place Christian faith that Jesus actually "rose", in some terms, from the dead? (2) What was the historic fact — both from the standpoint of the particular meaning or meanings it may have had to the first generation Christians; (in so far as New Testament study helps to gather these meanings) and from the perspective of historians, psychologists, philosophers, or scientists in our own times as they reflect on the New Testament report of the event and its possible meanings? (3) What universal meaning or significance, at the level of religious emotion, may the accounts of the resurrection in the New Testament have to all generations of Christians of any time? Some such questions would state, we believe, as a kind of semantical prolegomena, the problems that this topic would raise for a contemporary, scientific age.

1. How far does the historical evidence reach? What is the basis of common-place Christian faith in the resurrection? The main "fact" that generations of Christians have commonly acknowledged (whether consciously or unwittingly) is that the disciples believed in the risen Lord; the New Testament report is that they believed the personality of Jesus had triumphed over death.

The passion narratives of the four Gospels agree in the over-all point that Jesus rose from a tomb. Though the Gospel presentations differ in many details, they all emphasize the empty tomb. What we read in Matthew 28:2-6 is puzzling, and presents a problem to those who must necessarily view these accounts in too "literal" a way. By the order of the events and the time sequence implied in these verses, Jesus would have arisen prior to the rolling away of the stone by the angel! Do such problems suggest that some elements of these accounts are legendary accretions? In any case, bear in mind that the final Gospel authors or editors, according to much modern Biblical scholarship, were not eye-witnesses to the original events, but relied on others testimony, as we found by the introduction to Luke's Gospel. The best evidence, therefore, for Christians is not necessarily the empty tomb stories of the four Gospels, although those who would emphasize the "bodily" resurrection idea would rely primarily on these stories.

The best evidence that the early Christians had an "experience" of the risen Lord, is found rather in St. Paul's testimony. His letters are the oldest, first hand records that we have in the New Testament, having been written within the "first generation" period. In I Corinthians 15:1-8 he explains that some of the disciples, and last he himself, had an experience of the risen Lord. In Galatians he writes that he had had a conference with Simon Peter and James, Jesus' brother, in an immediate confrontation within the inner circle or immediate associates of Jesus; and from this eye-witness group he may have heard the resurrection story. Of course, from the standpoint of historic or scientific interest the problem is, What kind of experience is Paul speaking of in I Cor. 15?

Later on in that great chapter — philosophizing about the meaning of resurrection and immortality — he explains that "flesh and blood" cannot inherit the kingdom of God. In any case, Paul's testimony in that chapter implies that the experience was of unique kind in his belief; and, since he does not differentiate between his own type of experience and that of the original disciples whom he names, we gather that he meant to say his own experience was like their's in quality.

Here is where common-place Christian faith stands. Christian faith has rested on the testimony of honorable men like Paul, and the unknown authors or sources of the passion narratives of the Gospels, however much a type of critical "scientific" attitude may regard these first Christians as mistaken or deluded. The inquiry from this point on is to ask, What form might such an experience have taken; or, more broadly phrased, What was the basis in fact that gave rise to the resurrection story? At this level of inquiry, in the effort to say from a scientific or philosophic standpoint, What happened? We must grant that our replies remain conjectural or hypothetical, though we shall see that some clues in the New Testament, largely those of St. Paul, suggest that a "mystical-moral" type theory is possibly the one most scientifically credible. In any case, beyond recognizing the possibility that the resurrection may not have taken place in any "real" sense, — both from the standpoint of the religious agnostic, as well as those who regard it as a high, but indispensable "Myth" of the faith — the following constructive presentation of various alternative views is premised on the assumption that existence is other than what a radical "naturalism" or lower key "materialism" say it is, relative to the place and significance of such qualities or energies as "mind", "spirit" or "persons" in our world.

2. What was the historic fact? We suggest several interpretations in an effort to analyze philosophically what may have happened.⁹³

Two types of negatively critical theory are possible, concerning the origin of the story. One is that the announcement of Christ's resurrection was based on the possibility that the body was removed (see Mtt. 28:11f) and that some of the disciples, coming upon the empty tomb, proclaimed the Easter Miracle. If some such events were the facts, however, we would still be puzzled by the record that the disciples themselves were astonished by the news of the resurrection. Though they tended not to believe in it at first themselves, they came to be convinced, according to the records. Would just an "empty tomb", without a real "appearance" in some sense, have been convincing, even to them?

Another negatively critical view would be to classify the resurrection as a "subjective" visionary experience of emotionally ever-wrought or distraught people; that the story had its origin in the report particularly of one (Mary Magdalene) or a few hysterical women. (All four Gospels report that the experience involved initially certain women members of the apostolic group). The evaluation here would be that the story is untrustworthy because it originates in an hallucinatory or pathological belief. However, the element in the record, particularly that of Paul, that the experience took place with many people, would tend to weaken this type of interpretation — unless, indeed, modern psychiatry can demonstrate in some way that mass halucination of visions of ghosts is possible and has in fact occurred.

93. See Charles Gore: Commentary on the Holy Bible, article on the Resurrection for an interesting analysis of theories of the resurrection.

Beyond this, of course, the critic could move out further into the meaning of "hallucination", as covering other types of emotional beliefs or commitments, which are not true in fact, such as, for example, strong political, racial, or other religious beliefs that people hold sincerely, or fanatically, as true. This point claims that the first Christians came to believe in the resurrection simply because they wanted to believe in it, or had to believe in it; it affirmed values for them of a vital, indispensable, life and death character. This kind of perspective becomes a positive mode of interpretation as we move into the outlook that the resurrection may best be evaluated as "high myth", our next possibility.

The following are three main modes of belief about the resurrection as viewed within a positive Christian faith.

(1.) The first of these we have just mentioned: the concept of the resurrection as "high myth", created by the imagination of the early church, teaching its belief in the supremacy of personal values in the universe; or in immortality; but above all announcing the necessity of "eschatological" or "religious faith", that is, in the spiritual nature and destiny of man under God -- and this apart from any possible scientific or empirical "proof" of such truths. The resurrection is symbolic truth; not scientific or historical truth. It is the essence of Christian "faith", which indeed transcends all mere historic or scientific claim or validation. It needs no such validation. The resurrection has the quality of the other great "myths" of the Bible, such as the Fall of Man; the Miracles; the Divinity of Christ, His Resurrection and Ascension; the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost; the apocalyptic closure of Time and the descent of the Messianic Kingdom from the heavens.

Bultmann's version of the mythological character of the New Testament stresses the eschatological or apocalyptic world-view of the myths.⁹⁴ He claims that we may -- indeed we must -- "demythologize" such materials as found in the Hebrew Christian scripture, if it is to speak to our scientific age; not by eliminating them, or attempting to rationalize them in some scientific or quasi-scientific way. Such exegesis will never succeed, much less appeal to modern man in his existential need. The "mythological" world-view of the New Testament was one thing; our modern, prosaic, scientific age entirely another. For the Bible to speak to modern men its myths must be demythologized. It is to be held that the great myths of the Bible are ways that God, through the ancient mind, spoke to man of truth, not scientific, but spiritual, -- relating to the spiritual illness of man as sinner. Such myths invoke within man a response of "faith", in the spiritual dimensions of reality, particularly in God's mercy and forgiveness. According to this view, these myths speak to man in his broken and separated state, announcing that there is a way for the healing of distraught humanity; for reunion and ultimate peace with God.

94. See page 161, note 57. Bultmann believes that such a process of "demythologizing" began indeed with the Pauline and Johannine interpretations themselves. See his Jesus Christ and Mythology, Scribner's, 1958, p. 14-18; 32-40.

It is not our purpose here to criticize at length Bultmann's school of New Testament interpretation, or his "existentialist" or "Neo-Orthodox" type of theology, except to state that his position seems, to us, to over-stress the apocalyptic or other-worldly aspect of New Testament thought, at the expense of its realistic side. Our present study has attempted to point out the latter in many ways, while indeed recognizing the eschatological framework of the New Testament world-view.⁹⁵ Indeed the major of these "realistic" aspects of the New Testament seems to us to be its prevailing note, that, in the case of the resurrection particularly, something "real" happened! At least generations of Christians have so read the material. Such a subtle, "mythological" interpretation as Bultmann's, however true in some respects it may be, will not entirely eliminate this impression of many readers of the New Testament. The basis of that impression of reality we have discussed in our first point above. We now continue with a further analysis of the basic issue, What was the historic fact that gave rise to the resurrection story? How far may we probe such a question?

(2.) The classic belief has been that Jesus appeared in some physically visible way -- in other words, it has been belief in a "bodily resurrection". This could be conceived as a physical bodily presence in some literal way; or, no doubt, as a more tenuous, "ghostly", or "objective vision". On the one hand, the reports in the Gospels are that the risen Lord ate fish, was handled by the disciples, etc. Yet even in the material left to us in the Gospel accounts there remain problems, if we interpret these events in a too literal "bodily" way. It also says that he appeared in the midst of them, the doors being shut, and that he disappears -- i.e. the resurrection Christ passed unseen through doors and material walls. How was this possible, if the resurrection were "bodily" in the ordinary sense? If belief that Jesus appeared in some physically, or objectively visible way is to continue, no doubt Westcott's type of interpretation, in terms of philosophical idealism, would be helpful.

"Matter is, so far as I can see, only the manifestation of force, life in the widest sense, under the conditions of time and space. It has in itself no existence". When Jesus "entered into another form of existence under new conditions His life found a new embodiment".⁹⁶

A more general way to state the same thing, based on a religious interpretation of our world, without committing ourselves so completely to the belief that matter "has no existence", would be to say that the material aspect, the laws and forms of nature, are ultimately dependent on, and subject to, the Divine Will. Thus the resurrection, if in some real sense "bodily", could be explained in terms of the direct operation of the Divine Will, as God saw fit to cause the experience, which the disciples had of the risen Lord, to take some objective form.⁹⁷

95. For forceful criticism of Bultmann see Wilder, Eschatology and Ethics in the Teachings of Jesus, op. cit., p. 139-140, 191-192.

96. From the Hibbert Journal, July, 1904.

97. The event so interpreted would resemble, of course, the idea of "miracle" in classic sense.

(3.) A third possibility is the "mystical" interpretation, or, as it is sometimes expressed (though this may be yet another issue) the "spiritual resurrection". That is to say, the original disciples may have experienced subjectively, but in reality, the presence of the Christ — particularly as a morally empowering Spirit. (The concept of the Resurrection and the Holy Spirit are interrelated problems in the New Testament).

When St. Paul described the resurrection as a universal experience he, and other New Testament sources, speak of it as a spiritual experience.

We should acknowledge, however, that careful reading of the New Testament on the resurrection leaves the modern investigator with a possible unresolvable question. It is to ask, Is "the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth" the same thing as "the resurrection power of the universal spiritual Christ"? The latter concept is portrayed in St. Paul, and elsewhere to some extent, in the New Testament. This writer is inclined to think that these issues are logically different, and therefore possibly historically different; and that "the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth", conceived as the one unique, unrepeatable event that occurred to an historic man of the first century and to certain of his immediate followers, can be accepted by modern Christians only on "faith", resting on the testimony primarily of St. Paul in the first portion of the fifteenth chapter of I Corinthians. St. Paul's beautiful passages, however, on the "spiritual resurrection" of the universal Christ, rising, or resurrected, in the hearts of believers, though it may be a related, may also be interpreted as a separate or distinct matter.

In any case, our point is to suggest that the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth may have been an historically unique, but subjective type of "mystical experience" (which may be differentiated from a "subjective" hallucinatory experience). Assuming the validity of some mystical experience, the resurrection, as such a phenomenon, could be understood as a real or genuine act of God. Thus our present explanation would view the matter in more natural terms than a too simple "bodily" or "physical resurrection" theory may do, which, when pressed, may couch in a view of miracle untenable to some modern minds. If such were the event, the theory would stress God's use of "subjective", "psychological laws", or principles, acting within the mental and psychic level of reality; and specifically, from and through what we today call the subconscious mind. The Resurrection may or may not have employed objective or material laws of light, sound, and body; it must necessarily have employed spiritual or mental laws of thought, evaluation, and love. We may favorably compare modern theories of mysticism along this line. Specifically, we have in mind William James' now noted effort to explain mystical experience, in terms similar to the above, in his well known Varieties of Religious Experience.⁹⁸ What, in general terms, is mystical experience, (and the reports by mystics the world over resemble each other)? Rare, high moments of exaltation, when men feel the Divine presence, as sustaining, living Reality, bringing peace, courage, pardon, if need be, new joy, new insight, new power to the receptive soul. Could the early Christians' experience of the resurrection have taken this form, a sense of the mystic presence of the Divine to their minds, expressed through the particular personality of the one who had loved them so much, and whom they were coming to love more and more and to trust as "Messiah" and "God's Son"?

98. See especially the last chapter of this work. Compare also Sandoy's Christologies Ancient and Modern (1910), cited Hugh Ross Mackintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Christ, op. cit.

The preceding paragraph represents, of course, a speculative theory. What we do have, however, from the New Testament, as some support of it, is St. Paul's and St. John's explanation of the resurrection in similar subjective terms, as a new ethical power that the holy Spirit was giving to their lives. In any case, they believed "resurrection" to be a universal experience, which all and sundry may share at any time.

We mentioned above that St. Paul's and St. John's interpretation of the resurrection represented, according to Bultmann, an early type of "demythologizing" process. Not denying this possibility, and acknowledging a strong temptation of going in the direction which Bultmann offers, we nevertheless submit, along another line, the preceding theory of an original "mystical" experience, which had the quality of reality and truth for the early Christians; and that such a theory may be suggested, to some extent at least, by St. Paul's "spiritual resurrection" philosophy. Accordingly, we may now profitably move to a third level of interest, as announced earlier in our discussion, and in so doing we review Paul's spiritual resurrection concept as possible evidence for a mystical resurrection theory.

3. What is the universal meaning or significance of the resurrection story?

In St. Paul's and St. John's writings we have the expression "resurrection" used to describe the new Christian experience itself, in its transformed and transforming life; "resurrection" is explained, at least in its universal significance, as the new found, personal, moral experience and power of the indwelling mind of the Christ. These authors were bold to interpret resurrection in the context of affirming that Christ is a contemporary living Presence (to be sure at God's "right hand in the heavenly places"), but also as a universal Spirit of mind, a quality of personal and moral life, dwelling in the believer. From the Pauline circle of epistles, through Acts, to the Johannine material in some of the most sweeping and exalted expression of moral mysticism in the Hebrew-Christian Bible, we may trace this use of the concept "resurrection", and resurrection "light".⁹⁹

The following are typical such passages:

"But you are not in the flesh, you are in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God really dwells in you...But if Christ is in you, although your bodies are dead because of sin, your spirits are alive because of righteousness", Rom. 8:9f.

"And you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead. And you, who were dead in trespasses....God made alive together with him, having forgiven us all our trespasses", Col. 2:12-13.

99. I. Cor. 15; II Cor. 4:6-18; 5:7; Rom. 2:10-11; 8:9f; 12:2; Col. 2:9-14; 3:1-3; Eph. 1:16-21; 2:1; 5:14; Phil. 2:1-6

Acts 26:12-23 -- written by the author of Luke-Acts concerning Paul's conversion experience of the risen Christ on the Damascus Road.

Gospel of John 5:24; 11:25-26; I John 3:14, 24; 4:16

"Awake, O sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light", Eph. 5:14.

"Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life; he does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life", Jhn 5:24.

"I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live, and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die", Jhn 11:25-6.

"We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren. He who does not love remains in death", I Jhn 3:14.

As we read these materials, we have the impression that such terms are mystical expressions, purporting on one level of meaning, in the mind of the authors, to explain a totality of experience, including a unique event, "the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth"; on a further level of use in their minds, such terms seem to be figures of speech, or symbolic expressions, referring to the disciples' new found life "in Christ". We cannot perfectly say whether these two apparent meanings should be absolutely joined in some way, or how much the idea of the resurrection as "universal experience" is to be kept distinct from the idea of resurrection as a particular experience of Jesus. If we press the idea of their unity, or sameness, we underscore, I believe, the concept of the resurrection as "mystical", as previously described; if we press the concept of the separateness of these impressions, we possibly move in the direction of Bultmann's views. In any case, for the generations of Christian believers the universal experience has been the relevant one to their own lives; belief in the particular Easter experience of Jesus and his disciples could only be left to faith.

Such passages on "resurrection" point up an over-all theme of the New Testament concerning life after death, namely, that immortality does not wait upon death, but begins here and now as "eternal life". We may close this section on the Christian understanding of the life, teachings, and significance of Jesus, with two memorable quotations concerning the resurrection, which we present without comment. F. S. Turner wrote:

"It seems to me that the first and the imperative need is to experience this resurrection and that those who have experienced this will need no other proof of the resurrection of the Lord. When the human soul has accepted the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, has followed the Master to Gethsemane and Calvary, has entered into the meaning of the crucifixion and closed with it as his own death to sin and rising again into the new life of the children of God, then the resurrection of the Lord is to him the natural and necessary consequence of His death... ..after He was raised from the dead, what prevented His showing Himself alive to Annas and Caiaphas, to Pilate and Herod? Could He not have visited the Pretorium, and the palace, and have taught in the temple daily as before the crucifixion? Could He not have presented Himself before the assembled Sanhedran and have compelled belief in His resurrection? Nothing of this kind happened, so far as the history tells... The reasonable and right inference is that it was not the will of God to force proof of the fact upon minds of unbelievers, but, on the contrary, only to reveal the risen Savior to those who trusted and loved Him before the crucifixion".¹⁰⁰

George A. Gordon said:

"Take Peter as an example of the believer in the bodily resurrection of Jesus. Which is the greater witness to Peter that his Lord is alive and at the right hand of God, the fact that on several mysterious occasions he saw Jesus after his passion with the eye of flesh, or the fact that Jesus has given him out of the unseen a new mind, a new heart, a new character, a life in which the grace of the Lord is the prevailing power? Which is the greater witness to the reality of the risen Lord, the sense of Peter, or the soul of Peter made like the soul of his master?" Or consider Paul, "In the reality of the earthly Jesus he believed on testimone; in the reality of the heavenly Jesus he believed on experience".¹⁰¹

101. George A. Gordon: Religion and Miracle, Houghton, Mifflin, 1909, p. 112-13.

VI. Schools of Christian Thought - Principal Sectarian and Theological Divergencies

A. Roman Catholic Christianity: A Sketch of Basic Ideas

1. A general definition and main history in retrospect:

(1.) A type of church government: hierarchical, monarchical. This aspect of Roman Catholic Christianity was in fact fixed last in point of time, at the Vatican Council of 1872, with the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, by Pius IX.

(2.) A system of doctrines pertaining to salvation: the sacramental system. This aspect was finally established by the official definition of the sacraments at the Council of Trent, 1545-65, after the Protestant Reformation had gotten underway.

(3.) A theocratic outlook on society. The Roman Catholic experiment in wielding "temporal power" reached its height in the Middle Ages under such strong Popes as Gregory VII (11th century) and Innocent III (14th century). Traditionally Roman Catholic theory has looked favorably on a strong alliance of Church and State, with the state lending strong support to the Church.

This aspect of Roman Catholic outlook is becoming, no doubt, more a point of the historic past. There is, for example, a vast gulf between the political philosophy of an Innocent III and that of Pope John XXIII, as expressed in his recent Pacem in Terris, enshrining eminent democratic ideals.

(4.) A priestly system resting on certain theological attitudes: e.g., the necessity of the clergy as mediator of the Divine Grace. This is probably the most fundamental aspect of Roman Catholic Christianity, and the oldest.

The priestly aspect of Roman Catholicism is another way to refer to its emphasis on sacraments. Historically the role of the clergy was strengthened during the period of breakup of the Roman Empire (4th century), when Christendom began to look to the clergy for spiritual and temporal leadership. In Roman Catholic interpretation the central, authoritative role of the priests had its origin in Jesus' famous commission of the Apostle Peter in Matthew 16:18, as, in this view, the first bishop or pope of the church:-

"..I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven".

Roman Catholicism resembles Ezekiel's outlook in the Old Testament, where we find emphasis on ceremonial, or a "sacramental" understanding of religion, and on an official clergy who will mediate between a Sovereign, Holy God and the people.

2. The Roman Catholic theory of Church Government or the religious community.
F. H. Foster analyzed its view of church government in the following helpful way.¹⁰²

102. In The Fundamental Ideas of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Roman Church is based on these principles:

(1.) Visibility. Since man has a bodily as well as a spiritual nature, his church should be "bodily" or visible as well as spiritual.

(2.) Authority and infallibility in matters of faith and morals. The reasoning behind this emphasis is the need for unity, or for religious order. A sacramental system of religion seems to require authority as the ultimate or absolute source of definition for the sacraments. For example, some ultimate authority is needed to define how "transubstantiation", or the change of the wine and wafer into the actual body and blood of our Lord, takes place.

(3.) Necessity. Membership in the Church is necessary, and membership should be universal. A visible church would be the necessary church.

(4.) Hierarchy. Visibility is best manifested in a distinct clergy. Furthermore, a sacramental system of religion seems to call for a mediating clergy, to be the channel for God's grace. If only priests can administer sacraments in due order and effect, a tightly organized and authoritarian controlled priesthood is required. Celibacy for such clergy is a necessary matter of discipline. Family commitment would be another duty that would distract from the absolute authority of the church. Apostolic succession or ordination follows as a necessary requirement of this concept of the church and clergy.

(5.) Papacy is the logical end to which visibility, authority, and hierarchy point. A visible church needs a visible head.

(6.) Tradition is the ultimate source of authority. Another way to say it is that the church itself, and his history, is its own authority. Scripture is authority too, but the church said originally what would be Christian "Scripture" when Bishop Athanasius promulgated his Easter Letter, 367 A.D. enumerating or defining the New Testament Books which we now have as Holy or Sacred Scripture.

Tradition in broadest sense would be the interpretation of religion, or the Scripture, by the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church down through its history. For example, the Roman Catholic tradition has affirmed that Jesus Commission to Peter constitutes the specific historical origin of the Roman Catholic hierarchical, sacramental system of religion. The canons of the Council of Trent in the 16th century would represent in very concrete way the organized tradition at work defining the Christian religion and the nature of the church in the Roman view. The decisions of the Second Vatican Council would illustrate the process today. Tradition is not vague mythology, but would mean the proper role of men continually and growingly to reason, council, proclaim, and institutionalize doctrines in religion which they deem true, and necessary to the salvation of men and society. (There is, of course, tradition, in this sense in Protestantism, but it has not become centrally, dogmatically, and authoritatively institutionalized into one church as in the Roman system. Protestants can speak only in a more general way of the several Lutheran, Anglican, Conservative, Liberal, etc. traditions).

(7.) Laiety. The Roman Catholic laity are not "members" of their church in the Protestant sense. They lack voice in the control of the church. They are the "communicants", rather, of a bestowed sacramental means of grace, through the medium of the church and clergy.

There are active laymen's organizations within the Roman Catholic community, dedicated to community, charity, and churchly enterprises. The distinction between clergy and laity does not mean that the latter represent supine inactivity.

3. The Sacramental theory of Roman Catholic Christianity: The Council of Trent formulated that "grace is given through the sacraments, so far as God's part is concerned, always and to all men***by the sacraments...grace is conferred through the act performed". Sacraments "confer that grace upon those who do not place an obstacle thereto",¹⁰³ The reasoning behind this type of sacramental Christianity seems to be that the bodily nature of existence requires that the means of grace must be visible. They are not only an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, but they are a physical channel of that grace. God's love is so real that it needs a visible, material means of entrance into life. The conditions on the priestly side of the coming of grace through the sacrament are:

1. The intention on the part of the priest to perform the sacrament sincerely. (He must, of course, be duly ordained).
2. The formula or words must be correct, as for example in the baptismal words, in name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
3. The use of the matter or substance, e. g. the wafer in the Eucharist.

The conditions on the side of the recipient of the sacrament are: genuine intent, faith, penitent heart, even performance of penance or required acts of contrition for sins requiring the same.

The "transubstantiation" of the wine and wafer, the elements of the Eucharist, is explained as a metaphysical change that transpires beneath the "accidents" of color, taste, etc.

In the words of the Tridentine Faith (Pius IV 1564) the Eucharist is "a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead".

The Mass: "The Mass is organically related to Catholic soteriology [theory of salvation], which teaches that Jesus Christ, the Word Incarnate, was essentially Priest, and that His death on the Cross was a genuine sacrifice, whereby mankind as a unit was objectively redeemed, since the sacrifice was offered by Christ as Head of humanity, in whom all men were objectively represented: that, consequently, His sacrifice was all-sufficing in its redemptive efficacy, but not sole-sufficing, since its efficacy needs to be communicated and applied, by means authoritatively determined by Christ Himself, chief among which is the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the center and source of Catholic personal and corporate life".¹⁰⁴

The Roman Catholic sacraments are Baptism, Confirmation, Penance (or Confession), Holy Eucharist (or Communion), Holy Orders, Holy Matrimony, Supreme Unction.

103. Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, Vol. II, p. 119-122.

104. John C. Murray, S. J. in An Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. Ferm, p. 474.

B. Protestant Christianity: A Resumé of Reformation Ideas

Some years ago a number of Protestant scholars collaborated in a discussion of the basic principles of Protestantism. The following analysis is derived from their presentation.¹⁰⁵ Protestantism is characterized by four cardinal beliefs announced by the reformers of the 16th century:

1. Justification by faith, or "the immediacy of man's relation with God",¹⁰⁶ was the central Protestant idea. The "spiritual initiative and the sanctity of the individual conscience above submission to external authority"¹⁰⁷ is vouchsafed by the direct saving grace of God through Jesus Christ acting in or upon the soul. (One of the earlier controversies within Protestantism was whether grace was predestinated or free - see below under types of Protestantism).

This theme found its classic inspiration in St. Paul, in such words as the following:

"For we hold that a man is justified by faith apart from works of law... ..we are justified by faith..." (Rom. 3:28; 5:1).

"For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God -- not because of works, lest any man should boast" (Eph. 2:8-9).

In the Protestant view, priestly mediators are not necessary for salvation; salvation is primarily an individual affair, as one communes directly with his God.

2. The Supreme Authority of Scripture. In the classic Protestant view the experience of grace is mediated by the inspirational reading of Scripture. Popular Protestantism interpreted the Bible literally in every detail. The literal understanding of the authority of Scripture, as an "external or objective authentication of truth"¹⁰⁸ is carried on by conservative and fundamentalistic sects today.

Liberal Protestant thought, however, arising in the scientific or historical investigation of the Bible, finds its authority "ratified in experience or by reason". "It is only such ratification by the mind itself that can furnish a valid basis for belief". "...the Bible still remains the supreme norm in Protestant thought. It no longer...has the authority of force; but it does, on its higher levels, have the force of authority. And this it has, not because of any miraculous origin, but because it is the supreme expression in human history of that divinely inspired nature or reason which God has planted within us".¹⁰⁹

105. Protestantism, ed., W. K. Anderson, Abingdon, 1944.

106. Ib., S. M. Cavert, p. 2.

107. Ibid.

108. Ib., A. C. Knudson, p. 130.

109. Ibid.

In sum, for conservatives the Bible is the Word of God because, in theory, it was given to specially endowed men in a unique or miraculous way; whereas for liberal Protestants the Bible remains the word of God because, as a practical matter, it speaks to life at the deepest ranges of moral and spiritual inspiration.

3. The Right of Private Judgment. "The real point of difference between Protestants and Romanists was not the inspiration and authority of Scripture but the question as to who is its true interpreter. Romanists said the inspired church; Protestants said the inspired or enlightened individual".¹¹⁰

4. The Sacredness of the Common Life, or, in classic Protestant terminology, called the "priesthood of the believer". This was Protestantism's way of objecting to monastic asceticism, sacerdotalism, and the traditional Roman Catholic distinction between clergy and laity.

A corollary of the priesthood of all believers was that one's vocation as a layman may be, and should be, a divine calling, a special way God has summoned the believer to service, and stands as important as priestly office. It has often been pointed out that this view was an inspiration toward independence, enterprise, and rectitude in business life, and an impetus to the rise of capitalism in the early modern period.

C. Main Issues Between Catholicism and Protestantism

1. The basic issue concerns the nature and means of "grace": The Roman Catholic view is that grace comes through necessary human and material media: The priesthood and the sacraments; and that the connection of the believer with Christ becomes direct in the miracle of the Eucharist. Emphasis is placed on Christ's historical "commission" to the Apostle Peter.

The Protestant view has been that grace comes directly from God apart from mediating clergy. Emphasis is placed on Christ as present, living reality, immediately appropriated in faith by the believer acting as his own "priest".

2. The problem of church government. Protestants have traditionally been opposed to the authoritarianism of papal church government, and, in a parallel field, Protestant culture in America has emphasized the strict separation of church and state.

Protestants may believe that the Counciliar movement of the Middle Ages (which stressed the general church councils as above the Bishop of Rome in authority) is expressed in contemporary Protestantism's ecumenical movement in national and world federation of denominations in the World Council of Churches. In our century, Protestantism has had a notable series of ecumenical councils. Both Roman and Protestant groups at the present moment are looking hopefully toward the Roman Catholic Second Vatican Council to open from the Roman side ways and means for greater cooperation between the divided churches of Christendom.

3. Other points at issue:

-The exact role of Scriptural authority.

-The interpretation of Christ's "commission" to Peter, Mtt. 16:18. Protestants interpret this passage as meaning that Jesus would rely on Peter's type of faith, insight, courage for the ultimate victory of the Kingdom, or the Christian movement.

¹¹⁰. *Ib.*, Knudson, p. 126.

- Celibacy of clergy.
- The problem of mixed marriages.
- The significance or validity of modern historical Biblical criticism.

D. Types of Protestant Christianity

1. There are four main branches of the Protestant tradition:

The liturgical or "sacramental" churches:

Lutheran
 Anglican (Episcopal)
 & Methodist
 Reformed (Presbyterian &
 Reformed Churches)

These churches retain features of the older Catholicism as to form of worship; however, except in the high Anglican, the understanding of the sacraments is more "symbolical". They also tend toward hierarchy in Church government.

The Independent churches, a tradition historically characterized by "dissent" from established state churches:

Congregationalists
 Baptists
 Disciples of Christ
 or Christian Churches
 Quakers (Friends)
 Unitarians and Univarsalists
 Pentecostals and newer
 Holiness sects

The Independents are the non-liturgical or "confessional" churches and represent the greatest departure from Catholicism. They represent an individualist Christianity fatherest removed from collectivist Christianity.

We should mention the Christian Scientists and The Church of the Latter Day Saints of Jesus Christ (The Mormons), as major sectarian groups related in spirit to Independent Protestantism.

2. The early major theological controversy that cut across all Protestantism was the Predestinationist vs. the Freedomist conception of the divine Grace: it reflected a similar controversy in the ancient Roman church between Augustinianism and Pelagianism. John Calvin, the Geneva reformer, and father of the Reformed-Presbyterian tradition, emphasized the divine predestination. James Arminius, theologian at the University of Leyden (1560-1609), stressed man's freedom of choice in reaction to extreme Calvinism. The Methodists have been particularly prominent as Arminian Christians.

Calvinism:

Predestination: God's Grace "prevenient"; in its worst form conceived of an exact number of souls predestined to salvation or damnation apart from their own will or merit.

"As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto....The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice". (Westminster Confession, 1647)

Arminianism:

Freedom: God's Grace a question of man's free acceptance.

"...as respects the mode of the operation of...grace, it is not irresistible, inasmuch as it is written concerning many, that they have resisted the Holy Ghost, Acts vii...those who are incorporated into Christ by a true faith, and have thereby become partakers of his life-giving Spirit, have thereby full power to strive against Satan, sin, the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory... through the assisting grace of the Holy Ghost..." (The Arminian Articles, 1610)

3. A major contemporary controversy within Protestantism is that between "Liberalism" and "Fundamentalism" or "Conservatism". This controversy cuts across all denominations today. In the United States, the southern wings, of the older Protestant denominations have tended to be conservative; whereas the northern groups have tended to become the liberal groups. The newer Pentecostal and holiness sects are strictly fundamentalist. Granting that a more extensive analysis of Conservative Protestant thought would acknowledge differences between various viewpoints within conservatism regarding many of these issues, the following represent possibly six major Conservative-Fundamentalist emphases:

(1.) Biblical Literalism: a non-historical, unanalytical approach to the Bible is made. Every word is an infallible moral and intellectual authority and guide. "God must mean everywhere in the holy book what the simplest and most direct interpretation of the words would seem to imply..."¹¹¹ Fundamentalism does not recognize differences within the Bible; the idea that the Bible discloses a "progressive" revelation or discovery of God's truth is denied. The total book must be accepted on one, single plane of absolute authority. The Bible to Fundamentalism is primarily an armoury of text-verses, each of which is regarded as possessing a divine message and an absolute sanctity. Fundamentalism is unable to make a distinction between the Book as such and the history behind the book, of which the book is the record. In its extreme form Fundamentalism suggests "bibliolatry".

¹¹¹. E. A. Burt, Types of Religious Philosophy, Harper, 1939, p. 161. (Burt is a commentator, not a representative of Fundamentalist Christianity).

(2.) Concept of Revelation: This need to interpret the Bible in every detail "literally" rests upon the conservative theory of Revelation as uniquely "special" or "supernatural" -- that God's Word came to the authors of the Bible in a manner transcendent to their own personality and experience. To the Fundamentalist mind, the Bible is authority and the Word of God because it was given through specially endowed or visited men in a unique way, that is, by abnormal dreams, visions, theophanies, auditions, etc.

(3.) Prophecy as prediction: Closely allied to this concept of revelation is the interpretation of "prophecy" as, primarily, the foretelling by the ancient prophet of distant future events in literal detail. Appreciation of prophecy as chiefly a moral message of forthtelling (the significance that the great prophets themselves gave to their message) seems subordinated to the emphasis on prediction.

(4.) The emphasis on miracles: Accompanying the outlook on the Bible and Revelation is a stress on the miraculous stories recorded in the Bible. "Bereft of the miracles, the Bible would be a moral teacher, stirring our hearts into conviction of sin, but there its message would end; with the miracles it reveals a Savior from sin. For these wondrous events, especially the virgin birth and resurrection of Jesus, attest the supernatural power of God, and of Christ as the incarnate son of God..."¹¹² Pronouncement of the belief in the Virgin Birth tends to be considered by Fundamentalism as the intellectual sine qua non of Christian faith.

The classic issues emphasized by Conservative Protestantism in the noted controversies of the 1920's centered in: The Inerrancy of the Scripture, The Virgin Birth of Jesus, the Deity of Jesus, and The Bodily Resurrection.

Another aspect of the controversy was a conflict with modern science, especially concerning the evolutionary theory.

(5.) Man as sinner: Fundamentalism's doctrine of man has tended to be Calvinistic, stressing the depravity of man through "original sin" inherited from Adam. Accompanying this has been a conception of conversion as sudden, or abrupt experience, authenticated as an event at a public "evangelistic meeting".

Our discussion of the penal theory of the Atonement on page 178 would express the Fundamentalist concept of the meaning of Jesus' death.

(6.) As for general ethical outlook and the concept of history and human destiny, Fundamentalism tends to be individualistic and apocalyptic. Personal purity, a "Puritanical" approach to morals is stressed. Along with the worthier virtues of love and neighborliness, a Calvinistic frugality, thrift, sobriety, diligence, have gone explicit prohibitions against the lighter sins of dancing, theatergoing, card-playing, social drinking and Sabbath desecration. Fundamentalism has not recognized clearly the relevance of "a social gospel", that is to say, that the conditions of salvation are often social as well as personal.^{112a} Fundamentalism has tended to overstress the efficacy of an isolated personal piety as sufficient to bring the kingdom of God. In the last analysis its view of human history and destiny is pessimistic. Under the necessity of interpreting the apocalyptic books, Daniel, or Revelation, in some literal sense, Fundamentalism believes that the outcome of human history is preordained, and has been predicted

112. Burt, *Ib.*, p. 159.

112a. Supporting this generalized observation, but also indicating on another side, that individual conservatives may have an interest in social justice, Edward John Carnell, a leading spokesman for Protestant fundamentalistic conservatism, in a recent article, upbraids conservatives for their "neglect" of "justice" (as well as liberals for their "neglect" of the "gospel"), *The Christian Century*, August 7, 1963, p. 979-980.

to end in a catastrophic way -- the human situation is to get worse and worse until God will have to send Christ, in his glorious literal second coming, upon the clouds of heaven, to save man from his evil situation. 112b

(7.) The Pentecostal sects characteristically stress the "Second Blessing" or "Baptism of the Holy Spirit", authenticated mainly by "speaking with tongues" in highly emotional "experience meetings".

Liberal Protestantism

An able summary of the outlook of modern Protestant liberalism in its less extreme sense was that presented by the late Christian historian, Henry K. Rowe, in his History of Religion in the United States.¹¹³ Main Liberal emphases are the following:

(1.) Stress on the immanence of God and the Divine Love, to counter the traditional over-emphasis on the transcendence of God, and the particularly Calvinistic stress upon the Divine as mainly sovereign and judge. Accompanying this outlook has been the conception of religion as vital and dynamic, with an emphasis on works rather than static creed.

(2.) "...the new theology emphasized law as Gods method of working. There is a revolution of reason in religion....Miracle (may be) an act of God that could be explained if our understanding of divine law was large enough. The new theology tends to deny any chasm between the natural and the supernatural...God is the center of both spheres; if there is any distinction between them it is that the supernatural is the outer sphere that does not come within the region of our sense perceptions".

(3.) The new liberalism "humanized Christ...made his relations to human beings more real" as actual moral savior. It discovers and emphasizes Jesus as moral teacher and savior over and above the miracle worker.

(4.) Liberalism lifted the idea of Christ's atonement out of the metaphysical obscurity where the ancient controversies had left it, returning to the deepest implications of the New Testament itself -- liberalism "reinterpreted the work of Christ". As liberal Protestants read the New Testament, Jesus work was primarily to disclose the character of God as love. Jesus' sacrifice and death was not to appease the wrath of God, but to reveal His love and will for man. "Atonement is reconciliation; it is accomplished by the impact of the personality of Jesus upon the heart of the individual, and it is complete when the individual becomes at one with God...salvation is not from a place of torment but from a state of sin; not always from the bad to the good, but from satisfaction with a lesser good to a yearning for a higher good; from spiritual inertia or even atrophy to life and a more abundant life". Recall our discussion on pages 178-179.

(5.) Liberalism presented a new conception of human history and destiny, a new eschatology. "The future is another word for opportunity. Christ may come in visible presence; it is certain that he is here now invisibly. Heaven and hell may be real places; it is certain that they are states of consciousness. Salvation

^{112b.} Characteristic of fundamentalistic conservatism, Carnell says, in the statement mentioned in the previous note, that the "regeneration" of society "awaits" the second coming of Christ.

^{113.} p. 136-9.

may bring the individual into greater happiness, but the goal of life is ever larger opportunity for service in God's kingdom. That kingdom finds its place in the sphere of social relationships. Eschatology is to many persons another name for social ethics".

(6.) Liberalism believed that this "new theology" was suggested by the Bible itself when scientifically or historically investigated. It was found to be a human book, containing various points of view, but with an over-all progressive revelation of the nature of Deity; and to have a moral imperative and impact that authenticates its word as man's ultimate source of religious inspiration and truth.

(7.) Liberal thought believes in the sufficiency and sanctity of human reason, and human experience, as the normal or natural channel of divine revelation; operating, perhaps uniquely indeed, in the prophets of old on the plane of moral discovery, but functioning also today in man's highest and finest moral, aesthetic, scientific, and social experience. God comes into and is known in human life in the depths of the truth experience.

4. A further controversy within Protestantism today, shaking it to its very foundations, is that between an authentic, older "Liberalism", the main tenets of which have just been presented, and what has been variously styled by observers as "Neo-Orthodox" or "Neo-Reformation Theology". The issues argued between these schools represent a Christian form of wider philosophic debate between the traditions of rational philosophy on the one hand, and what is called today "existentialist" thought. Major figures in the Neo-Orthodox form of Conservative Protestantism (though in many ways the Neo-Orthodox are more closely related to Liberalism than to historic or classic Protestant Conservatism) have been such men as Karl Barth and Emil Brunner in Europe, and Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich in the United States.¹¹⁴ We briefly present below the main emphases in Neo-Orthodox or Neo-Reformation theology:

(1) Its background:

- a) Protestant liberalism. Neo-Orthodox theology accepts the findings of liberal Biblical scholarship.
- b) Reformation thought -- Luther and Calvin.

(2) Its outlook:

- a) Its criticism of "Liberalism" -- distrust of a rationalist, and idealist approach to religion. Indeed, Neo-Orthodoxy has been a wholesome corrective to some of the naive aspects of an earlier liberalism.
- b) Its reemphasis on the central aspects of classic Reformation thought, i.e.
 - the sinfulness of man concept, and
 - the necessity of salvation by "faith" and "grace".
- c) A strong emphasis on social criticism, or social democracy and justice, in which again it follows the liberal tradition.

¹¹⁴. One of the great philosophic and theological treatises of our era is Reinhold Niebuhr's Nature and Destiny of Man, Scribner's, 1941. Paul Tillich's The Courage To Be, Yale, 1952, captures the essence of Tillich's position in a forceful and challenging essay.

5. Various Interpretations of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion center in three questions:

I. How related to the original Sacrifice of Christ?

II. The concept of the Lord's Presence in the Communion?

III. In what way is the Communion symbolical.

	A real reenacted sacrifice: Christ literally present repeating his crucifixion: "Propitiatory".	A memorial of the act <u>once done</u> : an act of gratification for the sacrifice.	Real presence: a miracle performed by priest: "Transubstantiation".	Real presence, but by X's universal Spirit, not by priestly miracle.	An objective rite with symbolical, spiritual meaning.	A purely inward, spiritual meaning without objective rite.
Roman C.						
Greek C.						
Anglo-Catholic						
Lutheran						
Episcopal & Method.						
Presbyterian, or Reformed & Independent						
Quakers						
Christian Scientist						

Questions on Christianity

1. Describe the political, economic, and religious situation in Palestine of Jesus's day. What was the major political fact? What were the main religious issues or emphases of the Judaism of his day?
2. What were types of Jewish reaction to Roman domination? What message did Jesus bring and how did it contrast with other types of reaction?
3. Briefly describe, and relate, the basic teachings of Jesus.
4. Do you think "personality" is the ultimate criterion of ethics? What do you mean when you say "personality" is ethical standard? In your opinion, what is the basic philosophic content or qualities of human personality? What would "respect for personality" mean in terms of these basic elements? Does the principle of respect for personality apply when the state executes a murderer or kidnapper? What New Testament passages teach the principle of respect for personality -- illustrate from Ballou?
5. What are the two main types of love? What seems to be the psychological bases for the success of "agape" and the failure of "eros" alone to achieve its end or goal? Are agape and eros always in conflict? Does agape in your opinion cancel or fulfill eros? Are there legitimate planes of eros? Do you think that Jesus's Great Paradox solves the ethical tension between egoism and altruism? What New Testament passages teach agape -- illustrate from Ballou.
6. Do you think agape is possible in life? If so, to what extent? If by "reason" or "rational" we mean the coherent fitting together or "seeing-together-without-conflict" all parts of a problem in an understandable whole, is Jesus's Great Paradox an irrational principle or a rational formula -- what is your opinion and why?
7. Read Ballou 1125C-D. What various types of ethical philosophy do you find Jesus recognizes here? Are these the main types of "positive ethics" -- are there others not covered? Can we transform all acts of duty into acts of love or agape? Can we transform utilitarian acts of reciprocity into acts of love? Of what importance is this latter question particularly to modern life? Can modern economic life be Christian, or based on agape?
8. What are main elements of Jesus concept of the Kingdom of Heaven? Cite New Testament passages to illustrate. How did it contrast with current concepts of the kingdom in his day? Do you think the Kingdom concept relevant or applicable today?
9. Give a sketch of Jesus over-all conception of salvation? Of himself as an instrument of salvation?
10. What is the main significance of Jesus references to "hell fire", "utter darkness", and being "cast into the sea" as expressions of ultimate judgment? If we take these phrases literally what problems do we encounter?
11. Read Ballou 1155-58 and 1230-32 carefully. In this passage how did Jesus think of God as present and working in and through him? What kind of "unity" of natures is set forth in the passage from John's Gospel? In this and in

the passage from John's letter what kind of "unity" makes it possible for the believer to be "one" with Christ? Is this the same type of "unity" by which Christ is designated "one" with God the Father? What are your conclusions as to the New Testament teaching regarding Jesus "Messiahship" or "divine nature"? According to John's letter, by virtue of what may we be "sons of God"? What is the condition of "salvation" in these passages?

12. What are the two major theories of the meaning of Jesus's death, or "atone-ment"? Do you understand the basic concepts of God, Man, and What Christ Accomplishes according to each theory?
13. What several interpretations of the Resurrection are possible? What sug-gestions in the New Testament are the bases of each of these interpretations? What further questions and problems do you wish to raise about these views? On what general historical "fact" does Christian faith in the Resurrection mainly rest? What is the importance of the Christian Doctrine of the Resur-rection?
14. In largest sense, what is the meaning of Christ as "Savior" to modern Christians?
15. What are the main tenets of Roman Catholic Christianity -- as to the nature of the church? as to the sacramental concept of religion? Explain why these views are held?
16. What were the main issues of the Reformation?
17. What are the main tenets of Protestant Christianity? and present the reasons supporting these beliefs?
18. What are the main beliefs of Fundamentalist or Conservative Protestantism?
19. Of Liberal Protestantism?
20. What are the major types of Protestant denominations? Distinguish various attitudes or philosophies of church government? What is the main distinction between the Protestant and the Catholic view of the sacraments? What are the varying conceptions of Holy Communion?

ISLAM

- I. The Prophet of Islam
- II. The Book of Islam
- III. The Creed and Cultus of Islam
- IV. Islamic Philosophy of Religion
- V. Sketch of Main Issues in the History of Islam --
Main Sectarian Divisions
- VI. Islamic Worship - a Sketch

ISLAM

I. Mohammed: Prophet of Islam (570-632 A.D.). Much legend has grown up about him. The main elements of his life:

1. A poor, orphan boy, a camel herd.
2. Taken by uncle on caravan journeys, north and south of Mecca
3. At 25 enters service of wealthy widow, Khadijah, as her caravaner; marries her.
4. At 40 goes through a religious experience. On his travels apparently impressed by the two religions of the Book, Judaism and Christianity.
5. Early converts from his own household. Begins to stirr unrest in Mecca when he starts preaching social reform.
6. Eventually has to flee to Medina, the Hijra, 622 A.D. As politician secures position at Medina, finally captures Mecca; destroys old Arabian idols of the Ka'ba there.

Muslims do not claim supernatural or divine virtues for Mohammed. They believe he was a man as other men, with the common virtues, and some of the weaknesses of humanity.

In breaking with the animism and polytheism of pre-Islamic culture, his reform of the religious life of Arabia was of utmost significance for good. For Muslims he was the special Prophet of God, superseding all previous prophets. For non-Muslims he may be regarded as a prophet of God, who performed a significant religious and social revolution for his place and time in Arabia.

Much of the background of Islamic thought lies in Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity. Within Mohammedan belief the unique quality of Mohammed's life and work was the supernatural deliverance to him of a divine book, the absolute revelation of God to man, and complete guide for human life in all areas of belief and conduct. The fact that the faith is based too closely on a book believed to be supernaturally given, as an inerrant Word of God, has made for the rigidity of Islamic thought and its "Fundamentalistic" quality.

There have been, however, within Mohammedan thought and history, significant rational or "liberal" developments; these, and pietistic and mystical interpretations have greatly enriched the Islamic faith, adding to the original course of belief laid down in the Koran. Islam, as other religions, has had its sectarian divergencies and internecine strifes.

A representative of Islam evaluates her faith in the following thoughtful words:

"It has been pointed out by scholars of many faiths that Islam has found its success by its great realism as to human nature. Its ethical teachings are not transformed into rigid demands interfering with the biological needs of human existence. The divine laws are not zealously surrounded by narrow barriers of continuous ritual. God's character is not presented by mystical and secretive allusions. No original sin and self-sacrificial purifications interfere with the positivism of the Muslim's attitude towards God. God is merciful and compassionate. He needs no interpretation by priest appointed by Him or devoted exclusively to the performance of religious rituals. No theological hierarchy interferes with the immediacy of the individual's worship and his communication with his creator.

"Islam can boast of being thoroughly practical. It makes no demands upon its adherents which require explaining away because of their impossibility, none that cannot be fulfilled. It is too realistic to call the poor happy in their need. It may pronounce worldly things as vain but in doing so it does not neglect to take account of human needs and desires and provides for them with laws concerning property and goods.

"The simplicity of the creed together with unelaborate but still all-pervading ceremonial of worship which keeps a constant unifying bond within the believers has proved to be of equal appeal to the primitive nomad as well as the sophisticated scholar", 115.

II. The Koran, or Qur'an: the Scripture of Islam:

1. Origin: Qur'an and Sura both mean Scripture lesson or recitation. Mohammed wished above all else to bring to the Arabs the religious heritage of a people of a Book. Its source materials:

Arabian paganism
Judaism and Christianity
Zoroastrainism
Gnosticism

Its formation: many passages were copied down during the life-time of the Prophet. After Mohammed's death great effort was made by leaders to get his utterances in written form - turned to those who had heard the revelations. Eventual rise of several Codices, e.g. in Damascus, Basra, Kufa.

2. Contents: rhymed prose containing:

His early poetical and moral rhapsodies
Materials on his controversies and struggles to found his own community
Legislation for his community
Material relating to his own personal affairs

3. Orthodox theory of the Koran:

Preserved table of the Koran in heaven. Revelation piecemeal by the angel Gabriel. The inerrant words of God Himself, Matchless in style; so importance of Arabic - untranslatable; Contains all knowledge.

III. Creed and cultus of Islam (Ballou p. 1335-36):

1. The Creed, or articles of belief:

- in God
- in angels
- in Books (Koran principal)
- in Prophets (Mohammed last and greatest)

115. Salma Bishlawy in Religion in the 20th Century, Philosophical Library, 1948, p. 169-170, ed. Ferm.

- in Judgment (apocalyptic ideas)
- in Decree or Predestination

2. The cultus: the five required religious or ceremonial duties of Islam:

- Confession: or Shahada, by proclamation of the Kalima: No God but Allah and Mohammed is his Prophet. Parallel's Jewish Shema.
- Prayer: or Salat, five obligatory prayers daily, morning, noon, afternoon, evening, night.
- Fasting: or Ramadan, for 30 days each year (March).
- Almsgiving: or Zakat
- Pilgrimage: or Haji, to Mecca at least once in lifetime.

(In earlier days also Holy War or Jihad against Islam's enemies.)

IV. Islamic Philosophy of Religion

A. The Religious Philosophy of the Koran

1. Allah: the Idea of God

One, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, transcendent, personal Spirit, Ballou 1313, 1311. Denies Christian idea of Trinity in God 1309, 1324, yet praises Jesus, 1320, 1325.

Creator ex nihilo of world, 1313.

Absolute determiner of all destiny, 1293, 1320, 1335. -- Some lines suggest that God wills what knowledge we have 1320, or arbitrarily wills truth and the good.

Other lines imply the freedom of man, such as those containing the threat and the promise, 1291; those urging righteousness of life, etc.

On one side depicted as mainly a Sovereign Judge in Character, 1291, 1342, whose wrath is to be feared -- men his subjects who must submit are "Muslims" or "submitters", 1314.

Yet forgiveness in God, is merciful, 1291 (see also 1342D), though His grace or mercy is arbitrarily bestowed, 1312, 1322.

Some lines contain the idea of the Divine concern for men, and God as the divine sanction for altruistic conduct, or the idea of God as "Love", 1290B, 1291D, 1298A, 1304C.

Against injustice, 1304.

Favors the righteous, 1311 (see also 1342).

Punishes the wicked and infidels in Hell, 1306, 1311, 1312 -- yet includes non-Muslims in salvation, 1324C!

Depicted as a God of War for the Muslims, 1317 (see also 1337, 1338).

2. The Book: The Idea of Revelation:

Knowledge of God given in the absolute Book, the Koran, the literal words of God, Arabic the divine language, 1300, 1306. This theory of revelation follows from the overemphasis on God's transcendence: some extraordinary means are needed for God to communicate with men.

God warns men through the Koran, 1291, 1295, 1300.

3. The Idea of Man.

As we read the Koran we are impressed with the over-all idea that men are "Muslims"; they must be submitters to a stern and Sovereign Divine Judge. In the Koran men seem to be subjects rather than sons of God, though we have noted above that there is some expression of the divine love and concern for them.

Are men free? Some lines depict them as determined, predestined creatures, and suggests a comparison to Calvinistic Christianity, 1293, (1335). Yet many other lines imply human freedom, such as those emphasizing God's threat and promise, those enjoining righteousness of life, and otherwise appealing to human freedom of the will.

Note further Ballou passages on man:

Possible good and evil in man -- a realistic psychology, 1329. Inner intentions define his character: a psychological depth, 1335.

All men as Muslims are equal, 1341: the admirable democratic philosophy of Islam.

4. Ethics, Salvation and Destiny:

Man must perform the ceremonial duties, but simple and uncomplicated; hence Islam's appeal, (1336).

Man must be just, merciful, generous, 1295, 1299, 1304, 1316, 1317.

Opposed to religion as mere formal piety or ceremonial, but defines religion as ethical action, 1315 (Compare the great 8th century B. C. prophets of Israel).

Men destined to Hell if unrighteous, 1306.

Will enjoy a material, voluptuous Heaven if righteous, 1296-7. Apocalyptic end of history and the world, 1305.

(The Golden Rule and the Major Commandments are enjoined in the writings of An-nawawi, 1337, 1341.)

5. Summarizing observations on the religion of the Koran:

- (1) It is correct to say that the religion of the Koran stresses salvation by merit rather than by "faith" in, or the "grace" of, an atoning savior, or mediator, in the classic Christian sense. Note Ballou 1309-10 where the Koran thinks little of the idea of "sin bearing".

(Note, however, the Passion Play of the month of Muharram of the Shi'ites -- depicting al-Husain, Mohammed's grandson's martyrdom, as the great intercessor who died for sins!)

- (2) The Koran has "faith" as genuine belief in Allah's goodness and forgiving mercy or "grace". But faith or genuineness of belief is expressed in good works, in the Koran. (Compare the Epistle of James in the New Testament).

(3) There is the idea of the Divine Altruism or "Agape". We are enjoined to love our neighbor without thought of recompense, as reflecting the divine attitude or nature, 1290B, 1291D. Also there is God's loving care for his creatures on the plane of creation; and His concern for men, 1298A, 1304C. But these themes appear within a prevailing context of God as Stem Father or Judge, whose sovereign (or condescending?) mercy forgives for sins, when men repent and live according to the Muslim creed and deed.

B. Main developments of Islamic philosophy of religion beyond the Koran are found in the Mutazilite, liberal rationalism, which stressed the freedom of man; and in Sufi mysticism, which emphasized the idea of the Divine love.

V. Sketch of main issues in the history of Islam -- main sectarian divisions:

1. Tradition or Hadith: growth and application of Islamic principles
Custom or Sunna to all phases of life after the original revelation by Mohammed was closed. Many conflicting Hadiths.
2. Law/jurisprudence or Fiqh.
3. Main politic-sectarian movements (though numerous groups)

<u>Sunnite (Sunrites)</u> followers of the Caliphate system -- the traditionalists in theology.	vs.	<u>Shi'a (Shi'ites)</u> followers of the Imams who succeed in the family of Mohammed.
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4. Pietistic and theological movements:
 e.g. Sufi mystics
 Mu'tazila rationalist theologians influenced by Greek philosophy; attacked orthodox denial of human freedom.
 Sunnis traditionalists or "Fundamentalists"
 Al Ghazzali, 11th century, greatest Moslem theological synthesizer; brought traditionalism and Sufi mysticism together: religion must be moral and experimental
 repentance of sin
 opening of heart to God
 attainment of virtuous character the ideal.
5. Mohammedan conquest of the near east -- Christianity's greatest rival for nearly 1000 years.

Sunnis (Sunnites)

- 150,000,000; Turkey, Arabia, Africa
- Followers of Caliphate ("successor") system
- Traditionalist in theology, e.g.
 - Eternity of the Koran
 - Divine Predestination
- The successors of Mohammed selected from the "companions" of Mohammed:
 - Abu Beker 633-634 A.D.
 - Assembled Koran
 - Subdued Arabian skeiks
 - First assault on world
 - Omar 634-644 A.D.
 - Captured Damascas
 - Assassinated
 - Othman 644-656 A.D.
 - Moawiya 660-
 - "Ommayad Caliphate" (660-750 A.D.)
 - Cap. at Damascus

Spain

Persia
The Abbasid Caliphate
Cap. at Baghdad.
Height under Harum-al-Rashid
(736-809 A. D.)

Mongols 1258

Moslem world falls into separate states.

Ottoman Turk Empire, 13th century.

Shi'a (Shi'ites)

- 20,000,000; Iraq (Persia), Pakistan, India
- Followers of the Imams ("leaders") who succeed in the family of Mohammed
- Theological views like Mutazilites. Hold that the Imams are:
 - Divinely ordained; believed that Mohammed designated 'Ali as successor.
 - Infallible in interpreting the law.
 - Sinless.
 - Where the line ended, the Imams "withdrew" from sight, and would return as the Messianic Madhi before the Judgment Day.
- 'Ali 656-660 A.D. Cousin of Mohammed and son-in-law. First Imam
 - 'Ali ----- Fatima (M's daughter)
 - assassinated
 - ↓
 - al-Hasan; 1st son; resigned imamate for pension
 - al-Husain, 2nd son; Third Imam; martyred 680 A.D. at battle of Karbala. Called the Great Intercessor who died for sins: Passion Play of Muharran, 1st month in the Islamic Year. Partisans of 'Ali called the Legitimists. All but one Shi'ite sect curse Abu Beker, Omar, Othman as usurpers in their Friday prayers.

VI. Islamic Worship: A sketch

1. In the Mosque: "place of prostration". Term "mosque" derived from the Arabic 'masjid'.

Worship is congregational (on Friday, day of public prayers) and private for purpose of daily devotion.

'Mihrab': niche in central wall of Mosque indicating direction of Mecca.

'Minbar': pulpit for sermon on Fridays.

'Minaret': turret for proclaiming time of prayer.

'Muezzin': the official person who calls to prayer.

'Imam': prayer leader or preacher -- is not ordained; holds a secular occupation as well. Laymen may act as Imam. To be distinguished from the special Imams of the Shi'ite sects.

High prayer occurs Friday at noon -- forty worshippers are required to be in attendance for the official service.

Women may attend the Mosque privately, but not the Friday prayers.

Quoran quoted in Arabic, but the sermons are delivered in the language of the people.

2. Private worship:

Prayer is the central feature: ideally to take place five times a day.

Salat.

- ritual legal purity required by washing as preparation for prayer.
- uttering of the takbir, expression that "God is most great" -- the words which perhaps chiefly characterize Muslim devotion.¹¹⁶
- recitation of the first sura of the Koran.
- prostration: the culminating point of the prayer.
- Confession and praise to Allah or shahada, and saying of blessing for Mohammed.

Almsgiving, Zakat; Fasting, Saum, Ramadan; Pilgrimage to Mecca, Hajj.

3. Festivals:

The Great Festival: animals sacrificed to commemorate Abraham's substitution of the animal for Ishmael, father of Islam or the Arabs. (In the Old Testament the story of the intended sacrifice concerned Isaac, Ishmael's half brother). Celebrated in the twelfth month, the month of pilgrimage.

The Prophet's Birthday celebrated publicly in all Muslem lands.

In the first part of the month of Muharram, beginning the Islamic year, the Shi'ites celebrate the martyrdom of Husain in a Passion Play, reenacting his sufferings and burial. Husain was killed at the battle of Karbala, 680 A.D. The play explains the meaning of Husain's sacrifice and intercession.

¹¹⁶. Geoffrey Parrinder, Worship in the World's Religions. Association Press, 1961, p. 194.