World History Bulletin

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In This Issue

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Editor's Note

Greetings. On behalf of the various individuals who work on the *World History Bulletin*, I am pleased to once again present what we believe is an excellent collection of essays and book reviews. This issue of the *Bulletin* has Joel Tishken serving as Guest Editor, and he has written an excellent introduction that synthesizes the outstanding essays in this issue that address some aspect of religion and world history. This issue also contains the prize-winning essay by Robert Cole, undergraduate winner of the 2006 World History Association - Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society in History ***Paper Prize in World History***. Finally, I am pleased to include the following last-minute announcement from the WHA Headquarters. **—** *Micheal*

World History Association Announces New Executive Director

It is with great pleasure that the WHA Executive Council announces that Winston Welch has accepted the permanent position of WHA Executive Director, after having served as the temporary ED for the past two and a half months. Winston grew up in New Mexico, and attended the University of New Mexico. His graduate studies were at Thunderbird -- *aka* the American Graduate School of International Management, followed by his experiences in Japan during the 1990s where he taught college students with a speciality in Global Studies/Global Issues. During this time, Winston was also fortunate enough to have six months of vacation a year, which allowed him to travel extensively and experience a richness of different cultures and settings. According to Winston, divine providence brought him to Hawaii, a place which had always held a special place in his heart. Winston is a naturally inquisitive person with a quick and friendly nature who is eager to hear your stories and thoughts. Please ask him for travel advice for your next trip to Hawaii!

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Call For Contributors - World History Bulletin

The *World History Bulletin* is seeking quality essays for inclusion in upcoming issues.

Volume XXIV Number 1 (Spring 2008): *Focus Issue*: Food in World History. *Deadline:* 1 February 2008. *Guest Editor:* Rick Warner, Wabash College

Volume XXIV Number 2 (Fall 2008): *Focus Issue*: Asia in World History. *Deadline:* 15 September 2008. *Guest Editor:* Dorothea A. L. Martin, Appalachian State University

Volume XXV Number 1 (Spring 2009): *Focus Issue*: Science and Technology in World History. *Deadline:* 1 February 2009. *Guest Editor:* Paul Buckingham, Morrisville State College

Essays and classroom activities are also sought which deal with any aspect of the teaching of world history. Interested parties should direct their inquiries to Micheal Tarver, *WHB* Editor, at either bulletin@thewha.org or (479) 968-0265. International submissions are especially encouraged. Submission guidelines are available online at:
www.thewha.org/WHB.pdf.

Letter from the President

Spring 2007

Dear Colleagues,

This year we celebrate the WHA's 25th anniversary. Thanks to the vision of the founding members and the work of countless others committed to the goals of our organization we have grown and flourished, initiating and supporting world history teaching, research, and publications.

Over the past sixteen years, our annual conferences have embodied the WHA's commitment to support teaching and scholarship. Last year's conference in Long Beach, California was our largest to date in terms of attendance and number of offerings, and this year's conference, "Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: the Macro and Micro in World History," promises to be the best yet. Currently, our website features information about this, our 16th annual World History Association conference to be held in Milwaukee from June 28 through July 1. It will feature two exciting keynote speakers, a wide assortment of panels, workshops, roundtables, visual demonstrations, and a full complement of exhibits of textbooks and other instruction-related materials. In addition to bringing us the most recent world history scholarship and pedagogy, the conference is an opportunity for us to come together as scholars and teachers. The three receptions, three continental breakfasts, and periodic refreshment breaks — all included in the registration fee — will give us further opportunities to get together. In addition, our conference will be held during Milwaukee's Summerfest, the World's Largest Music Festival, which is within walking distance of the conference site. Al Andrea's article elsewhere in this *Bulletin* gives further, detailed information about the conference. Be sure to join us to celebrate the WHA's 25th birthday.

Please take a look at our newly redesigned website, www.thewha.org. It contains information about the conference, and you can register on-line. Continuing efforts to improve the site to make it more accessible and up-to-date have produced a more useful and attractive resource for our members and those interested in learning about the WHA. Using our website can also raise money for the WHA at no expense to users. Look for the link to Amazon.com on our site. When you use the WHA as a portal to purchase materials from Amazon, the company will donate money to the WHA for each purchase you make, at no cost to you. Help the WHA by making your Amazon purchases through our site.

As always, I invite your comments and active participation in the WHA. Our organization can continue to grow and better serve its members nationally and internationally with your help. If you are willing to join a committee, run for office, or work on a project, please let me know at thewha@hawaii.edu. And be sure to join us in Milwaukee to celebrate an important 25th birthday.

Sincerely,

Michele

WHA Conferences, 2006, 2007, 2008

A. J. Andrea

The annual June conferences held by the WHA have traditionally been and remain the organization's major venue for bringing together members and non-members alike to share and learn about the most recent developments in world history scholarship and pedagogy. Beyond that, they are a mid-summer opportunity for colleagues from around the world to enjoy one another's company in a warm social environment. Fun and learning go hand in hand whenever the WHA convenes. As evidence of that proposition, consider last year's conference at Long Beach, this year's coming conference in Milwaukee, and the WHA's plans for 2008 in London.

Fifteenth Annual Conference
Long Beach, 22-25 June 2006

The annual conference, held at California State University at Long Beach, 22-25 June, focused on the dual themes: "Teaching World History" and "The Americas in World History." By every measure, it was a rousing success, thanks in large part to the hard work of the Local Arrangements Committee (especially Ken Curtis and Tim Keirn) and the generosity of Interim Provost Dorothy (Dee) Abrahamsee (a WHA member!) and Dean Gerry Riposa of CSULB.

Another factor contributing to the conference's success were its two keynote speakers: Thomas Bender of New York University, who spoke on "Putting the United States into World (or Global) History," and Tom Laichas of Crossroads School for Arts and Sciences, who delivered the address "From Charnel House to Schoolhouse: Event and Lesson in World History."

Those measures of success alluded to above include the fact that this conference attracted the largest number of attendees in the association's history—almost 400—including one of the largest cohorts of conferees from outside North America ever present at a WHA conference held within the USA. Representatives from Peking University and Capital Normal University, both located in Beijing, PRC, were among those present. It also drew the largest number of exhibitors, sponsors, and patrons for any WHA conference to date—a total of 34. Added to these impressive numbers was the fact that attendees had a great deal of fun, thanks to the ambience of southern California, first-rate hotel and campus accommodations, and generously sponsored receptions, refreshment breaks, and meals.

These receptions, breakfasts, luncheon, and refreshment breaks made the fairly low conference fee a bargain for all in attendance. This was especially true for student conferees, whose $35 conference fee was far below cost, but the WHA is committed to keeping the fee for students at a heavily subsidized level, and it remains at that same dollar amount for any full-time student (with valid ID) attending the 2007 conference. After all, students are the future of the profession.

For the first time, a reception was offered on Thursday evening, thanks to the generosity of ABC-CLIO of Santa Barbara, California. One recurring problem at conferences has been that officially the conference begins on Thursday afternoon/evening with the meeting of the Executive Council and the opening of the registration desk. But otherwise there have been no activities for conferees who are not officers or members of the Executive Council. ABC-CLIO elegantly solved that problem by offering hospitality—snack foods and beverages, including beer and wine—set in a lounge, where registering conferees could meet colleagues and relax. Given the success of that reception, ABC-CLIO will offer similar hospitality in Milwaukee on Thursday afternoon/evening, 28 June 2007. Moreover, the WHA Conferences Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee are engaged in finding other Thursday activities at future conferences for attendees who arrive and register early. In Milwaukee, conferees will have the opportunity to participate in a docent-led tour of the Milwaukee Art Museum that evening for the reduced fee of $8.

Other receptions at the Long Beach conference were sponsored by CSULB on Friday evening and by College Board AP World History on Saturday evening. Each was a rousing success.

For the first time, a BBQ luncheon was offered, free of charge, to all participants, thanks to the generosity of McGraw Hill Publishers. The Committee faced a crisis-in-the-making: CSULB's public food facilities were shut down on Saturday. Because of the shortness of time between sessions, the distance from campus of all other dining establishments, and the fact that many conferees lacked automobiles for easy transportation, it was feared that many would go hungry. McGraw Hill solved the problem by sponsoring a barbeque luncheon—hamburgers, franks, veggie burgers, and all the usual side dishes and fixings—on the patio that was enjoyed by all.

One interesting twist was that conferees were invited to write a short review of a sample chapter from Felipe Fernández-Armesto's *The World: A History* (Prentice-Hall, 2007). For each review returned before the end of the conference, Pearson Prentice Hall donated $25 to the WHA. As a result, over $1000 was added to WHA coffers.

Other highlights included occasional free raffles of books, thanks to the generosity of Berkshire Publishing Group and ABC-CLIO. Two raffle winners, Linda Black and Anand Yang, donated the encyclopedias that they won, respectively ABC-CLIO's *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia from Angkor Wat to East Timor* and the *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History,* to the Teachers' Institute that Tim Keirn and Ken Curtis held in conjunction with the conference.

And certainly that Teachers' Institute for AP World History (20-29 June), sponsored by College Board, and the one-day Teachers' Preconference Meeting of 22 June that Ken and Tim conducted were major additions to the conference. Not only did they enroll a significant number of teachers as conferees, but they nicely underscored one of the conferences two themes "Teaching World History."

In summary, CSULB was a great venue for the conference, and it was a success of the highest order.

Sixteenth Annual Conference
Milwaukee, 28 June—1 July 2007

The WHA's 2007 conference will be co-sponsored by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and Marquette University and held in downtown Milwaukee, at UWM's Conference Center, 28 June—1 July. Its theme is "Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: The Macro and Micro in World History." This theme has particular relevance to Wisconsin's place in world history inasmuch as it has served as a land through and into which various American Indian populations have migrated, a land teeming with rivers and lakes that served as highways for voyageurs, explorers, missionaries, colonists, and entrepreneurs, a major portion of the nascent United States' initial Northwest Territory, and a place of refuge and new opportunity for generations of immigrants. Beyond that, the theme is sufficiently elastic to allow for a wide variety of panels, roundtables, and papers.

Details regarding the conference are now available at www.thewha.org, but a few items deserve underscoring.

The two keynote speakers will be Marnie Hughes-Warrington of Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, who will offer the address "Sizing Up World History" and Jean Fleet of Riverside University High School in Wisconsin will speak on "Reconstruction and World History: Theory and Practice." Both of these much-admired WHA members will give us a lot to think about.

A new feature will be two mixed media displays that will be open for viewing and discussion at certain periodic times throughout the 2 ½ days of the conference.

In addition to the ABC-CLIO-sponsored reception on Thursday evening (see above), there will be two other receptions: On Friday. we will enjoy hospitality and a special exhibition at the American Geographical Society's Collection, which is housed in UWM's Golda Meier Library; on

Saturday, Marquette University will host us at the Haggerty Museum of Art on its campus. Additionally, Houghton Mifflin, Inc. will host a bratwurst BBQ luncheon on Saturday (after all, Milwaukee is the city of brats) at Marquette, with veggie burgers and other foods, as well.

In addition to the Thursday evening docent-led tour of the Milwaukee Art Museum (mentioned above), a second tour will be offered on Sunday afternoon. Each is for the reduced fee of $8, payable with conference registration.

Two world historians from abroad will be hosted by the WHA as initial recipients of travel grants from the newly created World Scholar Travel Fund. Please see the article regarding this program and the two recipients on page 49.

As everyone must know by now, the world-famous Summerfest, a celebration of music, will be in full swing during our conference and held only a few blocks away from our downtown location. That location also places conferees a short walking distance from the lake and right in the heart of Milwaukee's restaurant and entertainment district. As always, the conference will demonstrate that fun and serious academic pursuits are not antithetical.

The popularity of Summerfest means that rooms will be at a premium, The Local Arrangements Committee has secured rooms at special, better than reasonable conference rates at the Hyatt Regency and Strasz Tower. It is each conferee's responsibility to arrange her/his accommodations. Because these rooms will fill up fast, we urge that no one delay in reserving a room at the hotel of choice. Contact information is available on the WHA's conference web page.

Seventeenth Annual Conference
London, 25-29 June 2008

Our 2008 conference will be held 25-29 June at Queen Mary College, University of London. Those inclusive dates, which cover Wednesday through Sunday, are for the convenience of long-distance travelers. Although no activities are (yet) planned for Wednesday, travelers from abroad can register at the Queen Mary dormitories, which will be our principal residence, on Wednesday and rest up for the conference. The Conferences Committee and the Local Arrangements Committee will try but cannot guarantee to have some activity for Wednesday afternoon. Registration and the Executive Council Meeting will take place on Thursday afternoon, and the WHA will endeavor to hold a modest reception during Thursday registration hours. Persons who wish to arrive even earlier than Wednesday and/or depart after the morning of the 30th may do so for a per diem charge payable directly to Queen Mary College that will be far below the cost of the most modestly priced hotels in London. The dormitory suites at Queen Mary are quite comfortable and its kitchen is first-class, so residing on campus for at least these five nights is highly recommended.

The conference fee for travelers who elect to stay at Queen Mary has yet to be firmly established due to fluctuating pound sterling/dollar exchange rates (but the 2006 rates for B&B at Queen Mary, for which data are available, are extremely reasonable). The fee, once established, will include conference registration, housing for 5 nights (with a differential for single rooms), and 5 breakfasts. The conference fee might also include lunches in the college restaurant for an additional amount, but there are a number of nearby and on-campus establishments (including several pubs) that might be more attractive to many conferees. Given the proximity of downtown by tube (roughly 15-20 minutes including walking and waiting time), few if any will want to stay on campus in the evening. The West End and its theatres and restaurants beckon.

Persons who elect to stay elsewhere for whatever reason or who elect to stay at Queen Mary for fewer days will pay, of course, a different fee.

One activity that is already promised is a reception by Pearson Prentice-Hall at its offices on the lower Strand—the heart of West End London. Conferees will have to make their way there independently, but it is only minutes away from Queen Mary by Underground. And after the reception is over, the allures of downtown London on a summer's evening cannot be resisted.

The Local Arrangements Committee at Queen Mary will soon begin its meetings and will establish the conference themes and a detailed program (or programme for our British friends).

The Southeast World History Association (SEWHA), a regional affiliate of the World History Association, invites submissions for its Nineteenth Annual Conference, at Armstrong Atlantic State University in Savannah, Georgia from 12 to 14 October 2007. The conference organizers welcome proposals that connect world history research and teaching, as well as focused paper topics dealing with world history themes or pedagogical issues.

The deadline for submissions is 1 July 2007. Proposals are welcome from educators and students of world history at all levels and should not exceed 250 words. Complete panel proposals are especially welcome. Include contact information on the proposal. Submit proposals electronically to willingham@roanoke.edu, or in hard copy to Dr. Rob Willingham, Department of History, Roanoke College, 221 College Lane, Salem, VA 24153.

For additional information regarding the conference contact Dr. Michael Hall at hallmich@mail.armstrong.edu or (912) 927-5283.

World History Association Mission Statement

Adhering to its founding principles, the WHA supports teaching and scholarship within a global perspective. Through the teachers, researchers, and authors who are its members the WHA fosters historical analysis undertaken not from the viewpoint of nation-states, but rather from that of the global community. To this end, the WHA provides forums for the discussion of changing approaches to the study and teaching of world history at all levels and works with other organizations to encourage public support for world history.

The *World History Bulletin* will publish a special issue in November, in celebration of the World History Association's 25th anniversary.

WORLD HISTORY FOR US ALL

World History for Us All -- Completion of Phase II of the Project

http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu

At a time when student proficiency in reading and math dominates public debate over education, how important is world history in the middle and high school classroom? A national team of teachers, historians, and web specialists thinks it is so important they have been developing a comprehensive electronic-based model curriculum for world history that any teacher or school in America may use without subscription or fee. Called *World History for Us All*, the project is a collaboration of faculty at San Diego State University and UCLA's National Center for History in the Schools.

The *World History for Us All* web site offers educators and students not only a treasury of teaching materials and resources but also a coherent conceptual framework for thinking about the human story from early times to the present. This innovative program is premised on the idea that humankind as a whole has a history to be explored and that classroom world history suitable for the twenty-first century must pay attention to large-scale changes and cross-cultural linkages, not just to the achievements and contributions of different civilizations.

World History for Us All draws on the burgeoning academic research of the past several years that focuses on history from cross-cultural, comparative, and transnational perspectives. It is also inspired by cognitive research in the U.S. and Great Britain which shows that students achieve greater competence in history when they are guided to relate particular facts and stories to bigger historical trends and patterns.

Therefore, the *World History for Us All* project team has organized the model curriculum to connect concrete instructional materials rich in class activities and primary source documents to an overarching framework of guiding historical concepts, objectives, and themes. For example, rather than conceiving of separate, compartmentalized civilizations as the main subjects of study, the curriculum has a unified chronology, organizing the human past into nine Big Eras, each of them encompassing changes around the globe.

The *World History for Us All* Project is one creative response to the growing perception that young Americans need to be better equipped make sense of the complex world around them in the light of history, both recent and remote. School world history ought to prepare citizens to critically interpret world events, understand the origins of the global economy, appreciate the world's cultural riches, or travel and work abroad.

Many states require that students take courses in world history. But even among those that do, the official state competency standards for what middle and high schoolers should know about the human past range from richly detailed prescriptions to lists of vague generalizations. Earlier this year the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation published a report on state world history standards. It gave eight states grades of "A" for their guidelines, but thirty-three states received "Ds" or "Fs". Many states not only have nebulous world history standards but also fail to give teachers much help on the daunting challenges of making the subject intelligible and engaging.

Most states that have detailed content standards, as well as the leading world history textbooks, encourage study of civilizations and regions, including Europe, as separate, compartmentalized units. Teachers may therefore have a hard time convincing students that world history is anything other than a tangle of cultural contributions and achievements—one damn civilization after another. By contrast, *World History for Us All* is organized to help teachers and students put the histories of civilizations in the context of larger interregional or global developments.

The model curriculum offers a wealth of instructional materials on commonly taught subjects such as ancient Greek society or eighteenth-century political revolutions. But it also encourages teachers to introduce large-scale historical developments that have cut across cultural boundaries. Topics that take a "bird's eye view" of the past include the question of how humans initially peopled the earth, how merchants in the Middle Ages created a web of trade that ran from Japan to Ireland, and how humans have drastically altered the earth's natural environment in the past century.

Initiated in 2001 under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the *World History for Us All* project has involved a creative collaboration between K-12 teachers and university historians from eleven states and the District of Columbia. Recently, the project announced completion of its second major phase by posting on the site all major instructional elements for world history up to 1500 C. E. The next phase, to be completed by late 2007, will make available all key materials pertaining to modern global history. Because its medium is electronic, however, the project will continue to enrich the curriculum with additional teaching units and resources in the coming years. *World History for Us All* may be explored at http://worldhistoryforusall.sdsu.edu.

Since 2003, the project has also received funding from the Ahmanson Foundation, the Longview Foundation, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the San Diego State University President's Leadership Fund. It receives continuing support from the National Center for History in the Schools, located in the History Department at UCLA.

In the past several years the U. S. Congress has provided hundreds of millions of dollars to support teacher development in American history. There is no doubt that world history teachers need comparable help, not only to enhance their knowledge, but also to investigate with their students how the world, not just one culture or another, got to be the way it is today. As one teacher in California wrote about *World History for Us All*, "The globalization of world history is the wave of the future. However, teachers will not 'buy in' until there are tangible, user-friendly resources like this."

Ross E. Dunn
Project Director

WHB Focus Issue & Teaching Forum

"Religion and World History"

Joel Tishken
Guest Editor

The global significance of religion, past and present, is surely undeniable. The study of religion provides great material for the world historian as religion intersects with every other aspect of the human condition. It is my honor to introduce this collection of articles on various aspects of religious history. The collection begins with some articles on historiography, theory, and pedagogy, and concludes with a number of case studies. However, most contributions blend several of these issues making comment on both our discipline as well as our classrooms.

Though the significance of religion for world history may be undeniable, the precise nature of how to study and teach religion is quite another matter. As Lindenfeld's contribution discusses, even the very terminology is contentious. Lindenfeld finds that the term "world religions" is highly biased in favor of textual religions. He concludes that for world historians a religion ought to be considered a world religion if its "...adherents are to be found in a multiplicity of geographical world regions." Tishken argues the case even further stating that world religions ought to be the religions of the world. He states that the world historian should provide a globally representative sample of religions, as is done for empires or cultures, through a framework of ethnic and evangelical religions. He polemically contends that our definition of "world religions is the partly failed attempt at preserving Christian primacy."

A number of contributors challenge us to further consider our intellectual inheritance in regards to religion. Clossey suggests that the secular nature of the modern academy has reduced religion to a sterile assemblage of beliefs and rites. Our academic definition of religion, as an abstraction separate from the rest of life, is not one shared by most peoples, past and present, but is an invention of modernity. He and Sinitiere both suggest we find ways to "re-enchant" the lived experience of religion, illustrating the power of religion, past and present, in our classrooms. Religion does matter to most humans, past and present, and we must find ways to represent that power of religion remembering that the academy's views on religion are not the global norm. Periodization is addressed in Whalen's contribution through a case study of premodern Christian writers. As the geographic and cultural knowledge of Europe grew, their system of explanation did not. Non-European cultures were simply inserted into the Christian system of explanation. Whalen concludes by reminding us how arbitrary periodization can be and cautions world historians to insure we do not simply insert the "diverse peoples of the world into frameworks of [our] own making."

Marriott, Riley, Sahin, and Willis provide a variety of case studies that probe the intersection of global and local approaches to religion. Marriott traces the universal characteristics, interconnections, and local manifestations, of three millennial movements of the premodern era: the Islamic Nuqtavi movement of Safavid Iran, the Christian Fifth Monarchy movement in Britain and the United States, and the Judaic Sabbatian movement in the Ottoman Empire. All three have some commonalities because of their descent from a common Abrahamic tradition. Yet Marriott also contends that there were a number of interconnected socio-economic conditions, such as astrology, the discovery of new cultures, social and political crises, and increased communication among members of different religions, that provided an environment conducive to the emergence of such movements, providing additional parallels among the three. In the end (please forgive the pun) Marriott argues that it is the common global features that provided the atmosphere for the emergence of these movements, even as each developed their own local peculiarities.

Catholicism's seemingly paradoxical history as both the violator of, and champion for, human rights is the starting point of Riley's essay. However, Riley explains that in the twentieth century, Catholicism has, in fact, become a champion of human rights. Following the philosophy of Jacques Maritain, many Catholic leaders, including some popes, have come to see human rights as the embrace of individual rights as well as the simultaneous embrace of responsibility to insure the rights of others are protected. Riley traces the various events of the twentieth century that have come to place the Catholic Church, in his estimation, as "one of the most articulate and vigorous champions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the twenty-first century."

Sahin challenges many of the commonly perceived notions of missionaries, arguing for a more nuanced understanding. Firstly, he contends that the records of ABCFM missionaries reveal that these missionaries were overwhelmingly New Englanders, and this impacted their mission approach. They were not focused upon instantaneous conversions but rather felt that serving as a Christian model would cause others to choose to convert. Secondly, records also indicate that relations between the missionaries and the local people of Turkey were peaceful, not hostile as typically portrayed. These missionaries partook of Turkish culture and sought to reform existing Eastern Christian churches, not strictly impose their own worldview.

Race and religion had a complex interplay, argues Willis, for Southern Baptists on both sides of the Atlantic. The Southern Baptist Convention was well aware of the paradox of promoting Christian missions while defending segregation at home. In several instances the mission experience and African converts caused desegregation in the southern United States. "There is much in the American South for the world historian, and much in the broader world for the Southern historian."

Please enjoy this exploration of historiography, religious theory, pedagogy, and history from our collection of authors. It is clear that religion has a significant role to play in the conceptualization, writing, and teaching of world history. Sinitiere notes a paucity of material on religion within our field's journals, until quite recently. We hope this collection will help to redress this and spur further dialogue in the future.

Joel Tishken
Columbus State University

The Concept of "World Religions" as Currently Used in Religious Studies Textbooks

David Lindenfeld
Louisiana State University

The neglect of religion as a major factor in world history (both in teaching and research) is coming to be recognized, but the question of how to incorporate it raises a lot of issues. For those of us faced with decisions on how to structure a course or a curriculum, whether at the college or high-school level, questions regarding what to include and exclude are paramount—as in other fields of world history. It might be useful, therefore, to see how our colleagues in religious studies handle this issue. Courses in comparative religion have been a staple of college curricula for a long time, and the textbooks available for such courses can at least provide examples of how to subdivide, classify, and make selections within this vast subject-matter.

In such an enterprise, a seemingly unavoidable construct raises its head, namely, "world religion," or "world's religions," or "world's great religions." Scholars have pointed out that, as a guide to a consistent classificatory scheme, the concept poses many difficulties.[1] Are world religions those which are held by a plurality of nationalities or ethnic groups? Then Judaism and Hinduism would have to be excluded. Are world religions characterized by a "universal" message or content that transcends the concerns of more localized religions? If "universal" is taken to include an elaborate cosmology, then many Native American, African, and Melanesian religions deserve to be included, which they are not. Does "world religion" simply refer to those with greater numbers of adherents? If one goes by the statistics in the 2005 *Encyclopedia Britannica's Book of the Year*, the answer would have to be no: Jews, Sikhs, and Jains, which usually get a chapter each devoted to their respective religions, make up less than 1% of the world's population, compared to 4% in the "ethnoreligionist" category (i.e., tribal or indigenous) and 12% listed as "non-religious."[2]

While some recent works have interpreted these asymmetries as symptomatic of a pro-Western or pro-Christian bias, the evidence points more unambiguously to a bias in favor of written traditions. In other words, membership in the canon of "world religions" is marked by a common feature of having a scripture or scriptures which have been around for a long time (the most recent being Sikhism, whose holy book dates back to the sixteenth century). Religions which lack such writings are lumped together in a single category, which regardless of what part of the world they come from, is variously labeled "traditional", "primal", "basic", "tribal", or "indigenous". These, of course, are newer names for what was formerly labeled "primitive." There is certainly a vestige of a pro-Western bias here; the question becomes how this issue is handled in contemporary textbooks.

The books included in this survey are those which publishers sent as examination copies to several of my colleagues in the religion departments at Louisiana State University and Loyola University in New Orleans, who generously lent them to me. I included only works which had a copyright date after 2000. They are, in alphabetical order by author:

1) Robert S. Ellwood and Barbara A. McGraw, *Many Peoples, Many Faiths: Women and Men in World Religions*, 8th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005.
2) John L. Esposito, Darrell J. Fasching, and Todd Lewis, *World Religions Today*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
3) Mary Pat Fisher, *Living Religions*, 6th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005.
4) Lewis M. Hopfe and Mark R. Woodward, *Religions of the World,* 9th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004.
5) Theodore M. Ludwig, *The Sacred Paths: Understanding the Religions of the World,* 3rd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001.
6) Warren Matthews, *World Religions*, 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth, 2004.
7) Michael Molloy, *Experiencing the World's Religions: Tradition, Challenge, and Change*, 4th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 2008 [sic].
8) David S. Noss, *A History of the World's Religions*, 11th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.
9) William A. Young, *The World's Religions: Worldviews and Contemporary Issues,* 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005.

The most fascinating differences among these textbooks are to be found in the introductory chapters, where the authors attempt to define religion itself (the exception is Noss, who takes a strictly historical approach and begins with the prehistoric). These comparisons would take us far beyond the scope of this paper. It is worth noting, however, that in justifying the importance of the study of religion in the twenty-first century, the above textbooks all contain statements affirming the value of appreciating religious diversity—especially in light of the obvious potential of religion to ignite violent conflict. Fisher provides perhaps the most emphatic statement:

> This is not the time to think of the world in terms of superficial, rigid distinctions between "us" and "them." It is the time when we must try to understand each other's beliefs and feelings clearly, carefully, and compassionately, and bring truly religious responses into play. To take such a journey does not mean forsaking our own religious beliefs or our skepticism. But the journey is likely to broaden our perspective and thus bring us closer to understanding other members of our human family.[3]

Many of the textbooks also emphasize the physical presence of non-Western religions in Europe and America to a greater extent than ever before. In short, one does not find in these books any overtly pro-Western or pro-Christian stances.

As for the organization of the books, all follow the same pattern of beginning with the non-literate religions, usually in the space of a single chapter, followed by the bulk of the book dealing with scriptural traditions. There is a great deal of variety, however, in how the nonliterate religions are presented. To begin with terminology, the preferred term is "indigenous"—four out of the nine books use it (Fisher, Ludwig, Molloy, and Young). Two prefer "primal" (Esposito and Noss); one uses "basic" (Hopfe); one "tribal" (Ellwood); and one avoids labeling altogether (Matthews). The tendency is to treat these religions in very general terms, employing such topics as animism, shamans, totem, taboo, myth, rites of passage, etc., with illustrations drawn from scattered tribes across the globe (Molloy has an emphasis on Hawaiian illustrations). Several of the textbooks compensate for this approach by offering more detailed case studies or separate chapters on geographical regions. Thus Young offers fairly detailed portraits of the Yoruba and the Oglala Lakota Sioux; Noss concentrates on the Dieri of southeast Australia, the Bavenda of South Africa, and the Cherokee. In keeping with his historical approach, he also includes a chapter on "Bygone Religions"—Mesopotamia, Greco-Roman, and Maya. Hopfe, in addition to a very general chapter on basic religions, has a chapter on Native-American and one on African religions, although these are again treated very broadly. The book that goes furthest in discussing specific cases (and is, therefore, I think, most helpful to history teachers), is Matthews, who simply has a chapter on the Americas and one on Africa (why not one on Oceania as well?). This is consistent with the geographical organization that most of the texts follow in the rest of the books. In the American chapter, Matthews discusses, in varying degrees of depth, the Naskapi of Quebec and Labrador, the Powhatans of Virginia, the Cherokee, the Aztecs, and the Incas. In the African one, we meet the ancient Egyptians, the Basongye of the Congo, the Zulu, and the Yoruba.

. . . the evidence points more unambiguously to a bias in favor of written traditions. In other words, membership in the canon of "world religions" is marked by a common feature of having a scripture or scriptures which have been around for a long time . . .

These chapters also emphasize, in greater or lesser degree, the continuities between indigenous religions and the rest. Ellwood, for example, discusses the survival of pagan traces in such festivals as Christmas, Halloween, and May Day. Esposito and Fisher provide examples of the ongoing presence of Shamanism in Asia. The theme of encounter between indigenous religions and modernity comes up repeatedly, notably in Fisher, Ludwig, and most prominently, Esposito. The theme of colonialism and its impact on all world religions is in fact an organizing theme of the latter book.

It should be noted in passing that the idea of commonalities among indigenous peoples, however scattered they may be geographically, is no longer a mere academic construct, but a rallying point of political mobilization. There are several international organizations of indigenes, including a United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, which produced a draft declaration on indigenous rights. Many of the documents produced by these organizations emphasize the special relationship to land and place as embodied in indigenous religions.[4]

When it comes to the scriptural religions, all of the textbooks—with one exception—follow the same trajectory, with only minor variations. The main organizing principle is geographical region of origin, with chronology serving as a secondary principle. Thus one begins in India with Hinduism, followed by Buddhism, and in most cases, Jainism and Sikhism. One then moves to East Asia for a discussion of Daoism and Confucianism (often treated together), followed by Shinto. Some of the books (Ellwood, Ludwig, and Matthews) follow a more strictly geographical scheme here, using China and Japan themselves as the main headings, allowing for easier discussion of the intermixing of religions within each one; another (Young) even includes Mahayana Buddhism in the East Asian section rather than in the Indian one. In any case, these sections are invariably followed by the religions originating in the Middle East, namely Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, in that order. Fidelity to the scriptural criterion is revealed by giving the Jains and Sikhs each a separate chapter in five cases and combining them into a single chapter in two others; Zoroastrians merit their own chapter also in five cases, and are combined with ancient Mesopotamians in another. In other words, these texts highlight the same ten religions that were identified as the world's "great" religions by the World Parliament of Religions in 1893—with the addition of Sikhism.[5]

The exception to this pattern is Esposito. Here one begins with Judaism, followed by Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and East Asia. No special justification is offered; I would guess that the author's intent is to begin with the relatively more familiar. Each of these chapters begins with a section on the encounter with an aspect of modernity; there follows a rather extensive historical section which takes us through the clashes with colonialism and into the postmodern period. This is not to say that such themes are absent in the other textbooks; many of them include sections that deal with contemporary expressions of the scriptural religions. Ellwood highlights the role of women in each section; Fisher includes interviews with representatives of each tradition.

Six of the nine books follow with chapters on new religious movements (all except Hopfe, Noss, and Matthews). Here, as in the indigenous sections, the reader is taken on a whirlwind tour, including a brief introduction to such groups as Mormons, Moonies, New Age, Neo-Pagan Wiccans, Rastafarians, Scientologists, Theosophists, and Baha'i, to mention the most prominent ones (Hopfe eschews the survey and concludes with a chapter on Baha'i alone). Six of the nine textbooks (all but Esposito, Hopfe, and Noss) also have concluding chapters dealing with contemporary issues such as science and technology, environmental crisis, gender issues, and interfaith dialogue. On this material, Young stands out by devoting an entire section—four chapters—to contemporary ethical issues (including one on abortion/euthanasia), plus a final chapter on the future of the world's religions.

Let me conclude by offering a suggestion on how world history can contribute to clarifying the terminological confusion over the term "world religion." By approaching religion in terms of cultural interactions, one might say that a world religion is simply one whose adherents are to be found in a multiplicity of geographical world regions.[6] This may occur either as the result of conscious proselytizing or conquest, as with Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam, or simply by migration and the creation of diasporas, as with Judaism and Hinduism. This is also one way of reconceptualizing the distinction between "world" and "indigenous" religions. The Yoruba, for example, as they were transplanted to the Western Hemisphere by the slave trade, brought their religion with them, which continues to flourish in combination with other elements in such movements as Candomblé, Vodoun, and Santería.

ENDNOTES

1 For example, Rosalind Shaw, "The Invention of 'African Traditional Religion,' *Religion* vol. 20 (1990), pp. 340-2; Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions, or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 2-6.

2 *Encyclopedia Britannica 2005 Book of the Year* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2005), p. 282.

3 Fisher, 28; cf. Ellwood, 2; Esposito, 32; Hopfe, 4; Ludwig, 23, Matthews, 11, Molloy, 23; Young, 10.

4 Ken S. Coates, *A Global History of Indigenous Peoples. Struggle and Survival* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), esp. pp. 5-13, 250-7.

5 Musozawa, 266.

6 On the concept of world regions, see Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), ch. 6.

The World History Association

Of Borders and Boundaries: World History, World Christianity, and the Pedagogy of Religion[1]

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Historiographically speaking, the particular is connected to the whole, the local to the global, and the contextual to the catholic.-- Gerald J. Pillay, "The Challenge of Teaching Church History from a Global Perspective" (2002)

The global and intercultural character of world Christianity demands expertise in numerous fields of academic specialization: history and religions are two obvious areas, but also anthropology, philosophy, human rights, politics, international relations, the study of language and literature, customary law, and indigenous healing systems.-- Lamin Sanneh, "World Christianity and the New Historiography" (2002)

One can be certain that the issues of religion and spirituality will not disappear from studies of world history. -- Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History* (2003)

Introduction - "The most striking feature of Christianity at the beginning of the third millennium," writes scholar Andrew Walls, "is that it is predominantly a non-Western religion."[2] It is widely acknowledged now, notably due to works such as Philip Jenkins' *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (2002) and *The New Faces of Christianity: Bible Believers in the Global South* (2006), as well as the dizzying quantitative data of David Barrett and his team in the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (2001), that Christianity in the global South is alive and well.[3]

Significant scholarly analysis of these trends is also underway. In addition to a number of monographs on the subject, two recent volumes in Cambridge University Press's *History of Christianity* series cover what editors call "world Christianities" from 1815-2000, and both Eerdmans and Oxford University Press recently inaugurated series' that investigate dimensions of mission history and evangelicalism in the Southern Hemisphere. Also, two schools recently opened study centers devoted to world Christianity: New York Theological Seminary's Center for World Christianity opened in 2004, and Calvin College's Nagel Institute for the Study of World Christianity

opened the following year. A final attestation of the current analysis of Christian expressions in the global South, Baylor University hosted (November 2005) an international symposium on world Christianity called "Global Christianity: Challenging Modernity and the West." A clear reflection of the surging importance of the field, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, theologians, and religion scholars turned out in significant numbers, though world historians were few and far between.[4]

Perhaps world historians steered clear of the conference due to lack of advertising, or maybe world history scholars found the conference's presence at a denominational school suspicious; or maybe it had to do with the relative youth of world Christianity as an academic subfield, the sometimes obtuse nature of religious studies and theological scholarship along with its absence from secular academic settings, or the understandable reticence historians sometimes have when making intersections with religious or theological studies, particularly those strains that study and examine Christian experience. Whatever the case, as the title of this article suggests, I wish to reexamine the borders and boundaries of these fields in order to bring world history and world Christianity into more rigorous conversation, both in terms of scholarship *and* pedagogy. In short, I suggest that world historians more rigorously engage the work of religious studies scholars, and, in some cases, perhaps even those in theological disciplines. Such encounters, I submit, would walk a fine line among various disciplines, yet offer ways to more fully explain the historical rootedness of contemporary religious *experience* across the globe, while also providing additional materials from which to enhance pedagogy. Thus, in general terms, I make a plea for restoring the place of religion in the new world history, in particular, calling for careful studies of global Christian experiences (especially in the global South) that aim to provide textured understandings of faith experiences, not essentialist presentations that misinform or come across as proselytizing. My suggestion implicitly questions the comparative world religions approach, while it subtly advocates dimensions of what Joel Tishken terms an "ethnic" approach to global religion, and the approach David Lindenfeld champions as comparative inculturation (and acculturation) of varying cultural combinations.[5]

Patrick Manning, . . . one of the leading theorists, practitioners, and advocates of world history, brings considerable depth to discussions of world Christianity.

In the analysis that follows, I (unscientifically) measure the extent to which studies of Christian history and experience exist in the field of world history, exploring and defining what scholars call world Christianity, and suggesting ways that the fields of world Christianity and world history might intersect both in terms of research and pedagogy. I write both as an instructor of history with six years teaching experience in a religiously-affiliated college-preparatory academy *and* as a student, presently a Ph.D. candidate in history at a state university. I teach courses in world, United States, and European history, and my graduate training focuses on American religious history with secondary fields in world history and African history.

Christianity and the New World History

Before proceeding, it is imperative to measure the extent to which studies of Christianity show up in the new world history. While many could quibble with books on religious topics that might constitute a bibliography of "world history" texts, although one might survey seminal volumes of edited essays or even prominent world history encyclopedias, a more manageable and logical measure comes from what many consider the major journals and publications in the field.[6] For the sake of convenience, I date the new world history to 1990, the year the *Journal of World History* (*JWH*) began publication. In addition to the *JWH*, I surveyed the *World History Bulletin*, the *Journal of Global History*, *World History Connected*, and H-World. I examined the archives from each of these publications, including book reviews, and selected several search terms to harvest the archives of H-World. My results are as follows.

Journal of World History - Since 1990, the *Journal of World History* has published approximately 183 articles, with 12 on topics related to Christianity. Two issues, Fall 1992 and Spring 1995, featured two articles a piece on Christianity, and from Fall 1997 to June 2004 there were no articles on the topic. From another angle, out of approximately 325 book reviews published to date in its sixteen year history, the *JWH* contains reviews of 12 books on topics related to the history of Christianity. Notably, since June 2004, there have been articles on Christianity in the September 2005 issue and in three of the four 2006 issues there appeared at least one article on the history of Christianity. I do not seek to explain this, but only to report it.

In terms of topics covered, *JWH* articles examined: Jesuit mission work in Brazil (Fall 1992), Christian conversion to Islam in fifth-century Cordoba (Spring 1992), religion and trade in Eurasia between A.D. 600-1200 (Spring 1995), the YMCA in Meiji Japan (Spring 1995), the Christianization of Muslim princes during holy war (Fall 1996), Christian conversion in modern India (Fall 1997), YWCA activities in postwar Japan (June 2004), a comparative look at missionary work in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century China and West Africa (September 2005), sixteenth-century Franciscan Inquisition in New Spain (March 2006), American missionary involvement in the Opium trade in nineteenth-century China (June 2006), and in the December 2006 issue articles on Christian spiritual meditation in the *Dar al-Islam* and religious pluralism in early modern society. Although relatively sparse in number, these articles cover a considerable geographical swath across a large block of time, analyze macro and micro dimensions of religious institutions and religious expression, and offer a variety of ways to imagine religious experience throughout world history.

World History Bulletin - As for the *World History Bulletin*, my initial perusal of its archives indicates that out of approximately 200 articles, five address religious history and one marginally engages Christianity. Publication of the issue in which this article appears obviously changes the numbers cited previously, and no doubt all of the articles found herein will prompt further investigation and spark subsequent discussion.[7]

Journal of Global History - The *Journal of Global History* has a very short tenure, with only three issues (seventeen articles) published to date. Only the March 2006 issue contained an essay on a religious topic, an article by Luke Clossey on the intersections of merchants, missionaries, and migration conceptualized as early-modern, transpacific globalization.

World History Connected - Turning to *World History Connected*, we notice that prior to the November 2006 issue, there were no articles with Christianity as the main topic of analysis since its debut in November 2003. The only exceptions were Mary Jane Maxwell's column on the world history survey course that focuses primarily on comparative religion as an analytical theme (May 2005), and three book reviews: one on religion and the Silk Road (May 2004) and two on the historical development of monotheism in Western culture (May 2005, July 2006).

The November 2006 issue focused on religion and opened with an article on religious illiteracy and prescriptions for overcoming it in secondary settings, followed by reflections on the importance of religion, teacher training, and pedagogy; the place of teaching religious *experience* in a world history setting; religion in contemporary world history; Buddhism; religious syncretism; neo-Confucianism; and Sufism and gender. Mike Weber's article "Teaching Religion in World History" highlighted the importance of understanding and teaching religion not solely as theoretical or doctrinal constructions, but as lived experience, and David Fahey's thoughts on religion's ubiquity across time and space identified challenges world history teachers face as they seek to explain today's complex religious worlds. Similar to my reflections below, Weber's

call for the study of lived religion uncovers the textures of religious experience, while Fahey's essay highlights the collaborative nature of studying and teaching about religion. Overall, this issue provides rich material from which to engage theoretical reflection, and, in turn, more fully inform pedagogical practices.

H-World - In cyberspace, discussion of various aspects of Christianity along the threads of H-World cropped up 421 times across 19 pages of messages since the first post in August 1994. Using the search word "Pentecostal," for example, yielded 28 messages across two pages, and resulted in some of the most vigorous conversation amongst H-Worlders. I should note that Miami (Ohio) University's David Fahey initiated recent discussions on this topic, once in March 2005 and then again in March 2006. In a post from 30 March 2005, entitled "Religion and World History," Fahey wrote: "As I have said before (never getting a reaction), I find it puzzling that world historians seem to find no contemporary religion worth analysis with the exception of Islam. Maybe I should recognize that Eurocentrism is not confined to economic history." Fahey echoed these sentiments again on 25 April 2006, in a post entitled "Pentecostalism at 100," when he noted "Over the years I have argued that world historians are strangely selective in identifying what religious are worth studying in modern history. Islam is fashionable, while Pentecostal Christianity is not." This article is one response to Fahey's comments even while his observations suggest there is work to do.

Such statistics and observations suggest that while a more frequent topic in on-line forums, Christianity as an analytical topic in the new world history is an area ripe for analysis and discussion. The recent frequency of articles in the *Journal of World History*, a recent issue of *World History Connected*, and the current issue of the *World History Bulletin* indicate significant conversations are underway. Nevertheless, it is clear that a more rigorous incorporation of the various dimensions of contemporary Christian history and religious experience into the new world history would greatly enhance the scope of the field and bring new pedagogical possibilities to the table.

Defining World Christianity

If the reasons for a more thorough and innovative incorporation of contemporary Christian history are both legitimate and obvious, then a clearer picture of what I mean by world Christianity is necessary. With comparatively few "world Christianity" studies as such currently in print (in English) and with only two English-language journals that deal with the topic specifically—*Studies in World Christianity* and the forthcoming *Journal of World Christianity*—the field itself is quite young.[8] As Yale's Lamin Sanneh notes, along with the reflections of historians Patrick Manning and Mark Noll and anthropologist Brian Howell, there are relatively clear parameters for the field and important questions on its research agenda, even as there remains much work to be done.

A Gambian-born historian, Sanneh draws from deep interfaith and cross-cultural religious experience to offer an outline of the field of world Christianity. In his *Whose Religion is Christianity?: The Gospel Beyond the West* (2003), an innovative self-interview that fleshes out numerous issues related to Christianity's global presence, Sanneh notes that the term "world Christianity" implies a scholarly and pedagogical focus on indigenous location and expression of Christian religious experience. "World Christianity," Sanneh describes, "is not one thing but a variety of indigenous responses through more or less effective local idioms, but in any case without necessarily the European Enlightenment frame." As Sanneh relates, the emergence of a vibrant Christianity in the global South came "with the shift into native languages, [as] the logic of religious conversion assumed an internal dynamic, with a sharp turn away from external direction and control. Indigenizing the faith meant decolonizing its theology, and membership of the fellowship implied spiritual home rule. World Christianity was thereby weaned of the political habits of Christendom." In this way, Sanneh argues that the emergence of a vibrant Christianity in the global South came with the translation of religious texts into indigenous languages along with the individual and collective dynamics that ensued; what he calls the "*indigenous discovery of Christianity*." Writing about Bible translation in contemporary Africa, for example, Sanneh observes:

> A corresponding double effect attended the work of missionaries themselves, for by translating the Bible into the mother tongue, missionaries, with the assistance and leadership of local language experts, learnt the vernacular and so made the strategic shift from the familiar Western idiom to a totally new system. Thus Bible translation in its consequences affected ethnic sensibility, gave it material expression, moral affirmation and historical vocation even if at the same time it mediated the spread of European cultural ideas.[9]

Acts and events of indigenization, then, varied as they are across time, space, and region, surface as a key feature in the field of world Christianity, since, as Sanneh argues in his larger study, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (1989), from its earliest days Christianity was a translatable and translating religion.

In a 2002 essay titled "World Christianity and the New Historiography," Sanneh argues that a historiography that takes into account world Christianity will focus on "the principles of local agency and indigenous cultural appropriation." The reality of such a historiography, Sanneh observes, leaves traditional top-down church history behind. Drawing from the streams of diverse academic fields, or, to modify metaphors, plunging into the pool of interdisciplinary study, allows historians to capture the lives of laypeople who adopt local dynamics of the Christian faith and express this faith in contextualized, indigenous terms. The new historiography about which Sanneh writes also eschews explanations that move along traditional denominational lines; emerging bodies of Christianity outside of the Western world often exist outside of customary denominational restraints.[10] The study and analysis of indigenous expressions of faith, then, for much of the work on world Christianity, favors contemporary history and thus, most of the subjects historians of world Christianity study happened within the last 500 years or so.

Sanneh's voice on this topic does not include cadences of advocacy, but reverberates with vibrant cultural experiences borne out of critical historical analysis. In addition, Sanneh's terminological precision not only helps to bring clarity to discussions about the contemporary global Christian scene, but also suggests that scholars of world Christianity (and world history) must traverse traditional disciplinary boundaries, much the same way the global faith about which scholars write and teach moves within, between, and across cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and class lines. The future of world Christianity and world history is of necessity a collaborative project comparative in nature.[11]

The field of world Christianity's interpretive power, via the reflections of world historian Patrick Manning, rests most logically within a cultural studies (and even social history) framework. While I cite examples and offer pedagogical strategies below, it is helpful, at this point, to interlace world Christianity more concretely with the field of world history in order to discuss the collaborative imperative identified previously.

Patrick Manning, of the University of Pittsburgh and one of the leading theorists, practitioners, and advocates of world history, brings considerable depth to discussions of world Christianity. In his *Navigating World History* (2003), Manning suggests that historians bring analytical approaches that the field of cultural history offers to the table of world history. With such investigations it is prudent, Manning argues, to draw a distinction between micro- and macro-level analyses, especially if one seeks to study linguistic patterns, for example, or how peoples in various times and places represent their world. These concerns are of particular importance for studies of spiritual experience and religious phenomena, and Manning suggests that historians reframe these kinds of analyses more as a dynamic of global interconnection than as a flicker of local culture. Importantly, Manning points out that studies of recent world history fail to consider seriously the fluorescence about

and historical situatedness of religious experience, strongly suggesting that future work tackle such issues.[12] Manning's historiographical contention thus complements Sanneh's terminological articulation and, together with the reflections of historian Mark Noll and anthropologist Brian Howell below, moves the discussion forward.

The historiographical shift I wish to identify—and one that is in many ways already underway—comports with the recent trend of interdisciplinarity, creative disciplinary boundary crossing that aims to more fully unpack and more fully explain historical experience. For the fields of world Christianity and world history, this suggests a particular kind of engagement world historians *could* make with religious or theological studies, spliced of course with theoretical perspectives from history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, and so on. Again, such encounters would walk a fine line among various disciplines yet offer a way to more fully and completely explain the historical rootedness of religious experience.

Mark Noll, well-known for his work in many facets of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American religion, is a Notre Dame historian whose recent work and teaching more fully engage world Christianity, including a Calvin College seminar on global Christianity, a March 2004 University of Chicago lecture titled "The New Shape of World Christianity: Where Did it Come From? Where is it Going?," a March 2005 presentation before the Council on Foreign Relations titled "Faith and Conflict: The Global Rise of Christianity," and a plenary address at Baylor University's Pruit Symposium on world Christianity.

In addition to these activities, Noll's 1998 essay, "The Potential of Missiology for the Crises of History," suggests that historians might beneficially blur the disciplinary boundaries of (Christian) church history, missions history, and world history in order to more clearly capture the reality of religious experience. Accounting for an academic climate open to discussing the history of religious experience, and the increasingly global interconnectedness via technology and communications, Noll argues that "Christian history now simply is *world* history" and as such places missiologists, academically trained missionary scholar-practitioners, in a unique position to interpret the past "because of the sensitivities they have developed as historians of faith, historians of culture, and historians of the interactions between faith and culture."[13] As subsequent comments indicate, here Noll, like Sanneh, does not suggest a kind of triumphalistic world Christian history, but rather an inquisitive and critical engagement with (scholarly) missionary writing sensitive to, couched in, and presented with legitimate scholarly acumen.

Noll further observes that those "who are concerned about history, historical writing, and the increasingly contentious arguments about the nature (or possibility) of historical knowledge" might do well to listen to the missiological voices of individuals like Lesslie Newbingen, a missionary priest who worked in India and engaged scholarly discussions about religious pluralism, Andrew Walls, a Scottish academic with missionary experience in West Africa and one who is sensitive to critical analysis of religious experience, or Lamin Sanneh, all of whom in various ways explore the dynamics of Christianity at the nexus of various cultures.[14] In short, Noll argues that if one considers the future of Christian history as *world* history and listens patiently and attentively to missiological reflection, the ways in which various cultures inculturate the Christian gospel might provide a wealth of material for historical analysis that could further illuminate the depths of cultural exchange. The possibility of cross-cultural analysis that would compare, contrast, connect, and/or explain change over time holds significant promise for those who wish to attempt explanations of world Christianity. Defined this way, Noll's proposal seems appropriate for the field of world history.[15]

Thus, the "potential" that Noll sees in missiology rests with its disciplinary flexibility and its ability to negotiate "the all-important discussion between history considered as a function of Christian truth understood only by believers, and history considered as a general social science open to all humanity."[16] Noll's comments implicitly identify an important dimension of world Christianity: the pedagogical possibility of past missionary efforts, seen in the recent explosion of Pentecostal and charismatic expressions of Christianity in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, to inform and instruct contemporary thinking and teaching about Christianity of and in cultures.

As Sanneh, Manning, and Noll craft artful and engaging suggestions as to how *historians* might benefit from interdisciplinary insight, Wheaton College anthropologist Brian Howell more closely identifies and analyzes the interdisciplinary dimension of the field of world Christianity. In "The Anthropology of Christianity: Beyond Missions and Conversion – A Review Essay," Howell writes of "the stirrings of an identifiable anthropology of Christianity," that is, rigorous anthropological work that considers religious ritual as organic and original, practices that resonate with individual and collective encounters with transcendence. Citing studies of Christian experience in Jamaica, Ghana, and Papau New Guineau, Howell and others argue that some of the best anthropological work on Christianity takes seriously the language, ritual, and cultural location of the people studied, and interprets their religious and ecstatic experiences as legitimate responses to reported encounters with the God of Christianity.

Howell highlights the possibilities that anthropology, and thus interdisciplinarity, might bring to pedagogy of world Christianity. He writes:

> But with the now-unassailable truth that non-Western Christianity is moving (or has moved?) to the center of the global Church, it is time to bring in those who have been working with the concepts of culture and culture change in the non-Western world for the entire life of their discipline. Learning about this sea change is going to remain two-dimensional without the on-the-ground data that anthropology provides….[for] the anthropological conviction that studying the Other always sheds light on the Self is never more true than in the case of Christianity.[17]

To better understand, interpret, and explicate the experiences of Christian believers, Howell contends that scholars take the religious beliefs and rituals of their subjects as seriously as the subjects take them themselves. This is not to find a back door for any kind of advocacy, Howell maintains, but to interrogate conventional approaches concerned with distance from and proximity to the religious worlds scholars study. In the end, along with the reflections of Noll and Sanneh, Howell suggests that anthropological insight has much to offer world historians as a way to capture the complexity of religious experience, and attend to the nuances of change across time and space.

As the reflections of Sanneh, Noll, and Howell indicate, there is an identifiable research agenda that exists in the field of world Christianity. Considered with Patrick Manning's contention that cultural history provides an appropriate framework in which world historians might investigate contemporary religious experience, the theoretical and terminological discussions among historians of world Christianity have something to offer world historians. Similarly, the expansive vision and pedagogical precision of world historians must inform historians of world Christianity as well. It is to the pedagogy of both world history and world Christianity we now turn.

Pedagogical Reflections and Teaching Strategies

It is obvious that pedagogy is important to any scholarship. The pedagogy of world Christianity, however, interconnected with world history and spliced with observations and approaches from fields such as religious studies or theological studies, and even social, cultural, or material history, reveals significant promise and offers the possibility of considerable innovation. Before taking up classroom concerns, it is important to discuss my own history relative to teaching world Christianity.

My first experience teaching world Christianity, outside of the world history survey course, came during the 2003-04 academic year in an elective (three sections) called "The Future of Christianity: Exploring an Ancient Faith in Contemporary Contexts." This course aimed to introduce college preparatory students to the general trends of world Christianity, to examine the reasons observers offer as to *why*

Christianity is growing in many developing areas, to understand *what* comprises Christian practices outside of North America, to identify *who* practices diverse forms of Christianity across the globe, and above all to seek to explain and elucidate *how* faithful Christians experience their faith outside of a Western setting.

Several concerns shaped the creation of the curriculum. First, given that most of my students are Protestant, field membership in a variety of evangelical denominations, and often participate in high school youth group summer mission trips, I found distinguishing between world Christianity and a simple "summer missions trip" mentality crucially important. I found that many of my students initially associated the phrase world Christianity with missionary activity, the exportation of the Christian gospel to what they called "unreached" peoples, rather than with the inculturation of the Christian faith in non-Western settings. At the same time, I found it necessary to explain the political and economic dimensions of contemporary missionary work, and contextualize historically imperialism and colonialism as religiously informed political movements with economic motivations. A second issue, given the denominational affiliations of many of my students, dealt with interrogating their tendency to caricature, and therefore, misunderstand Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, important players on the global Christian scene. A third concern, and one related to the first two, sought to address the reality that many of my students tend to think of the Christian faith in individual, local, provincial, and in some ways strictly doctrinal terms. I found it necessary to pursue discussions that sought to expand their thinking about Christian faith and practice outside of such parameters. A fourth issue, particularly relevant in a Protestant, sectarian, college preparatory setting, focused on setting conceptualizations of the secularization thesis in context. Although some notable prophets of secularization (here Peter Berger comes to mind) have modified contentions about the inevitability of secularization, many of my students, ironically, harbor a kind of secularization thesis mentality: a latent evil awaits to sabotage the road to the future and a militant missionary response is the only viable course of action.[18] Informed by Protestant evangelical thinking about end-times scenarios, manifestations of this apocalyptic perspective varied among students in my classes. However, within the context of teaching world Christianity, the massive growth of vibrant charismatic Christianity outside of the West provokes striking interest and probing analysis while challenging the secularization narrative. In a non-sectarian setting, other issues and concerns will naturally pervade, and instructors may wish to start with readings or discussions related to the secularization thesis followed by some of the literature that examines Christian resurgence in the global South.

With these concerns in mind, I set out to create a course that would both challenge and inform. Since all of the students in my Future of Christianity course previously took my world geography class, I began with geography: Where *is* world Christianity? In other words, I first addressed world Christianity in all of its geographical complexity, while engaging a terminological discussion regarding three key terms: world or global Christianity, church history, and missions history. With working definitions in place, I then set out to describe a particular geographical setting, and then explain in general terms its social, political, economic, and cultural context. Students read articles and book chapters and visited web sites in order to situate local expressions of Christianity in the contexts about which I lectured. Guest lecturers (and occasionally media) augmented reading and discussion. All told, through reading, lectures, and discussion, the Future of Christianity course covered Latin America, the Middle East, South Asia, various parts of Africa, and China, and students heard guest lectures specifically on Latin America (with a focus on Brazil), Sudan, South Africa, and the Middle East, while reading notable authors, such as historian Lamin Sanneh, along with shorter journalistic pieces. Student assessment came from daily journaling, thoughtful participation in class discussion, and a final reflection paper.

I offer a brief review of teaching world Christianity to shed light on the discussions underway. I now turn to what are some important considerations as one conceptualizes a course on world Christianity, and attempts to demonstrate possibilities for intersections between world history, world Christianity, and other academic fields. Most of the examples I offer, though not all, come from East Africa since one of my secondary fields in graduate school is African history.

Over the course of the last few years, theologians, religious studies scholars, and a host of social science practitioners have documented the rapid resurgence of global Christianity, resulting in the birth of the field of world Christianity.

Not only does the pedagogy of world Christianity call for terminological precision, but its interdisciplinary thrust demands that scholars and teachers address displays of lived religion; in short, the everyday experiences of lay believers. Since explanations and interpretations of lived religious experience often rely on explanatory tools from sociology, anthropology, and ethnography, I term the study and teaching of lived religion in a world history/world Christianity context the *social geography of religious experience*.[19] This phrase covers lived religion's theoretical, practical, and epistemological concerns *and* acknowledges the varied ways individuals define religious "space." Doctrine and theology, therefore, are not concerns of lived religion as such, though researching and teaching about why, where, when, and how individuals express doctrine and theology is. With lived religion, thus, come a number of questions: How do lay believers construct a sense of place? What local and global factors contribute to the construction of religious identity? What local and global trends inform individual religious expression? What local and global dynamics inform conceptions of religious community? Still other concerns surface: How do explanations of lived religion offer insight into the distance between religious institutions and lay practices, into the spaces between official religious proclamations and the adoption or embodiment of these pronouncements outside of elite circles? Put another way, how does the study of popular religion seeks to explain the religious dilemmas with which lay believers grapple; the ambiguities with which lay believers embrace religious teaching; the energy with which lay believers protest sanctioned doctrines; or even the creative sparks lay believers use to forge individual expressions of faith? [20]

Since the study of lived religion within the context of world Christianity involves making sense of doctrinal formulations, "official" religious dogma, *and* the complex realities of religious experience, I adopt a concept which University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill religious studies scholar Thomas Tweed calls "crossing and dwelling." Tweed's theoretical *tour de force*, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (2006) conceptualizes religion and religious experience as spatial yet bounded, "real" yet ever-changing, positioned yet fluid. Tweed defines religions as "confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and superhuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries," and uses the term "sacroscopes" to capture the complexity of positions from which human beings live, understand, and interpret the visible and invisible worlds. For Tweed, interpretations are "positioned sightings," and influence not only research, but inform pedagogies as well. As Tweed points out in the book's conclusion, "Interpreters are not in one place or between places, but always crossing boundaries, always moving across….[a]nd interpretation is translocative and transtemporal too. The scholar moves back and forth from the desk to the archives, from home to the field, from here to there and now to then."[21] Since world historians customarily think in large, spatial terms while they also explain the specificities of experience in the particularities of context(s), Tweed's theoretical and geographical formulation of crossing and dwelling could allow for richer and more compelling research and pedagogy.

If crossing and dwelling provide a way

for scholars and students to better understand the social geography of religious experience, then a few examples will demonstrate how these thoughts can inform and enhance the fields of world history and world Christianity. What follows focuses on contemporary Sudan.

Popular religion in modern-day Sudan offers a compelling and gripping case in point. While some history of Sudan is necessary to any discussion of its current status, most American observers of Sudanese affairs are no doubt familiar with the "Lost Boys" of Sudan (and increasing numbers of "Lost Girls"), orphaned men, several thousand of whom were first granted refugee status in the United States in 2001 as the result of the latest scourge of civil war. Many of the "Lost Boys" are Dinka from southwest Sudan and the Bahr el-Ghazal region.[22] The Sudanese people, particularly the residents of southern Sudan, have a long and storied history of engagement with Christianity, from ancient times to the present.[23] Yet it is the present experiences of many of the southern Sudanese—not to neglect the harrowing stories of Muslims and practitioners of indigenous religions in regions like Darfur— which scholars can study and teach under the rubric of lived religion *and* in the context of world Christianity and world history.[24] At the center of much of this experience rests the impact of civil conflict; many Sudanese, and particularly residents of the Bahr el-Ghazal region in the southern part of the country, have lived through intermittent civil war since independence in 1956, though the last twenty years or so witnessed sustained conflict. Along with the ethnographic reflections of Stephanie Beswick and Sharon Hutchinson, the late missionary and professor Mark Nikkel, historian Andrew Wheeler, and journalist Gabriel Meyer offer important insight and analysis on this score, and their work provides ways to demonstrate how world historians might enhance our understanding through engagement with work from the field of religious studies.[25]

Nikkel's *Dinka Christianity: The Origins and Development of Christianity among the Dinka of Sudan with Special Reference to the Songs of Dinka Christians* (2001) is the result of humanitarian work, missionary activity, and scholarly reflection. Published posthumously, Nikkel completed the initial dissertation under the tutelage of world Christianity scholar Andrew Walls at the University of Edinburgh. Before he died in 2000, Nikkel served as an Episcopal missionary, priest, and professor in Africa. The opening chapter of *Dinka Christianity* introduces the Dinka and their multifaceted culture, including an important discussion of Dinka dialects. The major contribution of Nikkel's work is its descriptive, historical approach borne out of personal experience and careful discussion and translation of Dinka songs. The words not only describe Dinka landscape and environment, but also recall a potent and moving history of suffering infused with spiritual significance. Of interest here is Nikkel's examination, through oral culture, of the confluence of indigenous religious concepts of divinity and Christian conceptions of God. His analysis of songs like "Conflict with Death," "Owners of the Land," and "Cover Us" capture the degree of physical and environmental trauma suffered through warfare and indicate the degree to which the Dinka grappled (and grapple) with the spiritual dynamics of such intense suffering. Remarkably, Nikkel notes that the Dinka have created over two thousand "songs of suffering" in the midst of civil conflict and that in "a period dominated by famine, prolonged civil war, and religious polarization, the social and religious institutions of many of Sudan's peoples are being irreversibly transformed" in the process. While some might relegate this to optimistic missionary reporting, the texts of the Dinka songs undeniably possess a religious and spiritual edge borne from intense pain and suffering.[26]

Historian Andrew Wheeler's study of conversion and indigenous appropriation in the midst of civil conflict confirms the importance and pedagogical usability of Nikkel's work on Dinka songs. Wheeler documents the work of Episcopal and Catholic missionaries and priests among the displaced Sudanese, both in refugee camps and scattered settlements across the southern Sudanese landscapes. The result, according to Wheeler, is that an "indigenous and highly contextualized form of Christianity has become the major means by which many Sudanese societies are recreating themselves, redefining their identity and equipping themselves to face the future."[27] Wheeler reports that Bible reading, recitation of prayer books, or the power of memory invoked and evoked through expressions of oral culture, provide structures of meaning for Sudanese Christians such that:

> The distinctive features of the Christian faith have spoken deeply to communities and individuals *in extremis*—the central message of Cross and Resurrection, the presence of God with his people through the Holy Spirit, deliverance from the powers of evil, the invitation to forgive and be forgiven, the solidarity experienced in Christian community, the healing and protection received through prayer, divine judgment on evil, injustice and unbelief and the hope of heaven where suffering and pain will have no place.[28]

Wheeler's careful work on religious understandings of conflict and war along with Nikkel's study of Dinka songs offer a way for students and scholars to understand the indigenous appropriation and vernacular expression of one example of world Christianity. To further clarify the theoretical reflections of the above, scholars and students might benefit from a collection of biographical studies on Sudanese Christians suited for classroom use (edited by Wheeler) titled *Announcing the Light: Sudanese Witnesses to the Gospel*.[29]

Gabriel Meyer relates stories that embrace life amidst devastation and destruction, demonstrate resilience despite destitution, and document survival through religious faith. His *War and Faith in Sudan* (2005) chronicles the lives of Nuba residents of south central Sudan, slightly north of the Upper Nile region. In what is clearly a journalistic account of wartime experiences, he identifies aspects of Nuba Christianity that fit within explanations of popular religion. For Roman Catholic Christians in southern Sudan, the dry and barren terrain serves as something of a metaphor for the scarcity of priests and the infrequency with which they are able to visit parishes. Such a situation calls for a catechist-led faith, and thus, on a day-to-day basis lay believers lead and influence other lay believers, no doubt fostering the creation of local traditions and expressions of faith. Although the title of Meyer's book promises more than it delivers in terms of rich explanations of Sudanese religious faith, his comments *do* confirm that Nuba Christian experiences belong to the realm of world Christianity. "Here, in the middle of Africa," Meyer explains, "one could feel the gravitational shift that Church experts on missiology, mission studies, and, indeed, many cultural commentators have long noted: The shift from the hegemony of an increasingly secularized Western Hemisphere where faith is viewed as a cultural option, to Christianity's growth sector, its vital front line in Africa and Latin America, where faith is still a matter of life and death."[30]

Though Nikkel, Wheeler, and Meyer do not engage this field directly, enterprising scholars and teachers might beneficially draw from sensory history or aural history—the history of the human senses—in order to more fully capture the essence of Dinka religious expression. Ethnomusicology could also bring additional insight here as well, as could the filmmaking of sociologist James Ault, who is in the process of completing a documentary film for scholars and students titled "Toward a New Christianity: The Rise of African Christianity."[31] Examination and analysis of the musical and spiritual meditations provide a way for scholars and students to better understand the ways some Dinka (and other Sudanese) understand their world by "translating" various facets of the Christian faith into local expressions.

Also useful at this point could be a more general discussion of conflict in East Africa as a way to offer comparative perspectives. Here the 1994 Rwandan genocide would seem to loom the largest. Duke University theologian and Ugandan-born Roman Catholic priest Emmanuel Katongole offers reflections about the religious role of meaning in the midst of the Rwandan conflict.[32] Comparative projects that examine indigenization and translation in other locales, such as China, India, or even Korea,[33] add texture to the discussion and, therefore, meet

the comparative criteria of the new world history. These are some of the areas where world Christianity and world history can meet, crossing and dwelling through the complex interactions of cultures and peoples, investigating the rich fabrics of multi-layered intersections.

Conclusion - While it takes time to learn the grammars associated with understanding multidisciplinary ways of interpreting popular religion, not to mention the careful explanations students need, abundant material exists to aid student understanding and analysis of popular religion, as examples from Sudan and East Africa more generally would suggest. Understanding world Christianity's focus on translatability and indigenization comports with world history's aims to identify broad and expansive connections across vast periods of time and space.

Over the course of the last few years, theologians, religious studies scholars, and a host of social science practitioners have documented the rapid resurgence of global Christianity, resulting in the birth of the field of world Christianity. During the same time, the field of world history emerged under new auspices and in a new context, offering ideas and employing strategies to better understand and more compellingly explain global interconnections and cross-cultural contacts. This exploratory essay attempts to bring both fields into more rigorous conversation, and suggests that world historians might profitably benefit, both in terms of research and pedagogy, by drawing from much of the work that world Christianity scholars offer. And, parenthetically, perhaps religious studies scholars and theologians might enhance the work in their own fields by adopting approaches offered by the world history guild. Such a project is collaborative in nature, collective in scope, and, I hope, fruitful in application.

ENDNOTES

[1] I delivered earlier versions of this article in November 2005 at Baylor University's Pruit Symposium titled "Global Christianity: Challenging Modernity and the West," and at the World History Association's annual meeting, held at California State University, Long Beach, in June 2006. For helpful and insightful comments, criticism, and discussion on and about world Christianity I thank Michael McClymond (Saint Louis University), Al Andrea (University of Vermont), Luke Clossey (Simon Fraser University), David Lindenfeld (Louisiana State University), and Joel Tishken (Columbus State University). Thanks also go to Mark Noll (University of Notre Dame) for sharing syllabi from his Calvin College Seminar on world Christianity and his as yet unpublished paper from "Global Christianity: Challenging Modernity and the West" titled "Reconceiving the Twentieth-Century World History of Christianity: Making a Start with 1899-1900"; and to Dale Irvin (New York Theological Seminary) for providing a position paper and report on the inaugural meeting of the *Journal of World Christianity*.

[2] Andrew F. Walls, "Eusebius Tries Again: The Task of Reconceiving and Re-visioning the Study of Christian History," in *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002), 1.

[3] Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); David Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

[4] Although these two schools have sectarian affiliations, as this article suggests, broader understanding could come from world historians engaging the scholarship from symposia and other related projects at these institutions. There are several collections of essays that canvass the growth of world Christianity and thus offer representative samples of that which Walls identifies. See Mark Hutchinson and Ogbu Kalu, eds., *A Global Faith: Essays on Evangelicalism and Globalization* (Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1998); Donald M. Lewis, ed., *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); and Lamin Sanneh and Joel A. Carpenter, eds., *The Changing Face of Christianity: Africa, the West, and the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). Two collections, no doubt to become standard reference works, deserve mention as well: Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, eds., *World Christianities,c.1815-c.1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) and Hugh McLeod, ed., *World Christianities, c.1914-c.2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Oxford University Press' new series is called "Evangelical Christianity and Democracy Series," and the title of Eerdmans' world Christianity series is titled "Studies in the History of Christian Missions." See the Pruit Memorial Symposium program at http://www3.baylor.edu/IFL/Pruit2005/about.htm.

[5] Joel E. Tishken, "Ethnic vs. Evangelical Religions: Beyond Teaching the World Religion Approach," *The History Teacher* 33/3 (May 2000): 303-320; and David Lindenfeld, "Indigenous Encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800-1920: A Comparative Study," *Journal of World History* 16/3 (September 2005): 327-369. While not consciously modeled according to the approaches advocated by Tishken or Lindenfeld, Terry Bilhartz provides a way for scholars and students to explore these agendas in *Sacred Words: A Sourcebook on the Great Religions of the World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006). It is important to note that Bilhartz's "great religions" *includes* indigenous religions of the Americas, Africa, and Oceania.

[6] Here I refer to Ross Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1996); *Across Cultural Borders: Historiography in Global Perspective*, eds. Eckhardt Fuchs and Benedikt Stuchtey (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); *Writing World History, 1800-2000*, eds. Benedikt Stuchtey and Eckhardt Fuchs (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Patrick Manning, *Navigation World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); *World Histories*, ed. Marnie Hughes-Warrington (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History*, eds. Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Anand A. Yang (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); and *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History*, ed. William H. McNeill, et. al. (Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire, 2005).

[7] I want to thank the current *World History Bulletin* editor, Micheal Tarver, for providing archives of *WHB* issues.

[8] Walter de Gruyter USA will publish the *Journal of World Christianity* and its inaugural issue is scheduled to appear sometime in 2007.

[9] Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion is Christinaity?: Christianity beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 22-24, 10 (italics in original); "The African Transformation of Christianity: Comparative Reflections on Ethnicity and Religious Mobilization in Africa," in *Bible Translation on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Athalya Brenner and Jan Willem van Henten, (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 70-85, quote from 76. For the latter quote, Sanneh's indigenous receptors include the Ashanti (Ghana), the Kaka (Cameroon), the Gikuyu (Kenya), the Ndebele and Shona (Zimbabwe), and the Zulu (South Africa).

[10] Lamin Sanneh, "World Christianity and the New Historiography," in *Enlarging the Story*, ed. Shenk, 94-114, quotes from 99, 103. Also helpful here is Ogbu U. Kalu, "CLIO in a Sacred Garb: Telling the Story of Gospel-People Encounters in Our Time," *Fides et Historia* XXXV/1 (Winter/Spring 2003): 27-39. Kalu argues for a wider ranging conception of a global *church history*.

[11] Though absent any mention of the field of world history, Dale Irvin importantly notes this collaboration in unpublished comments written for the inaugural meeting of the *Journal of World Christianity*. See Dale Irvin, "World Christianity: A Brief Definition."

[12] Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 229-254, especially 248.

[13] Mark A. Noll, "The Potential of Missiology for the Crises of History," in *History and the Christian Historian*, ed., Ronald A. Wells (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 106-123, quotes from 108, 106.

[14] Ibid., 112.

[15] Patrick Manning expounds upon interpretive strategies in world history in *Navigating World History*, 275-323. Also helpful is Manning's essay "Methods and Materials," in *World Histories*, ed. Marnie Hughes-Warrington (London: Palgrave, 2005), 44-63.

[16] Noll, "The Potential of Missiology for the Crises of History," 108.

[17] Brian Howell, "The Anthropology of Christianity: Beyond Missions and Conversion – A Review Essay," *Christian Scholars Review* XXXIV/3 (Spring 2005): 353-362, quote from 361.

[18] See, for example, Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967); Peter L. Berger, ed., *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); Linda Woodhead, ed., *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Peter L. Berger, *Questions of Faith: A Skeptical Affirmation of Christianity* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004).

[19] As Mike Weber highlights in his November 2006 *World History Connected* article "Teaching Religion in World History," a fruitful way to study and to teach religion in the context of world history is to focus on lived religious experience of the faithful. This moves away from strict doctrinal formulations of religion and religious history while it provides avenues of understanding into the richly textured worlds of religious devotion, religious ritual, and religious practice. Weber's perspective informs my own considerations of scholarship and pedagogy of world history and world Christianity, though his work moves in more of a pluralistic direction with a focus world religions. See also his earlier reflections on the subject in "A Humanistic Approach to Teaching Religion in the World History Class," *World History Bulletin* (Spring 2000).

[20] My questions here result from much of the work I do on early American religion, investigations that consider questions of popular or lived religion as well. My theoretical considerations here come from engagement with the following studies: David D. Hall, ed., *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997). For conceptions of religious space, see the introductory essay in *Experiences of Place*, ed., Mary N. MacDonald (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1-20. With respect to popular religion, in *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), ethnographer of religion Robert Orsi advocates an approach he calls "disciplined attentiveness" (198), a scholarly posture that walks a middle way "between confessional or theological scholarship, on the one hand, and radically secular scholarship on the other," an approach that "is characterized by a discipline suspension of the impulse to locate the other (with all her or his discrepant moralities, ways of knowing, and religious impulses) securely in relation to one's own cosmos" (198).

[21] Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2006), 13-14, 54-79, 181.

[22] In addition to the Lost Boys receiving television and Internet exposure, five recent books tell stories from several different angles. See Francis Bok with Edward Tivnan, *Escape from Slavery* (New York: St. Martin's, 2003); Abraham Nhial and DiAnn Mills, *Lost Boy No More: A True Story of Survival and Salvation* (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2004); Mark Bixler, *The Lost Boys of Sudan: An American Story of the Refugee Experience* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005); Alephonsion Deng, Judy A. Bernstein, Benjamin Ajak, and Benson Deng, *They Poured Fire On Us From the Sky: The True Story of Three Lost Boys From Sudan* (Philadelphia: Perseus, 2005) ; and Joan Hecht, *A Journey of the Lost Boys* (Jacksonville, FL: Allswell, 2005).

[23] The latest and most thorough account of Christianity's

history in Sudan is Roland Werner, William Anderson, and Andrew Wheeler, *Day of Devastation, Day of Contentment: The History of the Sudanese Church Across 2000 Years* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications, 2000).

24 Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* (New York: Zed, 2005); Gerard Prunier, *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).

25 For general background of indigenous religious concepts and practices in the context of civil conflict, see Stephanie Beswick, *Sudan's Blood Memory: The Legacy of War, Ethnicity, and Slavery in South Sudan* (Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2004), 98-133; and Sharon Elaine Hutchison, "Spiritual Fragments of an Unfinished War," in *Religion and African Civil Wars*, ed. Niels Kastfelt (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 28-53.

26 See Mark Nikkel, *Dinka Christianity: The Origins and Development of Christianity among the Dinka of Sudan with Special Reference to the Songs of Dinka Christians* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications, 2001). Readers who wish to know more about Nikkel may refer to Grant LeMarquand, "A Tribute to Marc Nikkel (1950-2000), Missionary to the Sudan," *Anglican and Episcopal History* LXXI/2 (June 2002): 241-246. See also "Jieng "Songs of Suffering" and the Nature of God," *Anglican and Episcopal History* LXXI/2 (June 2002): 223-240.

27 Andrew C. Wheeler, "Finding Meaning Amid the Chaos: Narratives of Significance in the Sudanese Church," in *Religion and African Civil Wars*, ed. Niels Kastfelt (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 74.

28 Ibid., 75.

29 See Andrew C. Wheeler, ed., *Announcing the Light: Sudanese Witnesses to the Gospel* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications, 1998). Also important is Isaiah Majok Dau, *Suffering and God: A Theological Reflection on the War in Sudan* (Nairobi, Kenya: Paulines Publications, 2003).

30 Gabriel Meyer, *War and Faith in Sudan* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 88-89.

31 My thoughts on aural history and ethnomusicology come from: Mark M. Smith in *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) and Mark M. Smith, ed., *Hearing History: A Reader* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2003); Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, "A Sidi CD?: Globalising African Indian Music and the Sacred," in *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians*, eds. Edward A. Alpers and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy, (India: Rainbow Publishers/Trenton: Red Sea Press, 2004), 178-211. Finally, see also Katherine J. Hagedorn, "Toward a Theology of Sound: Drum Talk, *Oricha* Worship, and other Ecstatic Phenomena" *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* 34/2 (Spring 2006), available online at http://www.hds.harvard.edu/news/bulletin_mag/articles/34-2_hagedorn.html. Hagedom reports that she is at work on a project that investigates what she calls the theology of sound. For more on James Ault's documentary, visit www.jamesault.com.

32 See Emmanuel M. Katongole, "Christianity, Tribalism, and the Rwandan Genocide: A Catholic Reassessment of 'Social Responsibility,' *Logos* 8/3 (Summer 2005): 67-93; and "African Renaissance and the Challenge of Narrative Theology in Africa," in *African Theology Today*, ed. Emmanuel Katongole (Scranton, PA: The University of Scranton Press, 2002), 207-219. For helpful perspectives and engaging stories from East Africa more generally see Thomas Spear and Isaria N. Kimambo, eds., *East African Expressions of Christianity* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1999).

33 Here I have in mind the essays in Steven Kaplan, ed. *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity* (New York: New York University Press, 1995); Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Selva J. Raj and Corinne G. Dempsey, eds., *Popular Christianity in India: Riting Between the Lines* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); and Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Timothy S. Lee, eds., *Christianity in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

Lies Teachers Teach about World Religious History[1]

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Introduction - Please permit me to begin this piece with an explanation of the title. I chose the word *lies* because I wished to evoke strong language. Yet a lie connotes conscious intent to deceive.[2] With perhaps a few exceptions, I do not believe there are educators who knowingly deceive their students on issues of religious history. However, I do believe there are many instructors who do offer generalizations and support biases that may produce the same false information or perspective as a lie. We have unknowingly inherited most of these generalizations from the powerful intellectual legacy of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that defined the academic disciplines. The study of religion was defined in such a way as to preserve the intellectual and professional dominance of Christianity within the Western imagination. We must recall that the modern academic disciplines formed contemporaneously with the expansion of European and American empire.[3] The "superiority" of the West and its institutions, including Christianity, was hardly doubted. Yet the expanding political boundaries of Europe and the United States also expanded the West's intellectual frontier of non-Western/non-Christian religions and thus, required addressing.

The intellectual and spiritual threat of non-Christian religions was met through the application of evolutionary theory to religion, which posited that Christianity was the culmination of religious evolution.[4] The concept of "world" religions evolved from the effort to retain Christian primacy in the face of an expanding and undeniably rich religious frontier. The term "world" suggested a façade of inclusiveness, yet in reality was based far more upon exclusion.[5] For the most part, scholars and theologians were successful at holding Christianity, and to a degree monotheisms as a whole, apart from the deluge of knowledge swirling about them. Yet, the intellectual and theological threat of some religions proved too great, and they were "permitted the privilege" of joining Christianity within the concept of the "world" religions. I assert that there is nothing "worldly" about the notion of so-called "world" religions. What we call "world" religions is a partly failed attempt at preserving Christian primacy; a handful of religions proved too great a challenge and were "permitted" entrance into the academy, while the others were ignored. It is from this elite corps of religions that we (the West) have derived most of our standards concerning religious history. Yet, these standards are false ones as they are hardly universal. They may apply to this particular handful of religions, but broadening our examination beyond the "world" religions demonstrates that they do not represent the normative experience within human religious history.[6] What may appear common to this small group of religions will appear otherwise when applied beyond their limited number. It is these false "norms" and simplifications that this article addresses. I challenge these generalizations and misconceptions in order to produce a more nuanced understanding of the religions of the world's past.

Lie Number One: "*There are five 'world' religions"*[7] -- The study of world religions has suffered from a similar theoretical crisis as has world history. Both world history and world religions have had to address what is meant by the term "world." Each has additionally grown out of a Western intellectual milieu. I would posit that these two issues are thoroughly intertwined as the debate over the concept of "world" largely revolves around the degree to which "world" is, or is not, "Western," or, the degree to which "rise of the West" narratives are valid. Some concepts of world history have yet to move beyond a Western Civilizations "plus" approach. The dominant narrative in these cases remains Western Europe (and later neo-Europes), with nods to regions like India and China, and cursory, scantily-integrated coverage of most everywhere else. A good case can be made that such Western-driven narratives of world history suffer from a legacy of Eurocentrism and presumed Western primacy.[8] The study of religion suffers from a similar legacy of Western primacy. Here, it is the religion of the West, Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), that became the dominant standard for the study of religion.

For most of Western intellectual history, the religious universe had two realms: Christianity and everything else.[9] The remainder was an undifferentiated mass of paganism or heathenry. This intellectual system changed little until the early-nineteenth century. Two events in particular changed the way the West thought about religion. The first was the translation of the Rosetta Stone in 1822. The second was the discovery of the remains of Babylon in 1840. Both of them spurred an interest in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, which led to a querying of the roots of Christianity, and later, Judaism. Renewed exegesis of the New and Old Testaments was revitalized by the synthesis of ancient historical and archaeological evidence. A similar interest in ancient Indo-European culture also developed and found a complement in the explication of Aryan, Hindu, and Buddhist texts.[10]

If one adds up all the religions that have ever existed, very few were monotheistic.

The intellectual and theological threat posed by Judaism and Hinduism was met with the application of evolutionary theory to religion, permitting scholars to place Christianity atop the pinnacle of religious evolution. Because Christianity was held to be the culmination of religious evolution, it was thought that it should be studied separately from non-Christian religions, thus preserving the old dichotomy of Christianity versus paganism in a new guise. This thereby left a window for scholars to claim Christian uniqueness and primacy, which remains preserved in the academic division of religious studies and theology.[11]

When Europeans created contact with Oceania and Native America and enhanced their contact with Africa and Siberia, the religions of these places were seen as clearly "inferior."[12] Because of that, they were placed at the lowest rungs of the evolutionary ladder. The religions of these cultures were seen as living fossils, or windows to early human history. Terms such as animism, totemism, shamanism, and fetishism arose to explain the various stages of "primitive" religions.[13]

The next stage in the hierarchy contained the literate traditions of South and East Asia—namely Hinduism and Buddhism. Hinduism enjoyed a privileged position because of its religious texts and its Indo-European heritage. While some nineteenth-century scholars thought Buddhism had a "primitive" idea of monotheism, it was too alien for easy classification by European scholars.[14] Its numerous holy books, however, also earned it a degree of respect in European eyes. Judaism and Islam came next in the evolutionary hierarchy. It should be clear that it was the relationship that both of these religions shared with Christianity that gave them a privileged position in the European imagination. In addition, they were both textual and monotheistic, like Christianity.[15]

Thus was the idea of "world" religions born, revolving around monotheism, textuality, and a likeness to Christianity. The "world" religions concept is barely more than a "West and the rest" or "Christianity and everything else" approach to history. From a religious universe composed entirely of Christianity and paganism developed the hesitant acknowledgment that other parts of the world also had noteworthy religions. The religions with Western scholastic supporters in the nineteenth century managed to work their way into the academy, and into the definition of a "world" religion, while the remainder were ignored. For most scholars and teachers, "world" religions remains a short list composed of Hinduism, Buddhism, and the three monotheisms from southwestern Asia: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, what I have elsewhere called the "Big 5."[16] Some definitions expand their concept to include more East Asian religions such as Daoism, Confucianism, and Shinto. Occasionally, though rarely, the concept might be expanded to include Zoroastrianism, Jainism, and Sikhism.[17] But whether one's list is five religions long, or nearly a dozen, does little to change the fact that such a concept largely preserves a West and the rest mentality, or perhaps a West, East, and the rest mentality. Take a look at the faculty of most religion departments and you can still see this is true within academia. Likewise, open up any world history text and one will see clear evidence of this powerful intellectual legacy that gives serious discussion to only a handful of religions.[18] Such an intellectual division of the human religious universe ignores thousands of religions.

The majority of human history has not been dominated by the religions named above, regardless of whether one's concept of "world" religions embraces the "Big 5" or a full dozen. The majority of religions in human history, both in terms of the number of religions, as well as the amount of time they have dominated history, have been ethnic-based, largely-polytheistic, religions. This was particularly true outside Eurasia. Much of the earliest evidence of religion suggests that the first religions were designed for members of a group where religion and identity were thoroughly intertwined.[19] They were so thoroughly interconnected that some scholars suggest that the very concept of religion is an outside construct for many peoples because myth, ritual, and the various components we might now identify as religion were inseparable from the definition of self and group.[20] For most of history, conversion was a matter of a total transformation of identity and culture. Evangelical religions, such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Baha'i, on the other hand, are not dependent upon ethnicity and are relative newcomers to world history. They are not primordial ideologies—they were built upon many ethnic-based (or sometimes even evangelical) religions. Illustrating the emergence of evangelical religions from an ethnic-based and polytheistic milieu, and highlighting the interaction between ethnic religions and evangelical ones (or even multiple ethnic or evangelical religions) makes for great world history moments. The model I am proposing can provide far more sophisticated world history discussions than simple coverage of the "Big 5." I am not advocating for a classroom abandonment of the "Big 5." I am simply suggesting that one expand one's coverage of religion beyond them.

The categories of ethnic and evangelical religions are not fast ones. Clearly, an evangelical religion like Islam has a significant ethnic component (particularly early in its history) as do the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Christian churches. A number of ethnic religions like Chinese religion, Yoruba religion, Lakota religion, and Judaism have all had noteworthy evangelical moments. I am not suggesting one teach from a strict dual typology. However, teaching beyond the "world" religions, beyond the "Big 5" (or dozen), would do a great service to one's students. Rather than showing the "Big 5" oozing across a blank religious map like lava subsuming everything in its wake, the approach I'm suggesting permits one to highlight religious interactions and borrowings among a constellation of ethnic and evangelical religions. Perhaps most importantly, it permits one to escape the legacy of Eurocentrism and Christian primacy that the "world" religion approach is grounded upon, thus fostering greater global and cultural representation. Rather than inheriting the West's limited and biased definition of a "world" religion, I here argue for a concept of world religions as the religions of the world—*all of them*. Clearly one cannot teach all religions. But, we can offer students a representative global sample, just as we manage to do with empires, cultures, or individuals in a world history course.

Lie Number Two: "*Monotheism is common*" -- The first "lie" is likely the greatest of all as it then generates many others, including this second one that monotheism is normative or the logical and inevitable goal of all genuine religious impulses. Within the concept of the "Big 5," three of the religions are monotheistic: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Thus, if this is one's concept of the religions of the world, it does appear that monotheism is normal in three-fifths of the cases. While the "world" religion concept evolved, the argument was made that monotheism was the most "advanced" form of religion, having eclipsed fetishism, totemism, animism, shamanism, and polytheism across the course of civilizational evolution. Furthermore, among monotheisms, the Christian variant was considered the most advanced; some theologians argued that the theological "complexity" of the Trinity made it more advanced than the "simple" monotheism of Islam or Judaism.[21] Monotheisms have indeed emerged from polytheistic milieus. Only to the monotheistic faithful is this a sign of religious "advancement."

In one sense, the above "lie" is true. By the twentieth century, monotheism had become normal, to a significant degree. The majority of people in the world today are monotheists. This is largely due to the recent growth of Christianity and Islam in Africa, Asia, and Oceania. To the large numbers of Christians and Muslims can be added the smaller populations of Jews, Sikhs, Baha'is, and others, making monotheists account for roughly two-thirds of the world's population today.

Nonetheless, there are two significant ways that the "lie" above is utterly false. The first is historically. Were most people of the past monotheists? The answer to that question is a resounding "no." The religions that dominate today's world, namely Islam and Christianity, have grown steadily since they began, but only in the last few centuries has their growth been demographically dominant. There were no monotheists in the

Americas before 1492, none in Australasia before European contact, few in Siberia before Russian conquest, and scarcely any in Oceania before 1800. Monotheists have been in the Nile valley, North Africa, and parts of West and East Africa for centuries. But the Atlantic coastline of West Africa, inland regions of East Africa, Central Africa, and Southern Africa had very few monotheists prior to the nineteenth century. Some parts of the world, most noticeably East Asia, mainland Southeast Asia, and parts of South Asia, regions that have often dominated the world demographically, still lack significant numbers of monotheists.

Even in places we might tend to think of as long-term bastions of a monotheistic faith, the situation is often more complicated. Christianity has been in Europe from nearly its inception. Yet, Europe's conversion to Christianity was very gradual and disjointed; conversion is a selective process and not an instantaneous transformation, after all, at both the individual and cultural levels.[22] Ireland's conversion took 1000 years, from the fourth to fourteenth centuries. Pockets of non-Christians lived in Ireland until the fourteenth century and non-Christian practices continue to this day. Thus, Ireland was not a fully-Christian island from the moment of St. Patrick's arrival. Portions of Russia and Scandinavia resisted Christianity as recently as the fifteenth century. Lithuania did not even begin to convert to Christianity until the thirteenth century and remained Europe's oldest pagan state. Thus, polytheists could be found in Europe until relatively recently.

The second way in which the above "lie" is false is statistically. If one adds up all the religions that have ever existed, very few were monotheistic. A precise count of all the religions of human history is likely impossible, but I beg the reader's indulgence as I construct an approximation. Even with the data we have available, it should quickly become evident that monotheism is in no way "normal." The majority of the world's religions have been ethnic-based religions, largely polytheistic. For instance, Africa has had somewhere in the area of 400-600 religions, depending on how one counts an ethnic group. No doubt there were probably more, as ancient African ethnicities (and thereby religions) shifted in ways of which we are not yet aware. Indigenous North America had about 500 religions, and Aboriginal Australia also roughly the same number. One-quarter of the world's cultures, languages, and religions were from Oceania, and none of the religions were monotheistic prior to Christianity's arrival.[23] Add to this the religions of pre-Columbian Central and South America, pre-Christian Uralic-Altaic peoples, pre-Christian Europe, pre-Islamic Southeast Asia, pre-Islamic Arabia, pre-Judaic Near East… and one quickly begins to arrive at a list of thousands of world religions. Even allowing for the fact that the line between some of these religions would have been indistinct among peoples sharing a common ethnic ancestry, that is still a great number of religions.

The number of monotheistic religions, on the other hand, is very small. The world's list of monotheistic religions includes: Baha'i, Christianity, Druzism, Hare Krishna, Islam, Judaism, Rastafarianism, Saivism, Sikhism, Smartism, Vaishnavism, and Yezidism. This list is a generous one as many of these religions are henotheist and not monotheistic. Perhaps some varieties of Mahayana Buddhism and Neopaganism might qualify as monotheistic, but practitioners of these faiths would likely see this as stretching their beliefs beyond recognition. To this list might be added some forms of dualism such as Bogomilism, Catharism, Gnosticism, Mandaeanism, Manicheism, Marcionism, Paulicainism, Tondrakianism, Zoroastrianism, and Zurvanism. Whether or not dualism is a form of monotheism is certainly debatable. But, for the moment, let us put that aside and simply count them as monotheistic. Likewise, henotheism is, strictly speaking, not monotheism; but, for the moment, let us add ancient Israelite religion, Aten-worship, the Cult of Isis, Mithraism, and Platonism to the list as well. That gives us roughly thirty monotheistic faiths. I cannot pretend that the list is comprehensive. Let us say for the sake of argument that I have neglected to place about two-thirds of the world's monotheisms on the list. Even tripling the list still only brings the number to one hundred, well below the number of non-monotheistic religions in Aboriginal Australia alone.

Granted, some of these forms of monotheism, Islam and Christianity in particular, represent immense diversity. One might be inclined to argue that each variant should be counted as a separate religion. The difference between some of them is so vast that they might have more in common with the faithful of a different religion. For instance, the theology of Jehovah's Witnesses or Arianism may have more in common with Judaism than they do with many variants of Christianity. Counting Lutheranism, Russian Orthodoxy, Mukyokai … as separate forms of monotheism would indeed increase the number of monotheistic religions. However, ethnic-based religions represent similar diversity within themselves as well. The religion of the Xhosa people of southern Africa, for example, was not static or homogenous but was composed of many sub-ethnic traditions, as well as healing movements, purification/ anti-witchcraft cults, and prophetic movements that sometimes transcended ethnicity. Thus, adjusting the count of monotheisms to account for diversity within a faith, will not change the ratio at all as ethnic religions possess similar diversity. Simply put, non-monotheistic religions have vastly outnumbered the monotheistic ones historically.

In sum, though most of the people in the world today are monotheists, do not make the mistake of telescoping this onto the past.[24] Most people of the past were not monotheists nor were most religions in human history monotheistic. Monotheism is not the model for human religious history, even if monotheisms do dominate today's world. However, the emergence of monotheisms from within polytheistic milieus and their subsequent spread across vast parts of the globe do provide wonderful world-history moments to discuss. Just remember that the map is not blank as they spread.

Lie Number Three: "*Written scriptures are a normal feature of religion*" -- The "Big 5" may once again make this statement appear to be true. Written holy books are an important part of what has historically been called the "world" religions, including those who appear in the definition more sporadically like Daoism and Zoroastrianism. Yet just like monotheism, it is again a false standard in more than one sense of the word.

It is a false standard in the sense that the interplay of textuality and orality is more complicated than we might recall today. In our contemporary world, where literacy is widespread, books are widely available, and the Protestant Reformation has made personal exegesis of a holy book seem ordinary in Western society, we might have difficulty imagining a time when even scripturally-grounded religions had little to do with texts. First, all religions had a period of time where their precepts were oral. No holy book descended from the sky in a completed form, even though the faithful might often hold such beliefs. Compilation of a holy text is often an arduous, complicated process that leads to schisms and multiple versions. With the possible exception of Islam, the process is generally not all that speedy either and there is a significant amount of time during which such a religion is entirely oral. Second, some religions limited access to the texts to properly-trained authorities who were qualified to interpret the scriptures, such as most of the years of Judaism, classical Hinduism, and pre-Protestant Christianity. In cases such as these, the reading of texts was generally not a private affair; most faithful would be part of an oral performance, yet unable to read themselves. Third, in other cases memorization and oral recitation were believed to be necessary parts of "reading" a written text.[25] To this day, memorization and oral recitation remains a duty to most Muslims because they believe the *Qur'an* is the living word of Allah, which requires active personal engagement, not passive reading. The *Ramayana* continues to be performed throughout Southeast Asia despite the widespread disappearance of Hinduism there. Performance of this text was so significant that it even outlasted the presence of the religion. We must remember the presence of orality within all religions, even those that might appear to be focused upon textuality.

The majority of the world's religions did not possess written scriptures of any sort. In the majority of cases, religious precepts

were passed down orally. Such knowledge may not have been available universally; some knowledge was secret and known only to priests. But whatever level of knowledge might be available to the community would be memorized and orally recited. The secret knowledge would be memorized and passed along to new priests. Memorization and performance were part of what connected people to the other members of the group, past and present, thereby reinforcing identity. That does not mean that these religions did not possess a text; only that the text never reached a written form as it did in other religions.

In teaching world history, I would encourage an expansion of the definition of religious "text" or scripture beyond that of a book. All religions possess some form of religious text whether it was written down early, later, or not at all. It simply takes a bit more time or imagination to locate video footage or recordings of an oral performance or even transcribed oral testimony (clearly it is not quite the same but at least it can introduce that religion.)[26] I would advise against simulations/recreations that could become irreverent at best, an apocryphal mimicking at worst, and potentially lead to professional trouble. In sum, written scriptures are not normal, but religious precepts are, regardless of their format. The history, legends, and beliefs (or "text") of any religion can be presented in class.

Lie Number Four: "*Pure religions exist*" -- This "lie" derives from the political motivations of a religion's faithful who wish to present their religion as a hermetic entity. Believers of a religion typically pride themselves on their religion's distinctiveness or uniqueness and generally do not want to imagine that their religion owes anything to other religions. This is particularly the case in "revealed" religions—those religions founded by a prophetic leader. The goal of this "lie" is to insist that a religion can spring forth from nothing based entirely upon the teaching of a founder, where 100% of the religion's teachings derive from itself. Within Western scholarship, this has been used as a means of insisting upon the "truth" and supremacy of Christianity. For example, Ward McAfee, in *A History of the World's Great Religions*, begins his discussion of Christianity not with competing Jewish messianic movements, or the context of a Hellenizing Israel, or with the mysteries, rites, and beliefs of the Hellenistic Mystery Religions, or even with the concept of the *mosiach*. He begins his discussion of Christianity with the message of Jesus.[27] This presents Christianity as a hermetic religion that is a pure invention and owes nothing within itself to other religions. Denying Christianity's exogenous sources thereby glorifies the process of revelation reinforcing the belief in Jesus as the son of God.

The truth is that all religions have built upon preexisting religions at the same time that they created new ones. No religion, whether revealed or not, has existed as a closed system. All religions have borrowed or built upon ideas from other religions, and this is true not just for their founding but for their continual practice as well. The reality is that all religions are syncretic in some fashion; the primary difference is the degree to which a religion's practitioners are willing to admit it. Some religions admit their syncretic elements, but many more deny it feeling it threatens their authenticity. Yet, can one even begin to explain Catholicism in Ireland without a discussion of Celtic religion, describe Hawaiian religion without mention of other Eastern Polynesian religions, or explain the foundation of Islam without reference to Arab religion, Judaism, and various forms of Christianity? Clearly the fullest explanation of any religion is one that acknowledges all the sources that have contributed to its development, regardless of that source's origin. In short, no religion is "pure" in the sense that the totality of its ideas are self-created, just as there is no "pure" language or culture. An examination of the multiplicity of religious influences on any religion provides great material for world history. Highlighting the exchange, modification, syncretism, and hybridity that all religions and their practitioners undergo would provide our students with a much more accurate and nuanced understanding of human religious history. We must not teach religions as "pure" contained systems, since no such thing has ever existed.

Conclusion: The evolution of religious studies and the Western study of religion continues to color the way in which Western academia defines and teaches religion. The concept of the "world" religions is grounded upon Christian privilege and Eurocentrism. Using this limited number of religions as our standard will only lead to limited comprehension as it represents a false standard. I have presented a number of the most significant of these false standards here to demonstrate their inadequacy for understanding the human religious past. Only when we embrace all of the world's religions within our definition of world religion will we gain a more accurate and sophisticated appreciation for the complex constellation of religions that compose humanity's religious history.

ENDNOTES

[1] I am using the word *teacher* to refer to educators of all levels. World history educators, regardless of employment, rank, or other demographic variants, are collectively (though surely not individually) guilty of the "lies" I discuss here.

[2] My use of the term *lies* thereby differs from the famous use of the term in James W. Louwen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 3-5

[3] J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World* (New York; London: The Guilford Press, 1993), 18-19, 60-61, 114-15, 123-24; Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 13, 16.

[4] Jacques Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research* (Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1973), 28-29, 31-32. No shortage exists of works, past or present, arguing for the special position of Christianity in an evolutionary hierarchy. See E. Washburn Hopkins, *The History of Religions*, 1918 (New York: Macmillan, 1928), William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902 (New York: Penguin, 1985), Edward B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* (London: Murray, 1865), and Ward McAfee, *A History of the World's Great Religions* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), for perspectives from the disciplines of religion, philosophy, anthropology, and history, respectively.

[5] This is the entire thesis of Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), as the title reveals.

[6] Armin W. Geertz, "Can we move beyond primitivism?: On recovering the indigenes of indigenous religions in the academic study of religion," in *Beyond Primitivism: Indigenous Religions and Modernity*, Jacob K. Olupona, ed. (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 37.

[7] This section borrows significantly from some previous works of mine: Joel E. Tishken, "Lies Teachers Teach about World Religious History," 17th Annual Meeting of the Southeast World History Association, Lexington, VA, 2005; Joel E. Tishken, "Dismantling the World Religions Paradigm," 18th Annual Meeting of the Southeast World History Association, Boone, NC, 2006; and in particular Joel E. Tishken, "Ethnic vs. Evangelical Religions: Beyond Teaching the World Religions Approach," *The History Teacher* 33: 3 (May 2000): 303–20.

[8] Blaut, *Colonizer's Model*, 1-30.

[9] Masuzawa, *Invention*, xi-xiii; Eric Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History*, 1975, (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1986), 10-11.

[10] Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 24; Jacques Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches to the Study of Religion: Aims, Methods and Theories of Research* (Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1973), 24-27.

[11] Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches*, 31-32; Donald Wiebe, *The Politics of Religious Studies: The Continuing Conflict with Theology in the Academy* (New York: Palgrave, 1990), 69.

[12] Charles H. Long, "Primitive/Civilized: The Locus of a Problem," *History of Religions* 20:1/2 (Aug.-Nov. 1980): 43-61

[13] See E. A. Wallis Budge, *From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt*, 1934 (New York: Dover, 1988), Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and* Neorotics, 1950, James Strachey, trans. and ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989), and Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, 1922 (Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press, 1984).

[14] Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches*, 455-57; Masuzawa, *Invention*, 121, 126, 131-33.

[15] Waardenburg, *Classical Approaches*, 31-32; Sharpe, *Comparative Religion*, 12-15; Masuzawa, *Invention*, 72-73, 76, 205.

[16] Tishken, "Ethnic vs. Evangelical," 304-6.

[17] Masuzawa, *Invention*, 2.

[18] Most texts will make mention of quite a few other religions, such as that of Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, Aztecs, Mithraism…as it discusses the people/civilization in question. But discussion of religion beyond a few sentences is typically reserved for the "Big 5."

[19] Julian Ries, *The Origins of Religions*, Kate Singleton, trans., (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1993), 87-102.

[20] See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Religion, Religions, Religious," in Mark C. Taylor, ed., *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 269-284.

[21] Masuzawa, *Invention*, 81-83

[22] Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 1, 5-7; Jacob K. Olupona, "Introduction," in *Beyond Primitivism: Indigenous Religions and Modernity*, Jacob K. Olupona, ed. (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 4.

[23] Tony Swain and Garry Trompf, *The Religions of Oceania* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 1-2.

[24] Blaut, *Colonizer's Model*, 114-15.

[25] Jaroslav Pelikan, *Whose Bible is it? A History of the Scriptures Through the Ages* (New York: Viking, 2005), 15, 21, 22-25. See William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[26] For example, these printed works provide transcriptions of a number of Zulu "texts:" Irving Hexham, ed., *Texts on Zulu Religion: Traditional Zulu Ideas about God* (Lewiston, N. Y.; Queenston, Ont.: E. Mellen Press, 1987) and Axel-Ivar Berglund, *Zulu Thought-patterns and Symbolism* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989). The following books contain the sacred traditions, some initially oral and some written, of the Nazareth Baptist Church, a Zulu Christian Church: Irving Hexham and G. C. Oosthuizen, eds., Hans-Jürgen Becken, trans., *The Story of Isaiah Shembe: History and Traditions Centered on Ekuphakameni and Mount Nhlangakazi* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996) and Irving Hexham, ed., Londa Shembe and Hans-Jürgen Becken, trans., *The Scriptures of the amaNazaretha of EKuphaKameni: Selected Writings of the Zulu Prophets Isaiah and Londa Shembe* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1994); Elizabeth Gunner, *The Man of Heaven and the Beautiful Ones of God* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002); and Carol Ann Muller, *Rituals of Fertility and the Sacrifice of Desire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). Muller's book also has an accompanying CD of song and dance clips. The material on the Nazareth Baptist Church would be useful in providing an indigenous perspective on missions, colonialism, and theology.

[27] Ward McAfee, A History of the World's Great Religions (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), 141.

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From the Mission to the Classroom: The Global Perspective and the History of Teaching Religion

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Teaching and researching world history are mutually reinforcing activities, and I enjoy doing both professionally. I regularly describe the seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries I study to the students in my world-history classes. Less often, typically after a frustrating day in the classroom, this works the other way, and I find myself discussing teaching in conversations with long-dead Jesuits.[1]

The most productive of these imaginary conversations have naturally centered on the teaching of religion and the history of religion, a topic in which my Jesuits command considerable expertise. Early-modern missionaries traveled globally to teach the world about Christianity. Contemporary teachers look globally to teach world religions in a secular setting. My Jesuits and I appreciate some similarities between the challenges we face and the strategies we adopt. For example, power issues are attendant in both cases, whether in the form of failing grades or eternal damnation. On the other hand, we find ourselves with fundamental differences between our ultimate goals and our attitudes toward religion.

When scholars trace the early-modern prehistory of the study of religion, they typically look to Rousseau and Kant, to Hobbes and Hume. The origins of some aspects of religious studies, however, are better sought in missionary history rather than in intellectual history. Our early-modern missionary predecessors adopted a global perspective to explain, and to prove, the truth of Christianity. From Mexico to China, Jesuits used world maps to demonstrate that Christianity was a truly world religion, and that the faiths of their potential converts were merely local, and by implication inferior. The *Third Catechism* of Lima (1585) includes this global spread in a list of reasons why one should believe Christianity.[2]

The global perspective is no longer used to argue for the truth of Christianity. Perhaps the most important stories in the world history of religion are the advent of the modern, whatever that means, and the creation of discrete "world religions."[3] The latter, and arguably the former, is a consequence of global processes—the expansion of religions, their pressing up against each other, and the growing awareness of multiple religious traditions. This is monstrously mixed up in modernity. As Hans Kippenberg pointed out, it was not by chance that the rise of comparative religion in Europe (between 1850 and 1930) coincided "with a period of modernization. Scholars and their audience were confronted with the passing away of religious traditions."[4] Around the turn of the century discoveries of new customs around the expanding British Empire were referred to James George Frazer. Although he had never traveled farther than Greece, his work, *The Golden Bough,* made him an expert on religions from around the world.

Let us look first at the idea of "world religions," which did not exist as a concept until created by the West. The early-modern Christian missionaries could count the religions on one hand: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Miscellaneous, which they called "paganism" or "idolatry." Adherents of other traditions would not have been offended by their omissions, for the other traditions are themselves—probably—relatively recent Western inventions by Christians whose background predisposed them to seek delineated churches and clearly defined doctrines. Hinduism, for example, is not a single religion. Indeed, Sanskrit, the holy language of Hinduism, has no word for "Hinduism." Similarly, "Buddhism," as a religious construct, is not much more than two hundred years old, even though for millennia millions of people have followed what they understood as the teachings of the Buddha. Even today, surveys indicate that most Japanese identify as simultaneously nonreligious and Buddhist.[5]

Just as the oriental religions were forming as analytical categories, the occidental religions were paling, in a process Peter Berger calls the "universalisation of heresy,"[6] whereby even orthodox believers consciously choose, rather than simply inherit, their orthodoxy. In modern times, "religion" thus became famously difficult to define. To my mind, no one has gotten closer than the member of the British Parliament who, in a moment of frustration, declared that "surely we all believe in some sort of something."[7]

The ancient Hebrews have been described as "henotheistic," a neologism created by Max Müller to describe belief systems that are polytheistic in their recognition of many gods, but monotheistic in their acknowledgement of a single god as particularly worthy of devotion. In a way, tolerance and ecumenicism have brought us back to henotheism: We acknowledge that various

Postmodernism has created an extreme relativity, willing to accept everything—except a traditionalist understanding that takes religion seriously on its own terms.

religious traditions have their own "validity," even if we ourselves may have a "preference" for only one of them.

A crucial distinction between traditional (verifiable, and thus, indubitable) and modern (safely beyond empiricism, and thus, interchangeable) religious belief is illustrated by a gag from Emo Philips: "When I was a kid, I used to pray every night for a new bicycle. Then I realized that the Lord, in His wisdom, doesn't work that way. So I just stole one and asked Him to forgive me." It is easier to check if a god gives you a bicycle than if a god forgives you, and the move from bikes to forgiveness allows a proliferation of religions and a different take on truth. Emo's follow-up line got just as many laughs and is telling: "And I got it"—forgiveness.

This transition from traditional religion to modern religion may be a necessarily world-historical topic. Anthony Giddens understands globalization as an evolving modernity, for "modern organizations are able to connect the local and the global in ways which would have been unthinkable in more traditional societies."[8] He links the two concepts by arguing that modernization is the globalization of what were once independent regional cultures. Through globalization, cultural (and especially religious) traditions have lost their connections to particular places and times. As these suddenly rootless traditions circulated along globalization networks they created a world of "more religious options and less religious certainty."[9] This is the seed of secularizing modernity. It may be that the very success of missionary Christianity, whether through missionary agency or through the natural transmission of ideas, led to a pluralistic ecumenism, and thence to modern secularism. That is, a global perspective teaches us that the plurality of religion leads to the relativity of religion, which leads, in turn, to bracketed truth, and religions that have lost their totalizing authority.

In our modern age, history adds an additional level of complication. There is now a sense that genuine, intense religious belief is something intrinsically historical, in the past. One popular modern world-history textbook mentions religion about four times as frequently in its medieval chapters as in its modern ones.[10] In Flannery O'Connor's *Wise Blood* (1952), Hazel Motes walks with glass and stones in his shoes. He is confronted by his landlady, who explains that "it's not natural . . . it's not normal. It's like one of them gory stories, it's something that people have quit doing—like boiling in oil or being a saint or walling up cats . . . There's no reason for it. People have quit doing it." Motes understands that it is his own religious intensity that extends the history of religion into our antagonistic, antiseptic, and modernizing present: "They ain't quit doing it as long as I'm doing it."[11]

Attitudes toward religious tolerance illustrate this change from a different angle. Genghis Khan tolerated various faiths because he saw no point in needlessly provoking their gods.[12] Today, however, praying Muslims are not removed from planes for fear of the wrath of Allah, but because the passengers understand recited Arabic as a symbol of a certain mentality. We have all become anthropologists.

A more current example of the disassociation of religion with the present comes from a playful but powerful video by Adam Buxton. His voice-over narrates a papal ceremony before St. Peter's as if it were a scene from the Star Wars films. Benedict XVI is explained as the "sixth of the twenty-eight stages of metageneration for Jessel," and a globus cruciger becomes a "jewel-encrusted ceremonial stasis orb" for the "still-living brain of the mighty Keppel." Here the ritual behavior and costume is so essentially nonmodern that it transfers naturally even to a postmodern science fiction.[13]

Reality rarely cooperates with world historians intent on grand narrative, and the millions—almost billions—of intensely religious people of modern times disrupt any nice transition between an intensely religious before and a lukewarm perfunctoriness after. As a planet, we are in some ways equally or more religious than our medieval ancestors. In the United States, for example, belief in the literal and looming realization of Revelations is astonishingly widespread and mainstream.[14] Warning signs from a security company share my neighbor's balcony with a pantheon of images of apotropaic Tibetan deities. Still, economists chart a path from gathering berries to ordering groceries on websites, without always pointing out that most humans do not surf the internet. Can some slightly more accurate religious narrative be drafted, then, perhaps by looking at issues of sycrentism and extinction (as do historians of language), or by telling a story of how atheism and apathy affect religion, beyond the easy stereotype of marginalization and cowing?

In any case, this sense of division between a hotly religious past (or future, following Buxton) and a cool present is in itself an historical phenomenon. The *Transmission of the Lamp* (first published 1011) presents Chan Buddhism's second patriarch (Huike, c.487-593) as imagining something like this same division of religious intensity between "modern" (i.e., sixth century) and historical: "Men of old sought the Way by smashing their bones to take out the marrow, slashing their veins to feed hungry [animals], spreading their hair to cover the muddy road in order to let a spiritual man pass through safely, or leaping off a cliff to feed a hungry tigress. All through the ages people have behaved like this. Who am I [not to do so]?"[15] Huike himself then became one of these "men of old" by chopping off his left arm, to be offered up to his teacher.

I see a gaping division between chopping off an arm on the one hand, and on the other, using relativist theory to explain away the need for such mutilation. Theory and interpretation are ways of approaching religion in a professional, objective manner, but they often reveal more about historians than about history. Geoffrey Koziol writes of rituals "whose meaning can be as puzzling to contemporaries as it is to scholars" and complains that "not even the most solemn rituals need mean anything to contemporaries," for indeed "members of a culture are often less knowledgeable about the meanings of their rites and symbols than the scholars who visit them."[16] Even Mircea Eliade urged caution here: "A religious phenomenon will only be recognized as such if it is grasped at its own level, that is to say, if it is studied *as* something religious. To try to grasp the essence of such a phenomenon by means of physiology, psychology, sociology, economics, art or any other study is false; it misses the one unique irreducible element in it—the element of the sacred."[17] Can we have religion as an *explanans* rather than an *explanandum*?

Postmodernism has created an extreme relativity, willing to accept everything—except a traditionalist understanding that takes religion seriously on its own terms. Russell McCutcheon has attacked the suggestion that anything-goes postmodernism so relativizes everything that anything might enter the Religious Studies canon.[18] For all its liberality, McCutcheon argues, postmodernism has to draw the line at a "theory" of religion as conservative as that of Karl Barth, who understood religion as a human-created barrier to true belief and to the acceptance of revelation.[19] McCutcheon cites a Monty Python sketch, in which Ann[e] Elk explains on a talk show her theory of the brontosaurus: "My theory of the brontosaurus is that it is skinny on one end, fat in the middle, and skinny on the other end." McCutcheon believes that the humour lurks in the "confusion of two semantic levels," between a "vacuous," "folk" sense of the term "theory" and the "technical" sense. For McCutcheon, a theory must be "a set of statements about relationships among a set of abstract concepts"—statements that "say how and why the concepts are interrelated" and "give rise to implications that potentially are falsifiable empirically." These criteria of "theory" come from Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, and validated them through an appeal to the *HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion*.[20]

McCutcheon is wrong about theory and wrong about Monty Python. Nobody watching that Monty Python episode in 1972 had any familiarity with the narrow, somewhat arbitrary definition of "theory" that would develop fifteen years later. They laughed because, despite Anne Elk's haughty demeanor, and the serious talk-show format,[21] her theory of the brontosaurus was profoundly bad. Even considered as a "folk" theory, Elk's theory is useless. The humour comes not from the disconnect between semantic levels, but from how extremely simple and devoid of explanatory power Elk's theory is.

McCutcheon uses this as a way to drive home the idea that a theory must have cer-

tain characteristics. Barth's conservative understanding of religion—neo-orthodox and theological and, in some ways, close minded—does not meet these criteria and therefore is unacceptable for academic use. For all his postmodernism, McCutcheon is not postmodern enough, and sustains a modernist's privileging of a narrower tradition, one that includes everything but the religion's own orthodox self-interpretation, everything but the religion itself. A more intrepid drive out of the postmodernist relativist quandary might instead judge interpretations for their explanatory power. Perhaps religion should not ask permission from the postmodernists, and perhaps it forfeits its moral authority in the same breath that it voices the request.

Religion can be as powerless in the classroom as it is in our scholarly debates. The worst lecture I have ever given was one of my first, on the Protestant Reformation. I was studying for doctoral examinations at the time, and had crammed my skull full of arcane theological knowledge, which I inflicted on the class. Afterwards, one stunned student commented, "You really know a lot about the Reformation." By analyzing away the mystery I killed off the religion.

Last semester, during a seminar discussion of religion, one of my students described the assertion that the words of the Qu'ran had been delivered by the angel Gabriel to Mohammad as "bullsh**," shorthand for something like "not verified with objective evidence." His colleagues raised no objections, and the students laughing hardest were Muslims. This is not about politeness. No one was offended, and any offense would have devastated my students' polite-Canadian self-image. Indeed, in a particularly modern process, while religion fades politeness seems to continue unashamedly.* In another course, my reference to the "dry sh** stick" (*Kan-shiketsu*) of Zen koans[22] shocked a class into silence, not because I had insulted religion but because I had used the "s-word."

In contrast, I can present two examples of students still feeling the power of religion. Neither example, it is important to note, comes from within a traditional western classroom. The first takes place at Capital Normal University in Beijing. After my lecture on early Pacific globalization, the students raised many questions, some of which had nothing to do with the lecture. When the formal question session had concluded, one student cautiously drew me away to the far end of the chalkboard. "Explain to me this symbol," she asked, drawing with chalk a Star of David. Presumably, the star was erased not long after my sixty-second explanation of Judaism ended, but she drew this rune with such intense concentration and care that it seemed she was investing it with power, etching it for the ages.

The more explicit example comes from California's San Quentin State Prison, where I spent a summer teaching ancient world history to inmates enrolled in the prison's two-year degree program. After a lecture on Mesopotamian religion, one of the students took me aside. "I want you to know," he confided, "that I know your job requires you to teach us about these false gods. But I want you to know that *I* know there's only one true God, and that's the Lord God Jehovah." His tone was not that of a confession of faith. It was more like the boast of someone who had seen through an illusionist's trick. Prof. Clossey had fooled all the other students into believing in Enlil and Inanna, but he could not fool me.

Of course, I had no intention of converting anyone to the ancient Sumerian religion, or of asserting anything about the existence of ancient Sumerian gods, or even anything about their importance or usefulness for anything beyond understanding ancient Sumerians. The student understood instinctively what I am only coming to understand now—that any discussion of religion contains implications of truth.

Philosophers of language use the word "perlocutionary" to describe utterances that are true merely by virtue of having been said. "It's six o'clock" is not perlocutionary, because it is false if I say it at seven o'clock. "I promise I will always love you" is perlocutionary, because by stating it I have made the promise, and I have to dispel its magic by making quotation marks with my fingers. Because of its nature, I suspect that religion might be understood to have something approaching perlocutionary force; thus, the meaning of a statement about religion is closely tied up with the its utterance.

Teaching religion without the truth—that is, interpreting religion—is like explaining a joke. You understand the joke, but you can not really "get" it until you have laughed at it.

Because I write on Jesuit missionaries and am often associated with Catholic institutions, colleagues often assume I am Catholic. The issue is more pointed for teaching. In most modern, public classrooms, teachers who themselves "are religious" tend not to announce this, nor to draw explicitly on their background—perhaps out of fear of giving the impression of trying to win converts, perhaps because of the assumption that believers cannot be objective and is, therefore, less qualified to teach their beliefs. In one history of Christianity course, students had secretly formed a betting pool about my own religious identity—I had flirted with enough traditions, and had inadvertently made enough biographical asides while lecturing, so as to make this terrific fun for the class. Having taught the history of three different religious traditions in another course, I surveyed the students as to which appealed the most to them. My own religion came in last place. Had I subconsciously tried too hard not to sell it?

Most likely, it is neither possible nor advisable for teachers of the history of religion to treat religion in the same way missionaries used to and still do. But how can we at least restore power to religion? How can we re-enchant it?

One way is to use "native informants," actual adherents of a religion. Historians of people without history routinely make conclusions based on anthropological data from a later time period. With historical sources, the links between contemporary and historical practitioners need not be so tenuous. There is, however, the danger of variations of what has been called the "Christian Mafia," students (or guest speakers) who can not step back from their religious tradition to approach the subject in an "objective" professional way. A variation on this is to perform religious laboratory exercises in the classroom. In one course on Chinese history, instead of reading ritual manuals, we performed the rituals themselves. My colleague lectures on Shang Dynasty divination methods armed with a dried cow scapula and a blowtorch.

Another way to re-enchant religion is to take students on field trips to places of worship. One semester I took students to an urban mosque, arguably a context different from any we had considered in the course, but still with a unique and powerful atmosphere. This experience was far removed from the assumptions and rules of a controlled classroom: One student, female and feminist, agreed to wear a head scarf but balked when asked to stand behind the women's partition during prayer. In the end, she preferred to spend the rest of the field trip waiting for us on the street in front of the mosque. Most of the remainder of the tour centered on our host's defense of the place of women in Islam. This was the worst field-trip disaster I have had, yet, but it suggests that we were visiting something powerful. No one has ever honored one of my lectures on the history of religion by fuming angrily outside the lecture theater.

A powerful way to take religion seriously is to use it in our histories. Religion plays a rather limited role in the new world history. To be sure, the various religious traditions are given respectful nods in the textbooks. Researchers pursue comparative and transnational religious phenomena. However, nowhere does religion play anything like the starring roles it commanded in the world histories of Spengler or Toynbee. World historians used religion to get at theses that were unprovable, and have now become unforgivable. These early works may have cost historians of religion their pivotal role, if not their welcome altogether, in the new world history. Religion has lost its explanatory power, and its centrality, for the most part to economic history. Historians of religion have produced no *ReORIENT*, no *Great Divergence*. In part, this is because world historians have shied away from the excesses of the Spenglers and the Toynbees. In part, this is because the prevailing fashion among historians of religion is local religious practices. This has been a welcome correction to an earlier emphasis on unrooted, universal, doctrinal history, but we some-

times forget that a global religious phenomenon need be no more doctrinal and universal than a local religious phenomenon.

Adolf Harnack's contemporary review of a 1907 study of gnosticism distinguishes between church history and "world history." Gnosticism is merely a part of church history, because "it did not have any significance, was not a factor, but rather a passive element, eternally obsolete, a hodgepodge of fossils, a storeroom and a rubbish heap."[23] World history, by implication, should be about religious phenomena that are active, relevant, and current. Is it possible for powerful religion to reclaim center stage?

Writing a sacred history is likely to help little in getting tenure, but drawing on non-western religious or philosophical traditions might wean us off our dependence on a Western intellectual tradition. For indeed, even the insistence that all peoples (or religions) are equal (what does this really mean?), which I recently heard presented by a professional world historian as an axiom of the new world history, is likely one more common to the Western tradition. Rooted as it is in liberal optimism as much as it is in the writings of Catholic theologians,[24] the current dogma that all peoples, especially colonized subalterns, have agency might find a much-needed foil in Shantideva's blanket negation, that everyone is a "walking skeleton, occasionally jerked about by impulses."[25] At the time of his death, Andre Gunder Frank had been developing with Weiwei Zhang at Nankai University a new defense of his *ReORIENT* thesis of a sino-centric early-modern world economy. This justification came not from the theories of Adam Smith or Karl Marx, but from the ideas of interdependence attributed to the fourth-century BCE Daoist philosopher Zhuangzi.

There has been a sea change of world-historical importance regarding how we understand religion. Perhaps today only a minority of the world's population finds itself on the far side—the side that might be described as secular, objective, or modern—of that divide, but most historians are in that minority. This paper has ranged over too much ground to offer an argument, but in compensation, it offers secular, objective, and modern historians three impossibly big questions: 1) How can we teach religion without killing it?; 2) Is there a world history of religion?; and 3) What place can religion have in world history? Clearly, world historians of religion have much work to do.

ENDNOTES

[1] This paper was originally presented at the World History Association meeting in Long Beach, California, June 24, 2006, and I have gratefully incorporated improvements suggested by the lively post-panel discussion. Special thanks are due to co-panelist Phillip Luke Sinitiere, chair Alfred Andrea, and panel organizer Mary Jane Maxwell.

[2] "Con esta misma fé, y palabra de Dios convirtieron a todo el mundo, a Reyes, y a señores, y a sabios, y a poderosos, y todos se subjectaron a la palabra de Dios, y fé de Iesu Christo." *Tercero Cathecismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana por sermones, para que los curas y otros ministros prediquen y enseñen a los indios y a otras personas* [Lima: 1585], in *Doctrina christiana y catecismo para instruccion de los indios, Corpus Hispanorum de Pace XXVI-2* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones cientificas, 1985), fol. 24v [p. 396].

[3] For a critique of which, see Joel E. Tishken, "Lies Teachers Teach about World Religions," in this issue.

[4] Hans G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002), xi.

[5] A powerful description of this process can be found in Andrew Tuck, *Comparative Philosophy and the Philosophy of Scholarship: On the Western Interpretation of Nagarjuna* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990). For the opposing view see David N. Lorenzen, *Who invented Hinduism? Essays on Religion in History* (New Delhi: Yoda, 2006).

[6] P. L. Berger, "Modernity as the Universalization of Heresy," in *The Heretical Imperative: Contemporary Possibilities of Religious Affirmation* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1979), 1-31.

[7] Huston Smith, *The World's Religions: Our Great Wisdom Traditions* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 385.

[8] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990), 29, 63.

[9] Ann Taves, "From Religious History to the Cultural History Of Religion," *Journal Of the American Academy Of Religion* December 2003, Vol. 71, No. 4, pp. 885-893

[10] Bentley and Ziegler's *Traditions & Encounters* (McGraw Hill, 2003) has, roughly, one reference to religion for every six pages of medieval history, and one reference to religion for every fifteen pages of modern history.

[11] Flannery O'Connor, *Wise Blood: A Novel* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 1962), 224.

[12] René Grousset puts it pointedly: "General superstitious dread thus engendered general tolerance. Not until they lost this superstitious timidity did the descendants of Jenghiz Khan in Turkestan and Persia become intolerant in outlook and behavior." Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers UP, 1970), 220.

[13] Adam Buxton, "A New Pope." http://adam-buxton.com/ad/wp-content/ANEWPOPE2SCRENDER.mp4 (accessed January 30, 2007).

[14] See Nicholas Guyatt, *Have a Nice Doomsday: Why Millions of Americans Are Looking Forward to the End of the World* (London: Ebury Press , 2007).

[15] Nelson Foster and Jack Shoemaker, ed., *The Roaring Stream: A New Zen Reader* (Hopwell, New Jersey: Ecco Press, 1996), 7.

[16] Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992), 289, 308.

[17] Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion, trans. Rosemary Sheed* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963), xiii.

[18] Russell T. McCutcheon, "'My Theory of the Brontosaurus…': Postmodernism and 'Theory' of Religion," in *Critics Not Caretakers: Redescribing the Public Study of Religion* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001), 103-121. The discussion continued, though not about the points I raise here, in William E. Arnal, "What if I Don't Want to Play Tennis?: A Rejoinder to Russell McCutcheon on Postmodernism and Theory of Religion," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 27.1 (1998): 61-68; and McCutcheon, "Returning the Volley to William E. Arnal," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 27.1 (1998): 67-68. I am grateful to Derryl MacLean for introducing me to McCutcheon's scholarship.

[19] His criticism is directed at Garrett Green, "Challenging the Religious Studies Canon: Karl Barth's Theory of Religion," Journal of Religion 75 [1995] 473-86.

[20] Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 13. Jonathan Z. Smith, et al., ed., *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995).

[21] The talk show is called "Thrust-A Quite Controversial Look at the World around Us." "All brontosauruses are thin on one end, much much thicker in the middle and then thin again at the far end. That is my theory, it is mine, and belongs to me and I own it and what it is too." From "The All-England Summarize Proust Competition," *Monty Python's Flying Circus* 31 (Recorded 24-04-72 , Aired 16-11-72 , Prod. #78491).

[*] As another example of politeness outranking religion, it was the word "bulsh*t" that the *Bulletin* Editor censored, rather than the idea that the Koran is not the revealed word of God.

[22] Koan 21 of the *Wu-men Kuan*.

[23] Adolf Harnack, "Besprechung von W. Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 33 (1908): 10-13, cited in Kippenberg, 118-19.

[24] See Augustine's *De gratia et libero arbitrio* and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* (1.14.13).

[25] See the *Bodhicharyavatara*. This phrasing is from William Hursthouse, who recommended Shantideva to me. When I admitted my first reading left me baffled, he suggested my first mistake was reading it -- a reminder that scholars and believers do different things to texts.

Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: The Macro and Micro in World History
Milwaukee, 28 June-1 July 2007

From Adam to the Apocalypse: Postclassical Christianity and the Patterns of World History

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Commenting on the challenges that face scholars and teachers of World History, William A. Green has observed that "Periodization is rooted in historical theory. It reflects our priorities, our values, and our understanding of the forces of continuity and change."[1] The question of how to divide, subdivide, and organize history into meaningful units, of course, is not something that uniquely confronts world historians, although the vast chronological and geographical scope of their investigations into the past makes it a particularly pressing problem for practitioners in the field. Nor is it a uniquely modern problem in the European intellectual tradition. For premodern Christian thinkers of medieval Europe, however, there was a specific kind of historical theorizing that shaped their efforts to organize history into coherent patterns: theology of history, an interpretation of the past, present, and future that attributed order and meaning in earthly events to a divine plan for the course of human salvation. From its origins in scripture, Christian theorizing about the nature of history was totalizing in its potential, spanning the ages from the moment of Creation until the End of Time. Christian theories of history were also "global" in their scope, cognizant of Christ's declaration that the Gospels would spread everywhere before the end of time (Mt. 24:14) and of his commandment to his followers that they go forth and baptize "all the nations" in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Mt. 28:19).

This essay draws attention to Christian theories about the structures and patterns of history, ranging from around the third through the eleventh centuries. In the modern terminology employed by world historians, this stretch of time constitutes the post-

classical era (specialists in Mediterranean and medieval European history divide this same period into the eras of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages). The focus is primarily on the intellectual tradition of what postclassical Christians themselves called the "Western" or "Latin" Church, a region that was roughly equivalent to modern Europe, or at least it was after northwestern Africa was brought into the orbit of Islamic civilization in the seventh century CE. As early as the ninth century, contemporaries began to call this region "Christendom" (*Christianitas*), a community of believers that shared Latin as their sacred language, used a common rite, and took the church of Rome as their spiritual head.[2]

The members of Christendom, or at least the educated members of the clergy among them, also shared a common, if sometimes contentious, set of beliefs about the providential organization of history. To account for continuity and change—a central goal of any periodizing scheme—clerical authors looked first and foremost to the Christian Bible to provide them with a template for discerning historical patterns. From such scriptural building blocks, they devised multiple schemes to divide history into meaningful units. The postclassical Christian response to the problem of periodization (not that they would have called it that) reflected their own priorities, values, and understanding of the forces that shaped the experience of both Christian and non-Christian peoples on a universal stage. These were not idle intellectual speculations, but rather contributed to how Christians of the period reacted to concrete historical developments. In some cases, the basic blueprints that they applied to the sweep of history from Adam until the Apocalypse had a remarkably long and active life. Indeed, they continued to influence the Christian inhabitants of what became medieval Europe throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages and into the early-modern period, when Europe initiated its phase of colonial and imperial overseas expansion.[3]

By its very nature, Christian theology of history incorporated a basic division of time into two distinct epochs: that of the Old and New Testaments. This arrangement also carried what we might now call ethnographic implications, linked to a corollary division between two peoples: Jews and Gentiles. The reality of the "Jesus Movement" in the first and early-second centuries of the Common Era was far more complex than this tidy binary indicates. Scholars use labels like "Jewish Christianity" to illustrate the fact that many early followers of Christ continued to observe Jewish religious rites and habits, while there were a variety of attitudes among the growing numbers of non-Jewish Christians about the need to preserve or jettison Jewish religious practices. Nevertheless, within the proto-orthodox tradition of what became the mainstream Church, lines began to harden around the hermeneutical notion that the message of Christ marked an era of transition and transformation from the events recorded in the "Old Testament" of the Jews (the holy writings of the Synagogue), and the "New Testament" of the Gentiles (the revelation that was given to the Church).[4]

The groundwork for this model of history was located in passages of the Christian New Testament itself, in particular the Pauline epistles, which declared that the coming of Christ had brought with it a new dispensation that superseded a literal adherence to Jewish Law. The potentially disastrous impact of this position on long-term Christian attitudes toward Judaism is well known. It is somewhat ironic that the patristic insistence on the linkage between the Old and New Testaments was largely formulated to refute alternate Christian theologies, ones which denied the relevance of the Hebrew scriptures for Christ's message of salvation. To counter the views of such "heretics," influential churchmen, such as Augustine of Hippo (d. 430), formulated a view of salvation history that affirmed the Old Testament and the former status of the Jews as the Chosen People of God, while insisting that history itself had moved onward and left the Jews behind.[5] With the Incarnation of Christ, history had progressed from one stage (the Old Dispensation) to another (the New Dispensation). The result was that the Jewish people and their scriptures were left behind as "theological relics," unwitting witnesses to the prophecies that foretold the coming of Christ. According to Christian exegetes and theologians, this transferal of divine favor from the Synagogue to the Church was made evident when Roman armies sacked Jerusalem in the year 70 CE, fulfilling Christ's own predictions that the Temple would be destroyed.[6]

Building on this basic premise, patristic authors such as Augustine additionally organized history into three stages: first, the time before the Jewish Law (*ante legem*), the time under the Law (*sub lege*), and the time of Christian grace (*sub gratia*), followed by eternal rest.[7] Once again, the coming of Christ was the hinge-point in the critical transition from the age under the law to the age of grace. This progression involved a transformation in the building blocks of salvation, the proper forms of worship owed to God. With the arrival of the new dispensation, the "carnal" rites of the Jews (*carnalia*) yielded to the sacraments (*sacramenta*) of the Christian Church (for example, "fleshly" circumcision giving way to the "spiritual" mark of baptism). This transferal from the tradition of the Levitical priests to the new Christian priesthood was yet another transformation in the economy of salvation that the Jews had failed to recognize, clinging to their ancient rituals. From this perspective, the Jews were not a people without a history; they were a people frozen in the past while history moved onward.

Starting in the third and fourth centuries, Christian historiographers and exegetes consecrated a sometimes uneasy marriage between the "sacred" history of the Bible and the "profane" universal history of non-Christian traditions, crafting chronologies that harmonized biblical events with the reigns of pagan emperors. Such straightforward narratives of universal history, however, did not solve the problem of how post-biblical events might be organized into broader and more meaningful patterns that demonstrated God's temporal plan for salvation. Early Christian chroniclers established one basic principle for the division of history, arguing that the world would last for six thousand years followed by the eternal Sabbath, based on the seven days of creation and the notion that "one day with the Lord is as a thousand years" (2 Peter 3:8).[8] In the Latin intellectual tradition, Augustine of Hippo was a key figure who popularized this division of history into seven ages. His basic scheme ran as follows: the first age lasted from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; the third, from Abraham to David; the fourth, from David to the Babylonian captivity; the fifth, from the Babylonian captivity to the coming of Christ; and the sixth, from Christ until the end of time.[9] The Second Coming of Christ and final judgment would be followed by the seventh Sabbath age of eternal rest. Once again, the birth, ministry, death, and resurrection of Christ formed the pivotal point of transformation in the history of God's plan for salvation, marking the dawn of the sixth and final age of history.

In the Eastern Roman Empire, Christian thinkers did not have to directly confront the fragmentation of imperial power or the historical questions that it raised. Byzantium, as we now call it, endured.

The problem with this popular scheme, however, was the ever increasing stretch of time from Christ until the end of time. It was safe to organize historical moments of transition around biblical episodes, such as the institution of the written Law under Moses or the building of the Temple under Solomon. These were known quantities. Finding an organizational principle for the constantly expanding years of post-biblical history was not nearly as simple. In the heady days after the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine (d. 337) to Christianity in the fourth century, perhaps not unsurprisingly, Christian intellectuals such as Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 341) began to argue that the power of the Roman Empire had a critical role to play in the triumph of the Church. It was not by coincidence, Eusebius declared, that Christ was born during the reign of Augustus, the first Roman emperor.[10] By contrast, Augustine famously rejected the notion that earthly events could be used to chart out the course of God's plan for history during the sixth and final age of history. In the turbulent times after the sack

of Rome in 410 CE, it seemed safer to Augustine to sever any ties that linked the fortunes of God's "heavenly City" from the vicissitudes and vagaries of the earthly one.

The impact of Augustine's refusal to speculate about the divine patterns of history on the Latin intellectual tradition of the Middle Ages is famous, although it should not be exaggerated. The urge and temptation to see the recent past and current events as part of a greater divine plan would not go away, despite the best efforts of Augustine and other Latin patristic theologians. As we have already seen, in his own works, Augustine disseminated models of periodization that provided Latin theologians with a starting point for their efforts to organize history into comprehensive stages. Some of Augustine's own students and correspondents, such as Orosius (d. 420) and Quodvultdeus (d. 454), continued to devise divinely-ordained schemes for the division of the past (such as the notion that there had been ten persecutions against the Church before Constantine, matching the ten plagues in the Book of Exodus). Theorizing about the meaning of history was too attractive and too deeply embedded a practice in the clerical culture of the Latin church to be entirely expunged. Over subsequent generations, popular Christian authors that included Isidore (d. 636) and Bede (d. 735) enshrined the Augustinian taboo against speculating about the divine patterns of history while, at the same time, preserving the model of the "six world ages" as a crucial part of the Latin historical vocabulary.[11]

Empire (*imperium*) remained another important concept. In some of the earliest Christian apocalyptic writings, there was a tendency to associate Rome with Babylon, a source of persecution against the faithful. This connection was made particularly clear by an early association of the Emperor Nero (d. 68 CE) with the Antichrist, or one of his predecessors in evil.[12] After the conversion of Constantine, the Christian Roman Empire was well suited to take on a new role as the patron and protector of the Church. As we saw above, Eusebius of Caesarea assigned it this role with great enthusiasm, styling Constantine as a "new Moses" and law-giver for the Church, as was evident in the emperor's calling of the first ecumenical council at Nicaea in 325 CE. Several generations later, Prosper of Aquitaine (d. 465), a former student of Augustine, could still openly celebrate the role of the Roman Empire in the spreading of Christianity throughout the world, while acknowledging (as we will see, like his former master) that there were numerous peoples awaiting the Gospels beyond the boundaries of the Roman world.[13]

According to some thinkers, the fortunes of empire provided another key to discerning the progress of history. Like Augustine, Jerome (d. 420) was another patristic theologian and exegete who attempted to pull the fangs of historical speculation, but he also preserved a basic scheme for theorizing about history and its conclusion. In his commentary on the Book of Daniel, Jerome canonized a popular interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the alloyed statue with a head of gold, chest of silver, thighs of bronze, legs of iron, and feet mixed with iron and clay (Dan. 2: 36-45), as well as Daniel's dream of the four beasts emerging from the sea (Dan. 7:3-28): Jerome read both passages as prophecies of the four "world empires" progressing from the Babylonians through the Persians and Macedonians to the Romans.[14] According to Jerome and other authorities, the "iron" empire of Rome, the fourth beast, would endure until the end of time, when it would be divided up into a series of petty kingdoms, symbolized by the mixed feet of iron and clay, and by the "ten horns" on the fourth beast. Jerome was ready to acknowledge that this process of decline had already begun, evident in the incursions of barbarian peoples into the western portions of the Roman Empire. These developments set the stage for the arrival of the Antichrist, the "son of Perdition" (2 Thess. 2:3), who was symbolized in the "little horn" that emerged from the midst of the ten others. While Jerome's apocalypticism was tepid to say the least, his exegesis assured that the "world empires" model of history would enjoy great popularity in Latin clerical culture as a model to organize universal history.

In the Eastern Roman Empire, Christian thinkers did not have to directly confront the fragmentation of imperial power or the historical questions that it raised. Byzantium, as we now call it, endured. In the seventh century, however, the Byzantine world suffered its own trauma when Muslims armies from the Arabian peninsula rapidly seized vast portions of its empire in Egypt and the Near East. This development occasioned a similar reaction among Eastern Christians as the barbarian invasions had in the Western church, namely a sense that the tumultuous events of the present indicated the precipitous rush of history towards its inevitable conclusion. For some commentators, such as the famous Pseudo-Methodius, the Muslim conquests were a punishment by God against his sinful people, but faithful Christians could also look forward to the coming of a messiah-like "Last World Emperor," whose "indignation and fury" would "blaze forth against those who deny the Lord Jesus Christ."[15] This final king of the Greeks (i.e., Byzantine ruler) would cast out the nonbelievers, restore Christianity, and usher in an era of peace before the final apocalyptic battle, followed by the end of time.

Despite the disintegration of imperial power in the western half of the Roman world during the fifth and sixth centuries, the notion of empire continued to be viewed as a determining force in the unfolding history of salvation. Part of its persistent application involved the argument that the "transferal of empire" (*translatio imperii*) from people to people was an ongoing process, although imperial power itself remained "Roman" in name and would until the end of time.[16] In the famous forgery "The Donation of Constantine," written in papal circles around the late-eighth or early-ninth century, it was declared that Constantine had transferred the seat of his imperial power to a new capital at Byzantium (i.e., Constantinople) out of respect for the bishops of Rome and their role in the governance of the holy Church.[17] In the ninth century, after the Carolingian dynasty resurrected the imperial title starting in the year 800, Frankish churchmen began to insist that the dignity and power of empire had been transferred back from the Greeks at Constantinople to the Franks under Charlemagne. In the tenth century, this same argument would be extended to include the German Ottonian emperors and their Salian successors. Like history itself, empire was on the move, and its progression provided yet another means to read God's hand in earthly events.

As noted above, many patristic authors came to believe that the Roman Empire would endure until the end of time when it would fragment into various petty kingdoms, thereby setting the stage for the emergence of the Antichrist. Unlike modern historians, their premodern Christian counterparts had an additional problem of figuring out how to "periodize" the apocalyptic future and explain developments such as the coming of the Antichrist, the malignant polar-opposite of the Christian Messiah, and the *parousia,* Christ's own return in Final Judgment. By the time of the patristic period, a general consensus had emerged that the consummation of history would involve a climactic struggle between the forces of good and evil, the latter led by the Antichrist, followed by the triumph of the faithful, the demise of the Antichrist, and the Second Coming. From the days of the earliest Christian communities, however, there was also debate about the precise nature of the "Last Things." When would they arrive? How would they be recognized? Would the time of the Antichrist be immediately followed by Christ's return or would there be a period of "refreshment" for the faithful, perhaps even a "millennial" kingdom of peace on earth while Satan was bound in chains (Rev. 20:2)? Debate swirled around these questions. Some mainstream thinkers celebrated the idea of a future earthly kingdom of peace and prosperity to counter the belief of "Gnostic heretics" that the material world was inherently corrupt and evil. Others saw the promise of a millennial Sabbath on earth as a lingering form of Jewish "carnality." Still others, taking their cue from Christ's admonishments that only God knew the exact time of the end (Mk. 13:32), refused to speculate about the nature of the Last Things.[18]

Augustine of Hippo was particularly at pains to defuse Christian forms of apocalyptic eschatology, that is, speculation about the course of historical events leading up to the approaching end of time.[19] In his mature

works, he vehemently denied the theory of a millennial kingdom on earth. Satan's binding, he asserted, had begun with the triumph of Christ and the number of a "thousand years" in the Book of Revelation a symbolic figure that referred to the age of the present Church, not a future development. After the sixth age of history, there would arrive the ahistorical Sabbath, the "seventh age" of eternal rest. Although he did not deny the historical appearance of Antichrist at the end of time, Augustine did not infuse his apocalyptic scenarios with much in the way of color or immediacy. In fact, he used the promise of Christianity's universal spread as one way to limit apocalyptic expectation. Biblical passages made it clear that the Christian faith would be spread among all peoples before the end of time, a process that had begun with the apostles and was being carried out under the aegis of the Roman Empire. This extension of the Church, Augustine observed, was far from complete. There remained numerous peoples outside the borders of the Roman world, some not far from his own home in northern Africa, who had yet to hear the news of Christ, strongly suggesting that the end of the world could not be near at hand.[20] In the Augustinian geography of salvation, the destiny of the true Church was not limited to the fortunes of the Roman Empire or, for that matter, any earthly institution. Considering the fraying fabric of imperial power in the fifth century, this was a timely position to take, as Augustine himself was well aware.

Without exaggerating the disruption by the barbarian takeover of political authority in the western parts of the empire, the disintegration of imperial power in places like the Italian peninsula could not help but strike observers like Pope Gregory I (d. 604) as a sign that things were winding down in terms of the course of history. As the Bishop of Rome declared in his well known letter (601 CE) to Ethelbert, King of the Angels:

> the End of the present world is already near and the unending kingdom of the Saints is approaching. As this same End of the world is drawing nigh, many unusual things will happen—climatic changes, terrors from heaven, unseasonable tempests, wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes. All these things are not to come in our own days, but will follow upon our times.[21]

Not a cheerful scenario. Gregory did not abandon the Augustinian caution against predicting concrete events or setting an exact date for the end of the world. He also subscribed to a "corporate" interpretation of the Antichrist as an aggregate of internalized sin among those who strayed from God, including heretics and false Christians, a view of the Antichrist that had developed right alongside the notion of the Antichrist as an historical figure whose reign of terror would precede the Second Coming. Nevertheless, the Pope's anticipation of apocalyptic tribulations was far more immediate and dramatic than that of Augustine, as were his descriptions of *the* final Antichrist. It seems clear that Gregory's pessimism and sense of impending doom spurred his interests in missionary work in far-off places such as the kingdom of Kent in England: The end was near and the need to harvest souls pressing.[22]

Needless to say, the world did not end, but Christian authors continued to find inspiration in the Book of Revelation and other apocalyptic writings for their speculations about the course of history. One popular scheme, featured prominently in the exegesis of Bede, developed around the opening of the seven seals of the Apocalypse (Rev. 6-8): the first seal and the "white horse" marked the age of the Primitive Church, the second seal and the "red horse" marked the age of the Church of the Martyrs and its bloody persecution by pagans, the third seal and the "black horse" marked the age of the Constantine Church and its struggle with the internal threat of heresy, and the fourth seal and "pale horse" marked the age of the contemporary Church and the problem posed by lax or hypocritical Christians. The remaining seals indicated the future trials under the Antichrist and the triumph of the saints. This basic premise of using the "seven seals" as another scheme for periodizing history had a long life ahead of it.[23]

A persistent fascination with apocalyptic thought was on display in Adso of Montier-en-Der's tenth-century (ca. 950 CE) commentary on the Antichrist.[24] Judging by the manuscript evidence, Adso's commentary was immensely popular. It has been called, in effect, a piece of reverse-hagiography, taking the well-known tropes and rhythms of a saint's life and inverting to form the *vita* of the Antichrist, who will be "contrary to Christ in all things." As part of his eschatological narrative, Adso predicted that a final "Roman" emperor would arise from among the Franks, who then rightfully held the power of empire.[25]Echoing Pseudo-Methodius (although it is not clear whether Adso had direct knowledge of that text), the Frankish churchman envisioned a prominent role for this Last World Emperor, who would defeat the enemies of the Christian faith and recover the holy places from the infidels who possessed them. Ultimately, this "last and greatest of all rulers" would journey to the Mount of Olives and surrender his scepter and crown, thereby bringing "the end and the consummation of the Roman and Christian Empire."

Adso's commentary on the Antichrist also brings an end and consummation to this brief essay. The Frankish abbot was writing on the verge of a new era in the Latin theology of history.[26] First, there was a cluster of eschatological expectations and anxieties that developed before, during, and after the year 1000, which, in appraisal of recent scholarship, did not cause an outbreak of irrational millennial terror, but did infuse new creativity into Latin apocalyptic thinking.[27] Second, starting around the middle of the eleventh century, there developed what modern scholars have labeled the "reform movement" within the Roman church, which was transformed by a far-reaching effort to "liberate" ecclesiastical institutions from secular interference. Although the ideology of the reform papacy was not explicitly set in apocalyptic terms, papal efforts to reshape the "medieval world order" were implicitly eschatological.[28] Finally, at the close of the eleventh century, the capture of Jerusalem from its Muslim rulers by the First Crusade on 15 July 1099, marked another point of transformation in the historical sensibilities of Western Christians. Although there is considerable debate about the importance of eschatological expectations in fueling the origins and course of the crusade, there is little doubt that its dramatic outcome contributed to a new sense among the followers of the Roman Church that they were carrying out God's will on the world stage in a way not seen since the Bible.[29] The following century would prove to be an even more creative period in the Latin theology of history, due in large part to apocalyptic thinker Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202), who openly broke with Augustine and attempted to chart out the course of post-biblical history in remarkable detail.[30]

All of these subsequent transformations, however, built in one way or another on the basic models of history developed during the preceding centuries of postclassical Christianity. Jerry Bentley has declared that periodization "depends on prior decisions about the issues and processes that are the most important for the shaping of human societies, and it requires the establishment of criteria or principles that enable historians to sort through masses of information and recognize patterns of continuity and change."[31] The premodern historians of the sacred examined above made their own set of "prior decisions" and established their own "criteria or principles" for determining the course of history on a universal scale. Those decisions and principles tell us a great deal about their view of the world. Taking their lead from the Bible, Latin theologians and exegetes from the third to the eleventh centuries crafted a number of overlapping and sometimes contradictory blueprints for making sense out of history, including its progression from the Old to the New Dispensations, its organization into distinct epochs, and its future culmination. The theology of history provided Latin Christians with a lens through which they could view the historical destiny of their own Christian community, as well as the roles of non-Christian groups, including Jews, Muslims, and pagans.

In the High and Late Middle Ages, stretching from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, repeated crusading expeditions and far-ranging missions to places such as the Mongol Empire would bring Christian Europe into closer contact than ever before with the wider world. Among their options for making sense out of this process of expansion were schemes of history and

apocalyptic expectations that traced their intellectual genealogy to the authors and sources discussed in this essay. In time, these theories of history would be applied to lands that the earlier Christian intellectuals could have never even imagined. To take one notable example, Christopher Columbus spent time, with the help of a Franciscan friar, between his third and fourth voyages to the Americas, assembling *The Book of Prophecies,* which complied biblical, patristic, and medieval authorities that supported Columbus' own view of his activities as an explorer. As the dedicatory letter of the book declared:

> This is the beginning of the book or collection of *auctoritates,* sayings, opinions, and prophecies concerning the need to recover the holy city and Mount Zion, and the discovery and conversion of the islands of the Indies and of all the peoples and nations, for Ferdinand and Isabella, our Spanish rulers.[32]

Among the "authorities" that Columbus and his Franciscan helper cited were Augustine and Pseudo-Methodius, as well as later medieval thinkers not examined here, such as Joachim of Fiore. In this regard, if for no other reason, the development of the Latin theology of history in the Middle Ages is a subject that requires close attention from scholars of World History. If nothing else, exploring these premodern efforts at periodizing world history can remind world historians about just how arbitrary such schemes are, and about the caution needed before they assign frameworks of their own making to the diverse peoples of the world.

ENDNOTES

[1] William A. Green, "Periodizing World History," *History and Theory* 34 (1995): 99-111 (cited here, p. 99). For a further discussion of this problem, see also Jerry Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interactions and Periodization in World History," *The American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 749-70, and response of Patrick Manning, "The Problem of Interactions in World History," *The American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 771-82.

[2] See John Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion,* ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame, 1991), pp. 19-67. Van Engen, ibid., p. 20, observes that *christianitas* came to have three distinct but related meanings, referring to 1) the "simple quality of being a Christian or professing the Christian faith," 2) the "rites and rituals, especially sacramental ministrations, which set most Europeans apart religiously" from other peoples, and 3) the "whole society of Latin Christians and the lands they occupied." It is this final meaning of the concept that concerns us here.

[3] Historians of medieval Europe commonly draw a connection between the developing notion of Christendom in the Middle Ages and the emergence of modern Europe. Among many works, see Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe: An Introduction to the History of European Unity* (1932; New York, 1952), pp. 188-282, and Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of An Idea* (Edinburgh, 1957), pp. 16-36. See also the introduction to *The Medieval World,* ed. Paul Linehan and Janet Nelson (London, 2001), pp. 7-13, Anthony Pagden, "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent," in *The Idea of Europe,* ed. Anthony Pagden (Cambridge, U.K., 2002), pp. 33-54, and William C. Jordan, "Europe in the Middle Ages," in *The Idea of Europe,* ed. Pagden, pp. 72-90.

[4] On the principles of Christian exegesis, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1961).

[5] On the development of the Augustinian theology of history and his position toward Judaism, see Paula Fredriksen, "Excaecati Occulta Justitia Dei: Augustine on Jews and Judaism," in *Christianity in Relation to Jews, Greeks and Romans,* ed. Everett Ferguson (New York, 1999), pp. 37-62, along with Paula Fredriksen, "Secundum Carnem: History and Israel in the Theology of St Augustine," in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R. A. Markus*, ed. William Klingshirn and Mark Vessey (Ann Arbor, 1999), pp. 26-41.

[6] For a overview of these developments in patristic and medieval Christian attitudes toward the Jews, see Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, 1996).

[7] On Augustine's theology of history, see Auguste Luneau, *Histoire du salut chez les pères de l'église: la doctrine des âges du monde,* Théologie historique 2 (Paris, 1964), and Robert Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine* (1970; Cambridge, 1989).

[8] Typically the earliest chroniclers dated the birth to the year 5500 AM (*annus mundi),* although as the year 500CE approached (which would be the end of the world by this reckoning) this practice fell out of favor. See the observations of Martin Haeusler, *Das Ende der Geschichte in der mittelalterlichen Weltchronistik,* Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 13 (Cologne, 1980), pp. 6-32, Richard Landes, "Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled: Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100-800," in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages,* ed. Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (Leuven, 1988), pp. 137-211, and Michael Allen, "Universal History 300-1000: Origins and Western Developments," in *Historiography in the Middle Ages,* ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, Orbis mediaevalis 1 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 17-42.

[9] On the seven ages of history, see Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos,* ed. Dorothy Weber, Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 91 (Vienna, 1998), pp. 104-10. This scheme is surveyed by Roderich Schmidt, "*Aetates mundi:* Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 67 (1955-56): 287-317.

[10] See Allen, "Universal History," pp. 20-23.

[11] See Haeusler, *Das Ende der Geschichte,* pp. 24-32.

[12] For a survey of developing notions of the Antichrist in the early Christian tradition, see Kevin Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, 2005).

[13] Propser of Aquitaine, *De vocatione omnium gentium,* in the *Patrologia Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, vol 51 (Paris, 1841-1864), cols. 647-722, especially cols. 703-06.

[14] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem libri III<IV>*, ed. Francis Glorie, Corpus christianorum series Latina vol. 75A (Turnholt, 1964), pp. 793-95.

[15] A Latin edition of Pseudo-Methodius is available in Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und Tiburtinische Sibylle* (1898; Turin, 1963), pp. 59-96. For some observations about both traditions, see G. J. Reinink, "Pseudo-Methodius und die Legende vom Römischen Endkaiser," in *Use and Abuse of Eschatology,* ed. Verbeke et al., pp. 82-111.

[16] On the concept of *translatio imperii,* see Werner Goez, *Translatio Imperii: ein Betrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958).

[17] *Das Constitutum Constantini (Konstantinische Schenkung) Text*, ed. Horst Furhmann MGH Fontes (in us. schol.) 10 (Hannover, 1968). In the ninth century, the *Constitutum Constantini* was widely circulated as part of the pseudo-Isidorean decretals, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni,* ed. Paul Hinschius (1863; Leipzig, 1963), pp. 249-54.

[18] Scholars widely distinguish between general forms of *eschatology* (including any set of beliefs about the end of time, including the fate of the individual soul) and *apocalyptic eschatology* (the belief that the end of history is imminent and will involve a series of crises, followed by the ultimate defeat of evil and the triumph of the elect). *Millennarianism* is a form of apocalyptic eschatology that anticipated a miraculous "thousand-year" reign of Christ on earth (Rev. 20:2), which would completely transform terrestrial institutions and bring collective salvation. *Prophecy* is a more generic term, referring to any sort of divine revelation about the future, although commonly involving a reinterpretation of the past and present. See the introduction to Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (1979; New York, 1998), pp. 1-36.

[19] On Augustine's anti-apocalyptic eschatology, see Paula Fredriksen, "Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity," *Vigilae Christianae* 45 (1991): 151-183, Paula Frederiksen, "Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 20-37, and Richard Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," *Speculum* 75 (2000): 97-145.

[20] See Augustine's letter to Hesychius, bishop of Salona (ca. 418), *Ep.* 199, ed. Alois Goldbacher, Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 57/4 (1911; London, 1961), pp. 285-89. This letter and its implications are discussed by Jacques Chocheyras, "Fin des terres et fin des temps d'Hésychius (V^{e} siècle) à Béatus (VIII^{e} siècle)," in *Use and Abuse of Eschatology,* ed. Verbeke et al., pp. 72-81.

[21] Translation from McGinn, *Visions of the End,* p. 64.

[22] Bernard McGinn, "The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom," in *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, ed. M. Bull (Oxford, 1995), pp. 58-89, has suggested that broad sentiments about the approaching end of the world, expressed not just by Gregory but shared by other contemporaries in the Western church, were a crucial ingredient in the formation of Christian Europe during the early Middle Ages.

[23] On the seven-seals model, see Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie: die Mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (1935; Vaduz, 1965).

[24] Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De ortu et tempore antichristi,* Daniel Verhelst, Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 45 (Turnholt, 1976). See also the commentary of Richard Emmerson, "Antichrist as Anti-Saint: The Significance of Abbot Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo,*" *American Benedictine Review* 30 (1979): 175-90. Another possible source for Adso was the so-called Tiburtine Sybille, a text first redacted around the fourth century and translated into Latin around the mid-eleventh century at the latest. Under the guise of recording the predictions of a pre-Christian oracle, the text prophecies the coming of Christ, the tribulations of the Roman Empire, and the arrival of a final "emperor of the Greeks and Romans" (named Constans) who would destroy pagans, convert the Jews, and spread Christianity before the final persecutions under the Antichrist. The text is edited in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen,* ed. Sackur, pp. 177-87**.** See also the comments of Bernard McGinn, "*Teste David cum Sibylla:* the Significance of the Sybilline Tradition in the Middle Ages," in *Women of the Medieval World,* ed. Julius Kirschner and Suzanne Wemple (Oxford, 1985), pp. 7-35.

[25] The initial recipient of his tract, Gerberga, was married to the Western Frankish king, Louis IV, and sister to the Saxon king, Otto I, who would be crowed Roman emperor just over a decade later.

[26] I am currently working on a book, *Christendom as World Order: History, Prophecy, and the Rise of the Medieval West,* that explores the importance of historical thinking and apocalyptic thought for the medieval expansion of Europe ca. 1050-1350.

[27] In addition to Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000," see Johannes Fried, "Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 45 (1989): 381-473.

[28] See Bernard McGinn, "Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100-1500," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism: Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture*, ed. Bernard McGinn (New York, 1998), pp. 74-109.

[29] On the First Crusade and the historical consciousness of Latin Europe, see Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (Neuchâtel, 1945), and James Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda, and History: The First Crusade, 1140-ca. 1300," in *Autour de la première croisade,* ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 127-141. On the question of the crusade's eschatological ramifications, see Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade,* ed. Alfons Dupront, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954-59), especially pp. 43-135, André Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade," in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade* (Rome, 1997), pp. 233-43, and Jay Rubenstein, "How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit," in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan Ridyard (Woodbridge, U.K., 2004), pp. 53-69.

[30] Important studies on the abbot in modern scholarship include Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (1969; repr. Notre Dame, 1993), and Bernard McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, 1985). See also the recent biography of the abbot by Gian L. Potestà, *Il tempo dell'apocalisse: vita di Gioacchino da Fiore* (Rome, 2004).

[31] Bentley, "Cross-Cultural Interaction," p. 749.

[32] *The Book of Prophecies Edited by Christopher Columbus*, trans. Blair Sullivan, ed. Robert Rusconi, vol. 3, *Repertorium Columbianum* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 59.

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The Rebirth of Hope in a Time of Upheaval: An Analysis of Early-Modern Millennial Movements Across the Abrahamic Tradition

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Introduction - Despite their extraordinary nature, millennial movements have occurred in diverse religious traditions throughout many historical periods. In the early-modern period, millennial movements emerged within the Abrahamic framework: the Islamic Nuqtavi movement in Safavid Iran, the Christian Fifth Monarchy movement in Britain and America, and the Judaic Sabbatian movement in the Ottoman Empire. This study seeks to explain the near simultaneous rise of Abrahamic millennial movements by arguing that the socioeconomic structure of the early-modern world created an environment that was conducive to their parallel growth. While these features created a similar base for the rise of these movements, each movement was distinct due to the specific historical situation and religious tradition that the individuals in each movement appropriated to create and further their millennial beliefs.

Historiography and Framework -- Historians studying early-modern millennial movements have generally undertaken one of two strategies. First, the majority of historians, such as Gershom Scholem, John Phelan, Bernard Capp, and Kathryn Babayan, have approached these movements by conducting in-depth, non-comparative studies on them. While these studies are detailed and have a well-grounded foundation, they do not acknowledge the rise of other similar movements in the wider historical landscape.

The other strategy explores millennial movements in the broader framework; however, these works, by historians such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam, are relatively sparse and usually only focus on a specific location, such as the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, Subrahmanyam has acknowledged in his reconfiguration of South Asian history that millennial movements as a widespread early-modern occurrence are not readily studied.[1]

Both of these approaches, however, do not acknowledge these movements in a global structure, although they occurred concurrently throughout the world, nor do they focus on the non-elite individuals within the movements, who make up the majority of the participants. Therefore, this study uses the evidentiary foundation of these works and incorporates elements of these two approaches in order to examine the features of the early-modern world that connected these movements together. This study will also explore the neglected aspects of the movements in order to tell a more complicated and fluid history of early-modern Abrahamic millennial movements.

The current framework used to view millennial movements is problematic because these movements are often narrowly labeled as heretical. This, however, is based in the discourses of power as millennial movements are categorized as heretical due to their position vis-à-vis the dominant religious orthodoxy. This binary is unnecessary, and these movements need to be understood as simply part of the wide variety of the early-modern religious experience.[2]

Some historians, such as Abbas Amanat, believe that millennial movements are specifically associated with the "Other," because, while the beliefs of mainstream groups, such as the Methodists, could be labelled "millennial," this term is usually reserved for subaltern or marginalized members of society that form these movements seeking some measure of reform.[3] While this study explores the subaltern aspects of these movements, it is necessary to acknowledge that individuals from all social classes join millennial movements and they are not just comprised of marginalized members of society. For instance, Abraham Pereira, a European millionaire, was a member of the Sabbatian movement who gave his entire fortune to the messiah.[4] Finally, although our social and intellectual present may consider millennial movements as irrational, it is important to acknowledge that in the early-modern world, the acceptance of supernatural intervention in human affairs was "almost universal" among both the educated and uneducated. This would explain the preoccupation shared by early-modern societies with supernatural beliefs, such as witchcraft, during this period.[5]

Thus, increased communications in the early-modern period facilitated the spread of Abrahamic millennial movements across political borders, cultural zones, and religious ideologies.

The Islamic Nuqtavi Movement - The Islamic Nuqtavi doctrine was devised by Mahmud Pasikhani in the fifteenth century as a derivative of Hurufism, which emerged from the "Shiite-tinged" Sufi tradition. During the sixteenth century, the Nuqtavi flourished and expanded to Persian Iraq, where it became an urban religious millennial movement with support from literate craftsmen, artists, and poets.[6] Politically, the Nuqtavi started to move against the Shah, and in the late-sixteenth century, began to claim that a Nuqtavi member should replace the Shah, who had lost his legitimacy. In order to appease the Nuqtavi, Shah Abbas tried to make himself a disciple; however, this did not reduce the political threat. Meanwhile, a Safavid court astrologer predicated that the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter would lead to the death of the ruling sovereign. Therefore, Shah Abbas placed a Nuqtavi follower on his throne for these four days and then after the astrological phenomenon ended, he killed the Nuqtavi follower to fulfil the prophecy and began a ruthless persecution of the Nuqtavi.[7]

While the Nuqtavi are often treated as a unified whole and the leaders tend to be the focus of most writings on the Nuqtavi, reading the sources against the grain shows that people from diverse classes and ethnic backgrounds subscribed to the Nuqtavi doctrine at varying levels. Moreover, the movement's "social and ethnic hierarchies were blurred."[8] Although contemporaries criticized Nuqtavi leaders, such as Darwish Khusraw, for "luring to his convent the 'low-minded commoners' and the 'penniless villains among Turkmen and Persians'",[9] Nuqtavi popularity was predominant in urban guilds and among dervishes, poets, artists, calligraphers and storytellers, and many literate men were engrossed in the Nuqtavi doctrine.[10] These followers and sympathizers were of diverse backgrounds and included individuals such as the Persian poet of Jewish origin Sarmad Kashani and Hafiz from Shiraz.[11]

While the Nuqtavi were able to "amass popular support in the Iranian heartland," they considered themselves "carefree" and were loosely organized.[12] They did not subscribe to the teachings of any single spiritual leader, as they "rejected systematic and homogenous spirituality," instead embracing a variety of meanings and experiences.[13] Thus, while Nuqtavi is often used as a singular term, it describes a wide variety of individuals from diverse backgrounds with many different beliefs.

The Fifth Monarchy Movement - The Fifth Monarchy movement emerged in England during the early 1650s as a "political and religious sect" that anticipated the return of the Kingdom of Christ. The beginnings of the movement can be traced back to the execution of Charles I, which set the Fifth Monarchist plan in motion since they viewed the King's execution as the symbolic removal of the leader to make way for the

kingship of Jesus.[14] While the Fifth Monarchy movement denounced Cromwell's regime, their plan to circulate a petition amongst the army and Parliament in hopes of removing the government failed, and their actions led to the arrest of some of the Movement's leaders.[15] The Movement gained thousands of followers; however, the Restoration led to persecution from both Charles II and James II.[16] These persecutions created a dichotomy amongst the Fifth Monarchists, as some became submissive and took a quietist approach, while others, such as Thomas Venner, continued to be active and were put on trial and executed.[17] The traditional historiography states the end of the Fifth Monarchy movement came about with the failed rebellion by the Duke of Monmouth in 1685.[18]

Exploring the non-elite Fifth Monarchists, it appears that their millennial ideas were appropriated and reshaped by individuals as such ideas transcended class barriers. For instance, Rhys Evans, a tailor and member of a Fifth Monarchist congregation, appropriated millennial ideas and claimed that he was Christ. Moreover, while some prominent women, such as Anna Trapnel and Mary Cary, played important roles in this movement as Fifth Monarchy prophetesses, others simply harnessed millennial sentiments by claiming that they were carrying the Messiah.[19]

Unlike other millennial movements, the Fifth Monarchy movement was never an egalitarian movement. It was an elitist movement found primarily in urban centers, where higher literacy rates gave people the opportunity to read about these ideas in pamphlets.[20] The elite members of the Fifth Monarchy movement comprised individuals from such occupations as ministers, sheriffs, members of the Council of the State, justices of the peace, and army officers; however, the movement did attract followers from all social classes, including laborers, servants, and journeymen. By the 1650s, it appears that millenarianism in England was widespread, as evidenced by the case of the five-year-old daughter of Ralph Josselin, who told her father that Jesus came to her in a dream and said, "he should come and rayne upon the earth 10000 years."[21]

Some historians, such as Michael Adas, have recognized the role of secondary leadership in millennial movements, as these movements do not just contain a leader with hordes of followers. Instead, there are usually secondary leaders that play a crucial role in the propagation and continuation of these movements.[22] In the case of the Fifth Monarchy movement, secondary leadership was found in the Puritan preachers that were instrumental in spreading millennial beliefs among their congregations.

Like the Nuqtavi, the Fifth Monarchy movement was "loosely coordinated" and did not contain a "common programme." The movement was also not a unified whole as members were divided over many issues, such as the usage of violence to fulfill their goals. Despite these tensions, they did agree on their fundamental platform as they all believed in the nearness of the millennium.[23]

George Shepperson states that British millennialism is potentially rich for comparative study because of the interaction with American millennial movements, as individuals build a movement on both sides of the Atlantic using similar sources.[24] As such, this study seeks to take Shepperson's approach a step further by employing Subrahmanyam's "connected histories" approach,[25] and discuss not only this transatlantic connection, but also other potential connections among millennial movements throughout the world. For example, Thomas Venner, one of the more radical members of the Fifth Monarchy movement, was both a preacher in Britain and America in the seventeenth century, and while millennialism in America may have been more "low-key" than in Britain, numerous people in both countries were fervently waiting for the Fifth Monarchy.[26]

The Sabbatian Movement - The traditional historiography holds that the Sabbatian movement started in 1648 when Sabbatai Sevi had his first messianic vision; however, it did not emerge as a mass movement until 1666. Sabbatai Sevi, the leader of the movement, travelled throughout the Ottoman Empire gaining a following among the Jews as he committed his "strange acts" in which he would transgress the traditional Jewish law. Sabbatai Sevi was accompanied by his prophet Nathan, who, in a role of secondary leadership, played a vital part in the movement by creating, propagating, and recording the doctrine of the Sabbatian movement.[27] As the Sabbatian movement grew, the Ottoman authorities noticed it and brought Sabbatai Sevi before the Sultan, whereby he was forced to apostatize to Islam under threat of death. Although the messiah apostatized, the prophet Nathan carried on his message, reformulating the doctrine to accommodate the apostasy. While the widespread support for the movement faded, the Sabbatian movement still exists today in the Turkish Donme.[28]

Although the traditional perspective acknowledges the followers of the Sabbatian movement, the primary focus is on the life and actions of Sabbatai Sevi. For instance, while the spotlight is often on the strange acts of Sabbatai Sevi, he was not alone in committing odd ritualistic acts, as both the prophet Nathan and over a hundred followers performed devotions by rolling stark naked in the snow.[29] While Sabbatai Sevi played an essential role in the movement, it would not have gained such notoriety, and attention from academics, if it were not for the great amount of people that followed him. The followers' voices, however, are often overshadowed by the predominant focus on the charismatic leader as the movement is named after him and is given a starting date based on his first messianic vision. Even the titles of the academic texts written on the movement illustrate the primacy given to its leader, including Gershom Scholem's *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* and John Freely's *The Lost Messiah: In Search of the Mystical Rabbi Sabbatai Sevi*. As such, it is necessary to move beyond a focus on the elite members of the movement and examine the individuals that are so often simply labelled the "followers" or "masses."

Although some sources state that Sabbatai Sevi's followers comprised "the poorest Jews in the city, including 'fishermen, venders of eggs and poultry, oarsmen in the port, and servants, and more of this sort of noblemen, even the richest of whom had nothing to lose,'" other sources state that distinguished rabbis and prominent laymen also became followers. For instance, a number of rabbis became followers and eventual leaders of the Sabbatian movement, including Samuel Primo, Judah Sharaf, and David Yishaki.[30] Many followers of the Sabbatian movement were "normally described as clever, rational and having common sense," and some of these individuals even continued to visit him after his apostasy.[31]

While Scholem states that the Sabbatian movement was structured with the elites among the believers drawing support from ordinary people, even the prophets who disseminated information were not all men of stature, as Sabbatai Raphael, one of the leaders of the movement, was known as a charlatan.[32] Thus, the common people were not merely followers; they also played essential roles in the movement, which consisted of a great diversity of people including individuals from all age and gender groups, including boys, young and old men, virgins and pregnant women.[33] According to Scholem, "the movement knew no class distinctions."[34]

While the Sabbatian movement was diverse both geographically and in terms of its followers, its beliefs also varied, as there was no uniformity in the reaction of different rabbis to the messianic reports since each explained and interpreted them in the manner that suited him best.[35] Finally, while the Sabbatian movement is often viewed simply as heresy, it was not merely a separatist sect and thus, should not be labelled as such.[36]

Influence of Religious History - The specific history, social circumstances and intellectual situation of each community played a significant part in constructing each movement. For instance, the 1648 Jewish massacre in Poland was a crucial disaster that contributed to the rise of support for the Sabbatian movement. Similarly, the Islamic lunar calendar approaching and ending its first millennia (1591-1592 C.E.) led to a degree of "chiliastic expectation" which was harnessed by individuals to create support for the Islamic Nuqtavi movement.

To avoid reducing millennial movements down to mere socio-political factors, it is necessary to also recognize the impact of religion on these movements as they were

not simply manifestations of socio-political causes, but also heavily indebted to their religious tradition. For example, the origins of seventeenth-century Christian millennialism are found primarily in the tensions generated by the Reformation.[37] These factors, however, only promoted support for each specific millennial movement, whereas a global perspective brings to light the important connections between these movements.

The Impact and Interconnectedness of the Early-Modern World - The underlying socio-economic features of the early-modern world aided in creating an environment conducive to the simultaneous rise of the Abrahamic-based millennial movements. The importance of these features lies in their interconnectedness. As Norman Cohn argues in his sociological inquiry into the rise of medieval millennial movements, the combination of certain circumstances creates an environment that favours their growth.[38] Similarly, the emergence of a multiplicity of interrelated factors in the early-modern period contributed to the analogous rise of these different religious movements.

The connectedness between the three different movements is due to their corresponding basis in the Abrahamic framework, a factor that is significant in creating their parallel structures. There is a shared history and philosophy among these major religions, which led to the rise of Judaic, Christian, and Islamic millennial movements all sharing similar sources, since all three connected the Book of Daniel or Kitab-I Daniyal with other texts, including the "science of signs, and astrology" in the early-modern world to interpret and promote their millennial visions.[39] For instance, Jerónimo Mendieta interpreted the reign of Charles V to be a "Golden Age" and Philip II's to be a "Silver Age," which John Phelan argues would have been understood by his contemporaries as the commonly held belief that mankind is deteriorating from a Golden to a Silver to an eventual Iron Age.[40] Moreover, Edmund Spenser wrote about the discoveries in the New World in terms of the prophecies in the Book of Daniel,[41] and the Fifth Monarchy Men (as the name implies) harnessed the prophecies in the Book of Daniel, which they used to justify the creation of "one supreme world power."[42]

Early-modern millennial movements were also connected because the individuals within them interpreted astrology in a similarly apocalyptic fashion.[43] One of the central components of the world views of all three of these religious traditions is that they connect time and history with the celestial world. For example, Sabbatai Sevi used the symbolism of a fish to explain the prophecy that the messiah would emerge under the astrological sign of Pisces.[44] Similarly, some early-modern European Christians harnessed this philosophy in their Christian eschatology, as reflected in their beliefs that the antichrist would arise with certain astrological positions of Saturn and Jupiter in the sixteenth-century.[45] Portuguese explorer Afonso de Alburquerque claimed to see a "sign in the sky…a great and very bright cross" and interpreted this "celestial sign" as a message to ally with Ethiopia's Prester John and destroy Medina and Mecca, in order to affirm the Portuguese destiny of creating a Universal empire.[46] Astrology was so extensive in early-modern Europe that someone noted in 1561 that people would rarely journey without consulting an astrologer.[47]

The Islamic Nuqtavi also connected human history to astronomy: The Arab dynasty would end with the first Islamic millennium as Saturn and Jupiter took their significant positions, and Persian autonomy would re-emerge.[48] Thus, the astrology of the early-modern world, coupled with these movements' shared history and perspective, led to similar astrological interpretations which aid in explaining these movements' parallel structures and analogous rise.

Even the terms that scholars use to refer to the different millennial movements demonstrate their interconnectedness. For instance, Said Arjomand refers to the Nuqtavi as a movement with a "cabalistic emphasis…[and a] central belief in Gnostic union with God."[49] The terms "cabalistic and Gnostic" are usually reserved for the Jewish and Christian traditions, and the usage in the Muslim context implies that either Arjomand is being metaphorical or, more likely, that there are certain interreligious commonalities.

Discovery and the New World - "The New World equals the end of the world."[50] This quotation best demonstrates that the discovery of the New World facilitated the rise of millennial movements in the early-modern period. The discoveries, such as Columbus' sighting of the Americas in 1492 and the probable circumnavigation of the world by Malay slave Pangilima Awang in 1521, created "truly global sea passages"[51] which were accompanied by momentous changes in geographical redefinition, travel, the conceptions of space, cartography and the development of new empirical ethnographies.[52] This massive chain of events led to further changes, such as the spread of disease and increased communications and trade, all of which collectively promoted the growth of shared millennial beliefs.

The discovery of the New World also assisted the rise of these movements by forcing the re-evaluation of past perspectives. For instance, European thinkers had to explain their discovery of people in America, whom they interpreted as people with Hebraic origin. By making the Indians Jewish, the apocalyptic predictions of the Bible could be fulfilled through their conversion. For example, both José de Acosta and Flemish theologian Joannes Luminus identified the American Indians as the lost tribe of Israel, a sign of the impending end, in which the spread of the Christian message would be the last stage in the world.[53] Therefore, the changes brought about by the Age of Discovery led to people reinterpreting history in an apocalyptic fashion, and thus encouraged the rise of millennial movements. The Age of Discovery was interpreted in an apocalyptic fashion because explorers and missionaries viewed colonizing as a fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecies.[54] Although this facilitated the easier reception for millennial movements, it affected European Christian movements the most because they were forced to directly interact with the realities of the discovery and colonization.

While the social consequences of the discovery of the Americas, such as inflation, became a large concern in the sixteenth century, this discovery only started to impact Christian thinkers in the seventeenth century.[55] Since some writers argue that discovery led to the "unsettling of the mind,"[56] and since discovery only affected Christian thinkers in the seventeenth century, it seems plausible that this could have also influenced the growth of millennial movements because the seventeenth century experienced vast growth in Christian millennial movements in Europe, which people often join during times of immense change.[57]

Cohn argues that millennial movements occur due to "catastrophe or the fear of catastrophe," such as famines or plagues.[58] Discovery initiated exactly such social and environmental crises that encouraged the rise of the early-modern movements. For example, the spread of syphilis from the New World to Europe in 1494, and China by 1505, led to the undermining of gender relationships, which created havoc for this important societal relationship.[59] These plagues decimated populations at both ends of Eurasia, which led to the collapse of populations. Specifically, a wave of bubonic plague in northern India led to millennial apprehensions and a growth in millennial beliefs.[60]

Similarly, the last chapters of Mendieta's *Historia* contain an apocalyptic mood partially because the Franciscan missionary wrote these chapters during a particularly cruel winter in New Spain in which there was both an economic and a demographic crisis.[61] Indeed, the decimation of the Indian population forced the Europeans to deal with an event that they explained and justified using end-of-the-world thought.[62] Mendieta interpreted this drastic demographic change by claiming that God was filling heaven with the Indians, a sign of the impending end of the world.[63] Mendieta even interpreted economic depression in apocalyptic fashion,[64] demonstrating that the changing social climate of the New World led to the spread of apocalyptic thought in order to explain seemingly unexplainable events, and encouraging the rise of millennial movements.

Early-Modern Crisis - Increasing structural conflict between urban and nomadic peoples heightened the social crises prompted

by the discovery of the New World. This overarching societal conflict led to clashes over both the usage of resources and lifestyle, such as the powerful impact that the unprecedented rise of the slave trade and the creation of new cash crops, had on society.[65] The global population also doubled in the early-modern period,[66] which negatively dislocated various groups of people.

Bernard Capp states, "Any form of crisis, whether conquest, plague, social disruption or religious innovation was likely to produce such a [millennial] movement,"[67] and the early-modern period contained numerous crises. Specifically, the failure of the Fifth Monarchy movement to reappear after 1685 has been attributed to the continuing political and social stability at the time.[68] If social and political stability can halt the re-emergence of millennial movements, then it also very likely that the reverse is true — millennial movements emerge out of political and social instability, which was a rampant feature of the early-modern period.

David Aberle asserts that change can initiate a form of relative deprivation in which either individuals or groups perceive that their legitimate expectations are blocked, creating a situation conducive to the rise of millennial movements.[69] These early-modern social and political changes could have initiated such a reaction. For instance, the Fifth Monarchy movement arose as a response to the diminishing expectations and disillusionment of individuals who realized that the removal of the political regime would not occur without their active involvement.[70] This specific example demonstrates that when an individual's expectation (the removal of the political regime) is incongruent with reality (the regime is firmly in power), they more readily subscribe to millennial movements (the Fifth Monarchy movement) in order to fulfill their goals.

While social and political crisis affected support for early-modern millennial movements, the connection between economic change or crisis and early-modern millennial movements is more ambiguous. Some historians, such as Norman Cohn and Ernst Werner, assert that millennial movements emerge out of a situation of mounting tension from social and economic causes.[71] Although the early-modern period witnessed massive economic changes, such as the discovery and exportation of silver and metals from the mines of Potosí and the exportation of Japanese metals throughout the world. These global events which led to the beginning of "dramatic transformations in world bullion flows" and the creation of a "vast interpenetrating network of silver" which "girdled the globe" in the sixteenth century, and which had varying repercussions in different countries.[72] For instance, while this economic change led to inflation and social unrest in the Iberian Peninsula, these crises were minor in the Ottoman Empire and had even less of an effect in the Indian subcontinent.[73] Thus, while this early-modern feature may have aided in promoting the social crisis that fueled millennial movements in some places, it did not do so in others. Specifically, using the example of the Fifth Monarchy movement as evidence, Bernard Capp states, "Fifth Monarchism and the great millenarian wave of the seventeenth century, was the result of the political and religious crisis, not of economic circumstances."[74]

Cultural Dialogue and Early-modern Communications - The early-modern world also witnessed the ongoing cultural dialogue among members of the three main world religions. One of the reasons that astrology was interpreted in a similar apocalyptic fashion among the Jews, Christians, and Muslims during this period was due to their shared Hellenistic repertoire of apocalyptic symbolism and interpretation, a repertoire that was created through the discourse between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Spain. This arena of discussion allowed similar ideas to spread between religions from Europe to Asia and explains why members of both Queen Elizabeth I's and Shah Abbas' courts predicted similar apocalyptic phenomena in their day.[75]

The increased cultural dialogue between members of the different Abrahamic millennial movements, which also facilitated their mutual rise, was due to the ever-improving communications in the early-modern world and the increasing interaction amongst people. While most historians focus on the spread of gold and silver in the early-modern world, "ideas and mental constructs" accompanying trade also transcended political borders and created interconnected histories due to the permeability of supposedly "closed cultural zones." For instance, the Mughal ruler Akbar, whose court was full of many different millennial texts, held discussions relating to the end of time with Christians such as Jesuit Antonio Monserrate.[76] Further, Sabbatai Sevi's father and brother were employed by English merchants of the Levant Company.[77] As such, ideas from the Fifth Monarchy movement in England, a nation which was steadily growing during this period, may have reached Sabbatai Sevi through his family and influenced the creation and doctrine of the Sabbatian movement.

Increased communications in the early-modern world allowed individuals to spread millennial ideas across political borders throughout Asia, among Christians, Jews, and Sunni and Shia Muslims, promoting the growth of these movements. While millennialism usually flourishes in the Shia tradition, the sixteenth-century Ottoman Sultans began to borrow and use the millennial terminology that the Shiite Iranian Ismail invoked.[78] Not only did the rulers appropriate these millennial sentiments, members of the Armenian population that the Safavids had persecuted also used Ismail's millennial language; however, they reinterpreted the Iranian millennial statements claiming the Shah was the saviour and, instead, claimed he was the antichrist.[79]

Individuals also spread texts and publications. Abu Ma'shar's text, which was the textual basis for the Nuqtavi millennial hopes, was used by early-modern Christian millennialists in conjunction with their own eschatology to further Christian millennial beliefs and movements.[80] This appropriation also occurred in the Jewish context as the seventeenth-century Jewish rabbi Yehuda Ben El-Azer drew connections between the philosophies of the Islamic Nuqtavi and the Jewish Kabbalists.[81] In particular, the creation and advancement of publications was a central form of early-modern communication that aided in the growth of millennial movements. By publishing pamphlets promoting millennial beliefs, individuals were able to reach a larger audience and spread their movements. For example, the 1640s in England witnessed the first publication of a millennial text in English. Shortly after, numerous millennial texts being published, including Mede's *Apocalyptica,* John Vaux's almanacs, and even newspapers started stating publicly that "The Antichrist is falling."[82] In England, between 1640 and 1653, 78% of ministers who published works were millenarian, demonstrating that, at least in Europe, publications were being used to spread millennial sentiments.[83] Thus, increased communications in the early-modern period facilitated the spread of Abrahamic millennial movements across political borders, cultural zones, and religious ideologies.

The increase in communication thus promoted the growth of millennialism. However, continuing deficiencies in early-modern communications were ironically equally propitious to the growth of millennial movements. Without fast and extensive communication, individuals had a greater ability to appropriate and change unauthenticated millennial myths and prophetic sentiments to fit their current situations. Alongside the aforementioned example of an Armenian group's reinterpretation of Safavid millennial statements, individuals also spread prophetic rumors that the lost tribes of Israel were heading through Persia to conquer Mecca. This rumor, which facilitated the growth of the emerging Sabbatian movement, spread to Europe, where Protestants were also waiting for this prophecy to be fulfilled, promoting support for Christian millennial movements in places such as the Netherlands and England.[84] Moreover, a particular Iranian Nuqtavi migrant brought documents written by the Nuqtavi founder to India, which stated that a person would arise in 990 A.H. (*Anno Hegirae*) [1582-1583 C.E.] to "cleanse the world of lies," and implied that this person was supposed to be Akbar.[85]

These prophetic rumors were a critical element of early-modern millennial dissemination because both literate and illiterate individuals could use them to spread their

beliefs to fit their changing circumstances. These prophetic rumors were also statements of power that could affect both individual and collective behavior, as well as decentralize the controlling discourse of the elite.[86] These rumors, however, could also negatively influence millennial ideology as they could transmit falsehoods that were damaging to the movement. For instance, a fictitiously written news report containing pictures of Sabbatai Sevi's supposed execution appeared in Germany in 1666.[87]

Therefore, quite paradoxically, both the lack of immediate and extensive communications coupled with an increase in existing communications and inter-religious dialogue created a situation in which communication was not so advanced as to halt the spread of millennial myths, yet extensive enough to allow for the communication that helped these movements grow. Moreover, although the early-modern communication system supported these movements, the spread of unauthenticated rumors could also be very damaging to them.

Conclusion - Millennial movements are tied to the natural process of humanity striving to simultaneously end current torment and start a new beginning.[88] As the dynamic of the early-modern world is best explained through the interaction between the micro-level or local, and the macro-level or global,[89] this study takes into account the interaction between individuals' appropriation of the past millennial beliefs of their religious traditions and the general socio-economic factors of the early-modern world for the creation of these movements. Sanjay Subrahmanyam also states that although there are global effects, the effects are different due to local manifestations.[90] In a similar manner, this study shows that the same global features led to corresponding, yet differing, millennial movements dependent upon the actions of the individuals in each specific movement. At a conference on millennial movements held at the University of Chicago in 1960, there was a lack of consensus regarding the postulation that an analytical schema could account for the formation of all millennial movements.[91] While a complete overarching approach seems infeasible, this study shows that certain features of early-modernity created an environment conducive to the rise of these movements throughout the world.

Before this study reaches its final conclusion, it is important to qualify the aforementioned argument by stating that this analysis and its conclusions are based only upon secondary-source research into the context and circulation of ideas. Despite this, the study echoes and expands Subrahmanyam's conclusion that millennial movements need to be viewed on a wider and even global scale by showing that the diverse early-modern Abrahamic millennial movements were connected across the globe through the underlying structure of the early-modern world which created an environment conducive to their simultaneous rise.

ENDNOTES

1 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over: Sixteenth-century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges," *Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 40, No. 2* (India: 2003), 131.

2 This idea is influenced by elements of both Ranajit Guha's *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (2, 3) and Michael Weber's "Teaching Religion in a World History Class" (3-5).

3 Notes from a Conversation with Abbas Amanat (Vancouver: 23 November 2006), 1.

4 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 5.

5 Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London, Faber and Faber, 1972), 16.

6 Said Arjomand, "Religious Extremism, Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722" *Journal of Asian History, Vol. 15, No. 1* (1981), 7, 8, 9.

7 Arjomand, "Religious Extremism," 9.

8 Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 100, 102.

9 Farhad Daftary, *Mediaeval Ismaili History and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 291; Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 102.

10 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 5, 83, 94.

11 Daftary, *Mediaeval Ismail*, 292-295.

12 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 83.

13 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 87.

14 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 50, 51.

15 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 105-107.

16 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 14, 85, 195.

17 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 199, 200, 216.

18 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 221.

19 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 42.

20 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 63, 76, 79.

21 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 38, 60, 68, 85.

22 Michael Adas, *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1979), 132.

23 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 38, 131, 135.

24 Sylvia Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study* (The Hague: Moulton & Co., 1962), 50.

25 See Subrahmanyam's "Turning the Stones Over," 130.

26 J.F. Maclear, "New England and the Fifth Monarchy: The Quest for the Millennium in Early American Puritanism" *The William and Mary Quarterly* (1975), 223, 225.

27 Gershom Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), 130.

28 John Freely, *The Lost Messiah: In Search of the Mystical Rabbi Sabbatai Sevi* (New York: Overlook Pr. 2001), 9, 17, 31.

29 Freely, *The Lost Messiah,* 76.

30 Freely, *The Lost Messiah*, 43, 82, 83.

31 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi,* 827.

32 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 331, 781.

33 Freely, *The Lost Messiah,* 65.

34 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 5.

35 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi*, 505.

36 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi,* 828.

37 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 23.

38 Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action,* 40.

39 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 145.

40 John Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1970), 83.

41 Arthur Williamson, "An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansionism*" Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005), 12.

42 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 20-22.

43 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs,* 33.

44 Freely, *The Lost Messiah*, 34.

45 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 9, 10, 11.

46 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 132.

47 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 17.

48 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs,* 11, 12, 15.

49 Arjomand, "Religious Extremism," 8.

50 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 110.

51 Luke Clossey, "Early Modern World," *Berkshire Encyclopaedia of World History* (2004), 595.

52 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 737.

53 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 24, 25, 26.

54 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 17.

55 Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin Books, 1972), 24.

56 Chadwick, *The Reformation,* 24.

57 Chadwick denies the connection between discovery and the "unsettling of the mind." A discussion of change affecting the support for millennial movements will be found in a later section.

58 Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action,* 40.

59 Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (London: Preager, 2003), 160.

60 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 148.

61 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 84.

62 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 42.

63 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 94.

64 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 102.

65 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 738.

66 Clossey, "Early Modern World," 595.

67 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 16.

68 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* 227.

69 While relative deprivation theory aids in explaining the growth of certain millennial movements, it is necessary to acknowledge that this is not the cause for all millennial movements. Moreover, millennial movements are just one way in which people respond to their changing environments and their occurrence is not inevitable just because this change may occur. For a more extensive discussion on relative deprivation theory, see David Aberle's "A Note on Relative Deprivation Theory as applied to Millenarian and other Cult Movements" in Thrupp's *Millennial Dreams in Action*.

70 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 58.

71 Thrupp, *Millennial Dreams in Action,* 20.

72 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 135.

73 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 131, 135, 137.

74 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 230, 231.

75 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs,* 33.

76 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 748.

77 Freely, *The Lost Messiah*, 14.

78 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 137.

79 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 139, 141.

80 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, 33.

81 Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs,* 61.

82 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 36, 37.

83 Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 38.

84 Freely, *The Lost Messiah*, 70, 71, 72.

85 Subrahmanyam, "Turning the Stones Over," 150.

86 Julia Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and Saint: Muslim Notables, Populist Protest, Colonial Encounters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 100-104.

87 Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi,* Picture VI.

88 Amanat, *Imagining the End*, 1.

89 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 745.

90 Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 745.

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[Editor's Note: Due to space limitations, the Bibliography for this essay was not included.]

The World History Association

The Catholic Church and Human Rights: Enemies or Allies?

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Seemingly Catholicism and human rights should be a very close fit. "Catholic," after all, means universal and the 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR) incorporates the word "Universal" in its title. Unfortunately this has not always been the case. Catholicism is a most ancient faith that has been in existence for two millennia. Yet, for most of this time it has viewed human rights with a great deal of skepticism. To be sure, Catholicism is an institution marked by frailty, error, scandal and sin. Certainly, the current scandals of the American Catholic Church are not terribly unusual—indeed if one looks at the two millennia of Catholicism, one can find equally embarrassing moments. For example, Lord Acton's dictum "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely" appears first in his review of a book on the Renaissance Papacy.

Yet, it is important to note at the outset that the Catholic Church— even in its most grotesquely-misshapen periods—has proved capable of reform, regeneration, and renewal. In part, this is possible because the Catholic Church has a tradition of spelling reform with a hyphen i.e., *re-form*. Thus, to the surprise of many –including its own members— it has shown that it can reform and renew itself, correct its errors, and, in some cases, become the champion of the party it has grievously wronged.[1] It is this paradox of Catholicism's new role as the protector and, in some cases, even the promoter of human rights, that I would like to touch upon.

As a starting point, one could begin by asking the question"Why did the Catholic Church display so little interest in human rights before the twentieth century?" At least three reasons may account for this. First, the siege mentality stemming from the great sixteenth-century Council of Trent (1545-1563), which not only clarified what Catholics must believe, but also gave birth to the proposition that "error has no rights." Therefore, any belief conflicting with Catholicism was declared an "error" and need not be considered. For more than four centuries—from the sixteenth through the twentieth century—the Catholic Church refused to recognize human rights as defined by the Enlightenment and the great eighteenth-century revolutions in America and France. Second, Catholicism throughout this period placed its hopes on conservative, monarchical governments, which ensured a close union of "throne and altar." Fyodor Dostoevsky, in his novel *The Brothers Karamazov,* has a marvelous scene that captures so well this mentality when his Grand Inquisitor reminds his prisoner (Christ) that mankind does not want freedom but only "miracle, mystery and authority"—something the Catholic Church knew well how to provide.[2] Finally, not until the twentieth century did Catholics take biblical scholarship seriously. The Council of Trent discouraged serious biblical scholarship and as a result Catholics failed to understand the close connections between the Bible and human rights. Remarkably, by the early twenty-first century, this scholarly failure has been repaired to the degree that Catholic Scholars are now at the forefront of biblical scholarship.

This sea change of renewed awareness regarding the Catholic Church and human rights begins late in the nineteenth century with Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903) who was the first Pope to promote human rights in his encyclical ("Letter to the World") *Rerum Novarum* (1891) an incredibly dense letter, the full implications of which were not felt for decades. *Rerum Novarum* recognizes the right of workers to form labor unions and affirms the right of workers to strike. Although *Rerum Novarum* rejects Communism, it insists that free market capitalism must provide justice, dignity, and a living wage for all of its members, especially the workers.

Perhaps the single most important twentieth-century Catholic voice endorsing human rights came not from the Vatican but from France in the person of Jacques Maritain (1882-1973). A professed agnostic, Maritain converted to Catholicism after discovering Thomas Aquinas and, through him, Aristotle. One of his early books was a blistering condemnation of *Three Reformers*: *Luther, Descartes and Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1925). Maritain criticized Luther, Descartes, and Rousseau for their excessive individualism, arguing that these three reformers enunciated a political philosophy that promoted individual rights to the degree that they corroded any authentic sense of community. Maritain insisted that human rights differ from individual rights in that human rights not only affirm personal freedom, but they also carry a special responsibility to ensure that all members of the community have their rights protected. In this case, Maritain insisted that there can be no rights without responsibilities, an argument that is eventually embedded in the 1948 UDHR. Maritain's influence on Catholicism is even more pronounced. Both Pope John XXIII (1958-1963) and Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) credit his writings in forming their understanding of human rights. Even more important for Catholicism is Maritain's influence in shaping the great ecumenical Vatican Council, Vatican II (1962-1965). The documents of Vatican II are the most robust and transparent embrace of human rights in the history of the Catholic Church. Vatican II describes the Catholic Church as a pilgrim church on a journey and, therefore, all pilgrims on this journey irrespective of their religion must be treated with dignity and respect. Indeed, the words "dignity," "respect," and "person" so prevalent in the 1948 UDHR declaration abound in the documents of Vatican II. In this respect post-Vatican II Catholicism approaches human rights out of the same deep sense of respect for the human community as expressed in the UDHR. In a radical departure from the past Vatican II insists that Catholics do not possess a monopoly on truth: Every authentic religious tradition such as Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and other Christian traditions all possess truth, and Catholics have much to learn from these religious traditions.

Having said this, it is necessary to note that more than forty years after Vatican II not all of these ideals have been achieved. All too often, the Catholic hierarchy has been slow to embrace human rights. Certainly during the Cold War, many Church leaders saw Communism as the greatest threat to Catholicism; therefore, we have the bizarre examples of members of the American Catholic hierarchy endorsing the witch-hunts of Senator Joseph McCarthy or that of the papal legate in Argentina playing tennis with the generals who were daily executing opponents of their oppressive regime.

Despite this Argentine example, one of the most powerful demands for the Catholic Church to embrace human rights came from the Church of Latin America. In 1968, Pope Paul VI (1963-1978) attended a meeting of Church officials in Medellín Colombia. At this meeting, he tried to rein in those members of the clergy who were engaging in a type of political activism popularly called "Liberation Theology." In the course of the meeting, the assembled bishops posed two questions for the Pope: 1) What should the Church do when the violence against the people is institutionalized?; and 2) What should the Church do when the "people cry to heaven for justice"? The Pontiff could not answer either question. Then, from the floor, the bishops spontaneously insisted that, henceforth, the Catholic Church must provide a "preferential option for the poor." And that it is now the mission of the Catholic Church to stand with the poor and the oppressed in the face of state-sponsored violence.[3] A number of Latin American church leaders, including Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador, would be assassinated for embracing this agenda.

Perhaps the most emblematic example of Catholicism's embrace of human rights may be seen in the twenty-six year reign of Pope John Paul II.

Perhaps the most emblematic example of Catholicism's embrace of human rights may be seen in the twenty-six year reign of Pope John Paul II. No Pope in history has written more and spoken more about human rights—at last count he authored one-hundred fifty documents dealing with human rights. John Paul II's support of human rights may be seen in the two overriding themes of his papacy. First, his attack on what he called the twentieth century's "culture of death," which included war, genocide, abortion, and violence of all stripes. But his attack on all forms of violence did not make him a pacifist. He urged "humanitarian intervention" to stop genocides; he endorsed NATO's role in bombing Yugoslavia in 1999, and he recognized the right of the United States to defend itself against terrorism by invading Afghanistan. John Paul II did not, however, support operation Iraqi Freedom and asked the Bush Administration not to invade Iraq. A second theme of John Paul II's was that of promoting the inherent dignity of every person in the human community irrespective of race, sex, creed, or political affiliation. This theme has been ever so transparent in the prodigious number of essays, books, speeches, papal visits around the globe, and, above all, in his encyclicals focusing on human rights. One of these encyclicals, *Centismus Annus* (1991) celebrating the centennial of *Rerum Novarum*, condemned Communism's deprivations of human rights but was quick to point out that unbridled capitalism has produced a consumer-driven mentality that promotes materialism and consumerism at the expense of human rights, while perpetuating Third World poverty. In 1998, on the fiftieth anniversary of the UDHR, John Paul II, in his commemorative message, underscored the "universal and indivisible character" of human rights and pointed to two worrisome "shadows on the anniversary." The first of these shadows is China's argument that she should not be criticized for human rights violations because, in China's view, human rights are not universal and indivisible; they are relative and culturally based and do not connect with China's unique history which privileges the group over the individual. The second shadow is the claim by a number of Islamic states that argues that human rights are but a new form of Western Imperialism, one promoting a Judeo-Christian agenda, in the guise of the 1948 UDHR. John Paul II's answer to China and the Islamic states was that if there are no universal truths to which all men and women can appeal to, then the only arbiters of disputes in human affairs are force and violence.[4]

If we take the measure of the huge corpus of writings of Pope John Paul II and estimate the effects of his thousands of miles of global visits and speeches, we would conclude that the Catholic Church is in the forefront of advancing all aspects of human rights today. However, this is not quite true. What the Catholic Church professes and what it practices are not always the same. For example, Pope John Paul II frequently argued that nations should grant regional localities greater autonomy thereby encouraging a more democratic and collegial approach to national politics. Yet, he was not so tolerant of his own theologians who challenged him. All too often those Catholics who challenged this pope have been silenced and denied the right to teach or publish their dissenting views. Probably the greatest disparity between the Catholic Church's endorsement of human rights and its own practices has been its treatment of women, both within the Church and also in the United Nation's international meetings on women, particularly on matters of "reproductive rights," family life, and education. To this day, the Vatican remains adamantly opposed to any effort to disseminate artificial birth control. Ironically, in matters affecting women's rights the Catholic Church finds itself more in agreement with radical Islamic states than First World democracies. It will be interesting to see if Pope Benedict XVI (2005-) will continue this pattern of aligning with conservative Muslim states on those issues involving women, marriage and the family.

Despite these incongruities, the role and influence of the Catholic Church in advancing human rights is increasing in direct proportion to the failure of nation-states, particularly the United States, to take a leadership role in promoting and protecting human rights. Certainly, this is not the place to reflect or comment upon the United States' position on human rights, but the evidence of the last sixty- years is not very encouraging if one looks at the genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda, Yugoslavia, the Congo, and now Darfur. The United States' record in suppressing genocides is hardly exemplary. In part this is due to America's reluctance to embrace fully all of the articles in the 1948 UDHR, i.e., the United States has only endorsed the political rights; we have never signed off on social and economic rights. Only by a fluke did we sign the UN Genocide Convention (l948) and this was done forty-one years after it was first promulgated.

By default, then, the Catholic Church is positioned to be a strong advocate for human rights in the coming decade. The following points could be kept in mind:

1. There are more than 1 billion Catholics in the World who do pay attention to Church teachings on human rights.

2. Despite the fact that many Catholics ignore the Church's teaching on contraception, and homosexuality, the Church's pronouncements on human rights do strike a resonant chord with many Catholics and non-Catholics as well.

3. In many respects, the papal encyclicals are the only game in town, e.g., Amnesty International does a marvelous job of promoting human rights, but its audience is not always as large as one would hope.

4. The Dalai Lama speaks eloquently on human rights issues, though he does not have 1 billion constituents. So too, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Rowan Williams, is an articulate champion of human rights, but his audience is limited largely to the Anglican Church.

5. Simply put, the Pope weighs in with more moral authority than any other world religious leader.

At the end of her, life Eleanor Roosevelt, reflecting on her work as an editor of the 1948 UDHR and a long-time human rights activist, observed that even though more than a hundred nation states had signed the UDHR, she believed that NGOs would serve as a "curious grapevine" to slowly, but securely advance human rights throughout the world.[5] Given her well-documented critical views of Catholicism, she would be surprised that the Catholic Church, an admittedly flawed organization, and a long-time opponent of human rights has not only recognized finally that human rights are inextricably linked to Catholicism but now has become—most ironically—one of the most articulate and vigorous champions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the twenty-first century.

ENDNOTES

[1] The attack upon Islam associated with the Crusades and the growth of virulent anti-Semitism are two obvious examples where the Catholic Church promoted both phenomena. Slowly, however, over centuries the Catholic Church has admitted its culpability and starting in the late twentieth century has sought to heal the divide with the Muslim world. With the opening of the second Vatican Council in 1962, the Catholic Church has a made a vigorous effort to acknowledge its responsibility for the persecution of the Jewish people and has repeatedly sought reconciliation. I am indebted to Rev. John Grace, C.S.P. for these examples.

[2] Fydor Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Random House, 1950), 305.

[3] A starting point here is Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*¸ 2nd ed., (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1993), 219-220.

[4] Mary Ann Glendon, "Catholic Thought and the Dilemmas of Human Rights, in *Higher Learning and Catholic Traditions*, ed. Robert E. Sullivan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 126. John Paul II's words are "If there is no transcendent truth, in obedience to which man achieves his full identity, then there is no sure principle for guaranteeing just relations between people." Cited in *ibid*., 129.

[5] William Korey, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "A Curious Grapevine"* (New York: St. Martins, 1998), ix.

Thinking Religion Globally, Acting Missionary Locally: Last Century's American Missionary Experience in the Near East

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Rev. George F. Herrick, an intellectual, eloquent preacher, and old hand missionary with tremendous contributions to American missionary efforts, had proved his potentials among his confreres in the Near East even some years before he gave in the 1870s his influential lectures such as "the Bible in Turkey" and "the Present Condition of the Ottoman Empire" in Beloit College, Wisconsin. In 1869, Herrick was regarded as the great missionary by friends at work and a trustworthy foreigner by the natives in Istanbul, the cosmopolitan capital of the Ottoman Empire. On February 29 of that year, he further showed his talents in making observations and comparisons. In a dispatch he sent from Istanbul back to New York; he compared Istanbul to New York, then perhaps the most sophisticated city in America as a result of urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. This dispatch intuitively showed why his global religious thinking made him act as missionary in this locality.

Herrick began comparing Istanbul and New York in terms of their political importance, ethnic composition, and religious deformation. Both Istanbul and New York were the commercial centers, but Istanbul was also a political center with a more heterogeneous population. While New Yorkers could assimilate diversities, the Istanbul residents were grouped in "separate hostile clans and camps." He asked, have you worldliness? And he responded, in Istanbul "we have it in a form far more engrossing, more universal, and more sordid." He asked, "have you vices which attend high civilization? And he responded, "We have pride of knowledge without the knowledge, luxury and waste of which the imperial establishments are the most bloated and appalling example, with no solid wealth – luxury and wealth of the few built upon the crying oppression and misery of the many."

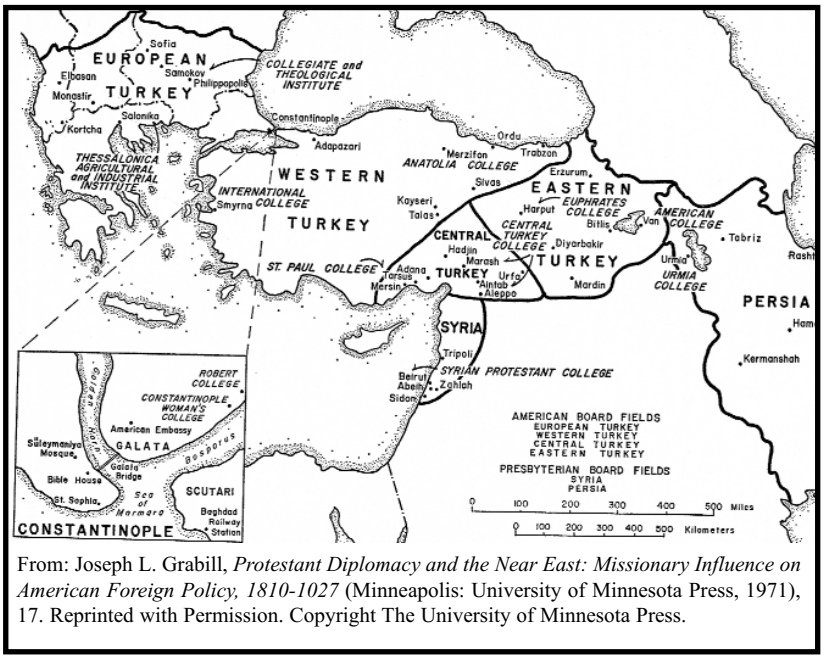
He was discontent how New York was doing, but he was fed up with how Istanbul did. And questions followed questions with answers following answers, with more Pollyannaism in favor of New Yorkers. He asked if New Yorkers had sluggishness, a growing number of place-seekers and lazybones in the community. There is such a class in Istanbul, he answered, "already so large that it has no room to grow, -venerable mushrooms, represented on the one hand by the polite, gentlemanly hanger-on of great men, and on the other, by the swarm of dirty, lazy, beggarly idlers that throng around any door where they may hope for a piece of bread earned by the sweet of other brows than their own. Has New York political scheming? Add Albany and Washington to New York throw the 'Eastern Question' into the seething cauldron; take out all but the fewest grains of patriotism, moral principle, and the fear of God; lose conscience out of life of the masses, and you have the political atmosphere and influence of Constantinople."[1]

Herrick was not alone to inform fellow Americans of the situation in the Near East. Between the years 1830 and 1930, one hundred twenty nine missionaries published pamphlets, wrote letters or memoirs in Istanbul to be read in the United States.[2] Despite the authenticity and originality of these manuscripts as sources to understand the social and cultural connections between the missionaries and the Near East, only a handful of scholars have bothered to look into them. Much scholarship, furthermore, came from either anti-Americans in Turkey or the old missionaries and their kin in the United States. They have hitherto offered into the field interpretations that are either sympathetic or derogatory. Some observed continuity among "the crusaders and missionaries" and their analyses presented the missionaries as the sworn enemies of the Islamic World and Near Eastern cultures. Others observed continuity among "American pilgrims, traders, and missionaries" and their analyses presented the missionaries as U.S. communication agents abroad. Both divided American missionary history into periods relating to U.S. foreign relations or Ottoman history.[3] Such diachronic fallacies have nothing in particular to do with the missionaries, and their one-sided approaches usually attribute a political role to the missionaries, often robbing them of integrity as historical subjects themselves.

This study explicates the American Protestant missions as a distinct sociocultural phenomenon in an effort to situate the American missionary experience in the Near East in scholarly and complicated context. To begin with, and contrary to the existing scholarship, this essay argues that the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) were not absolutely "American." They originated in New England and often represented the region's tradition and culture in the Near East. Second, ABCFM missionaries did not care to immediately convert natives to Christianity. They meshed their missions with New England's Puritan tradition based on consensus, reformation, family-centered education, and self-discipline. In Istanbul, ABCFM missionaries most often times allowed their addressees the choice to convert. Their primary objective, as their missions resulted in, was to reform the existing churches, which were already functioning.

As a result of their missions, the missionaries displayed various social and cultural characteristics that have contributed to Near Eastern society. They sometimes came for permanent stays and often integrated into native culture. Many historians of the American missionaries mention ongoing tension between missionaries, natives, and local governments, and argue that missionaries and natives did not get along. However, such enmity did not exist on the whole. Indeed, quite a few missionaries and missionary schools were popular, such as Cyrus Hamlin and Robert College. The missions' tangible influences on the national and women's awakening among the natives, as well as the fact that the local government did not persistently act against the missions, suggest that the relations between the missionaries and natives were not belligerent in the Near East.

Some scholars consider the American pilgrims and traders as the first Americans in the Near East during the 1780s.[4] However, the social and cultural effects of the temporary stays of these Americans were not apparent. They did not arrive in the Near East to live and make contact with the natives, but rather to visit Holy Lands and



From: Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Foreign Policy, 1810-1027* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 17. Reprinted with Permission. Copyright The University of Minnesota Press.

trade with the natives. ABCFM missionaries were the first Americans who came into contact with the Near Eastern natives socially and culturally.[5]

A fallacy of chronological contextualization suffers from American missionary historiography. Whether pro-missionary or anti-American, major works have tended to divide American missionary history into periods within the framework of U.S. foreign relations or Ottoman history. A prominent historian in the field, Joseph Grabill interpreted the American missionaries as U.S. diplomatic agents and their missions as ancillary to U.S. Government interests in the Near East. Another scholar, Nurdan Safak interpreted the American missionaries as U.S. imperialists and their missions as the promotions of Americanism in the Near East. While Grabill regarded the Near Eastern missions as the cultural consequence of American expansion, Safak regarded them as the signs of American imperialism at the expense of Ottoman vulnerability.[6]

Like Grabill and Safak, Betul Basaran did not focus on the missions as an historical theme of its own, but rather interpreted the American missionaries as aliens in the Ottoman Empire and their missions as influences on the Ottoman education system. In an organic approach, she divided the missions into First, Second, and Third Periods. She suggested that the missions were born, developed, and died like human beings; and her analysis was ties in large measure to the Ottoman political situation.[7]

Although dates are applicable to history writing, such a periodization is inapplicable to the case of the missionaries. First, missionary activities did not, as implied by Grabill and Safak, follow a uniform pattern of organization, advancement, and decline. For instance, missionaries had just established the missionary stations in Northern Turkey when the colleges in Izmir and Istanbul reported several conversions and the success of the missionary works among the locals. Elsewhere, on the other hand, conversions did not happen so quickly. Furthermore, while the stations were always established first, there was no model for establishment of outstations.

In addition, American missionary analysis by Basaran had less to do with the missionaries' activities and more to do with the Ottoman situations at the time. For instance, her work has very much to do with the situation of the Ottoman Empire when the Sultan proclaimed edicts granting social and religious tolerance among his subjects. Similar to Basaran, Grabill dated the history of American missionaries according to the changes in the American foreign policy, and Safak did so according to the changes in Ottoman policy. However, it must again be pointed out that such approaches deny the missionaries their opportunity to be historical subjects themselves.

American missionary history in the Near East is more complex and independent of diplomatic history than previous scholars anticipated. To begin with, as noted above the American missionaries were not absolutely "American" and the Near East did not have a monolithic culture. The missionaries were from New England and represented an evangelical tradition inherited from their Puritan ancestors. They defended in the Near East many ideas like egalitarianism, simplicity, consensus-building, gender equality, pragmatism, and religious and hard work. For instance, "Work for the Gospel Truth" was an accepted motto in New England from the early-nineteenth century. While the ABCFM missionaries arrived to work like the Apostles among the natives in the Near East, this mindset did not appeal to all Christian Americans.[8]

Between the years 1830 and 1930, one hundred twenty nine missionaries published pamphlets, wrote letters or memoirs in Istanbul to be read in the United States.

A basic reason that the ABCFM missions became New England's missions was that almost all these missionaries were New Englanders. Many of them studied in Boston, New Jersey, and New York.[9] For instance, a dynamic missionary leader from Boston, William Goodell led the establishment of the Istanbul station and began to lead the Near Eastern missions from Istanbul. As mission-minded parents in New England often brought up mission-minded children, many children of these missionaries became missionaries themselves. Goodell's entire family worked as missionaries in the Near East. New Englanders often admired their Puritan heritage and highly respected the church's founding fathers. So did the missionaries in the Near East. Goodell's children and other missionaries held annual memorial services in his name, and his son-in-law wrote his biography.[10]

A few scholars are also mistaken when they argue that the notion of "evangelical Protestantism" focused on "instantaneous conversions," and that the missionaries failed in their missions because there were not many conversions.[11] However, the missionaries had not made such a deliberate effort at conversion. In fact, it was the inadvertent effects of their activities that led to the conversion. As noted above, the missionaries often allowed their addressees to make the choice to convert. In this way, they regarded themselves as being similar to the Apostles who flashed Jesus' message to as many people as possible. They were as they believed the "messengers from without, called by God to proclaim his truth and to carry to others the impulse to a new and spiritual life." As such, their mission was simply to hold and reveal the Gospel truth.[12]

It is accurate to state that the number of converts to Protestant Christianity was not substantial, but those who converted became active and devout. Various former graduates and converts from missionary institutions led the Student Volunteer Movement of the Turkish Empire in the 1910s. They encouraged and supported the missionaries. The alumna formed associations and donated dearly to their old schools. These associations would later lead to the unification of the graduates in local levels and sort out ways to fight for civil rights as in cases of Bulgaria and Izmir. Some members even became missionaries themselves and were assigned to missions out of their hometowns once their neighbors reacted to their missionary work.[13]

American missionaries meant to refurbish Eastern Christianity. They endorsed a simple, non-ornamented, and evangelical form of Christianity. According to them, Jesus had no successor, and his church recommended no hierarchical system to rule after him. And the only way for salvation went through the Bible. It was a reason for why they did not approve of the existing Patriarchates in the Near East, and this was the main reason for why the missionaries requested that the natives break away from their old churches.[14]

A few scholars noted that ABCFM missionaries worked for the United States. But, they also provided Americans with information about Near Eastern politics, economy, society, and culture they would know from no other source. Their notes, personal letters, life sketches, and news columns were published in an assortment of American newspapers, including the *Missionary Herald*.[15] Therefore, their writings served religious Americans informatively rather than suggesting that their missions undertook intelligence duties in the Near East.

In the Near East, missionary writings in native languages greatly appealed to the natives. In literary works, the missionaries wrote the hymns and inspired the Christian songs of the Near East. Translations and the references to Christianity in the newspapers, pamphlets, songs, and religious extracts throughout the region adapted to the Near Eastern environment. They paid particular attention to their use of language; they intended to speak fluently and write with faultless accuracy and precision because they thought it would enable the congregations of their missions to better understand them.[16]

The missionaries had a manifold cultural impact that previous historians have ignored so far. For instance, the work of female missionaries seemed to be an innovative idea for the Near East of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the Near Eastern woman embodied the cult of domesticity, as they were submissive, stayed at home, and engaged in typical housekeeping chores such as looking after their children and pleasing their husbands. On the other hand, female missionaries were assertive and worked inside and outside their homes, and often taught and preached to the natives.[17] Native females began to work actively during the late-nineteenth century, and they bor-

rowed from the experiences of the female missionaries in large degree.

New Englanders were proud of their family connections and wanted to preserve their family structure. Likewise, ABCFM missionaries in the Near East became remarkably family-oriented. For instance, all the missionaries that came to Istanbul during the nineteenth century were married with children. Only twenty percent of recorded missionaries were single, and two-thirds of them had arrived in their missionary stations at the turn of the twentieth century when the missions called upon more female missionaries.

American missionaries believed women to be wives during the early-nineteenth century. Seeing that female missionaries relied upon the aid and conversion of native females, they later encouraged new establishments under the leadership of women missionaries. This encouragement changed the missionary ideal of the missions. Leaders were convinced that educated and intellectual women could lead native women and their children.[18] Women missionaries were very successful, and the wives of missionaries were becoming missionaries themselves. Their houses became the most effective hub of late-nineteenth century missionary activity in the Near East.[19]

The primary objective of the ABCFM missionaries was to represent evangelical Protestantism in the Near East, with the Bible and the teachings of Christ as its only guide. For this purpose, houses became the actual places where the missionaries operated efficiently. The diary of Penka Racheva, a Bulgarian female student at the Istanbul Missionary Home, mentioned that the missionaries were working in their homes for the common good. Preaching and religious services were held in the houses every day. Racheva later became the chair of the Robert College Alumni Association in Bulgaria, and used her own house to teach and preach to her neighbors.[20]

The approaches to the missionaries by both the Ottoman and United States governments often changed according to spatial and chronological contexts. Indeed, the diplomatic behaviors illustrated disunity and discontinuity in their treatment of the missionaries. For instance, British pressure and intentions to fortify and modernize the Ottoman State had made the Sultan declare the Imperial Edicts of 1839 and 1856. These edicts granted freedom regardless of their religious affiliation. From this time on, the Ottoman administration allowed missionaries to teach and preach.[21]

Public health conditions were the most nagging hardship for the missionaries in the Near East, and not official harassment as has been argued so far. Many missionaries had physical difficulties in adjusting to the region, and their correspondences illustrate the struggles to adapt to the weather conditions and climate. A careful examination of their papers show that the missionaries complained more about life-threatening epidemics, bad nutrition, and the frequency of city fires, than they did about the measures of the government against their missionary activities.[22]

There were 148 organized Protestant churches with 15,500 members in the Near East at the close of the nineteenth century. Most of them were opened or helped by ABCFM missionaries. Missionary schools educated native pupils of both sexes. David Eddy estimated that twenty-five thousand students were studying in their schools and houses, and argued that they were growing "the leaders of the next generation."[23]

There was truth in Eddy's assertions. For example, Halide Edip Adivar, a Turkish graduate of the Uskudar Home College for girls, became a leader of the Turkish freedom movement shortly after the First World War. Her famous speech of independence in Sultan Ahmet Square during the "Izmir Protest Meeting of Invasion," encouraging many women as well as men to get involved in the Turkish War of Independence, was a reflection of her exposure to a New England evangelical tradition. In her life, she also exhibited various other attitudes cultivated by missionaries: egalitarianism, consensus-building, pragmatism, and esteem for hard work. Overall, she illustrates the idea that the leaders of the next generation were the students of the American evangelical Protestant missionaries.[24]

Adivar was a Turkish woman who promoted evangelical Protestant values for Turkish national cause. There are interesting similarities between her novels *Kubbede Hos Seda* and *Yeni Turan*, and missionaries' image of paradise. While *Kubbede Hos Seda* and *Yeni Turan* analyzed the past and envisioned a paradise in which Turks believed they all would eventually be happy and in peace, *Paradise Lost* found a place in the New England Puritan tradition, on which the American missionaries in Istanbul always relied. *Paradise Lost* represented the paradise for which missionaries believed all the evangelical Protestants should work toward in order to eventually meet Christ and live in high spirits and peace.[25]

In conclusion, various missionary ideals originated in New England but the missions were not absolutely "American." They were made of Puritans in a very strict sense. "Since Christianity had made America the great nation it was, the nation owed Christianity a debt, namely, 'proper and lawful endeavors to reconstruct all other[s]…."[26] In unison with this idea of manifest destiny, the missionaries worked for the reformation of the existing Near Eastern churches on peaceful terms. As a result of the Near Eastern missions, Americans learned about Near Eastern culture and society through the eyes of missionaries. The Near Eastern natives learned and were educated by the missionaries in various ways. The interactions between the missionaries and Near Eastern natives were not belligerent but often affable. American missionaries in the field acquired a high reputation among the natives. In final analysis, we need to know more about American missionary experience in the Near East as it includes invaluable messages for today. Today, the U.S.-Turkish alliance for the reformation of the Middle East and America's backing of Turkey in its effort to enter the European Union, demonstrate the intentions of these two countries to strengthen their ties. If they want to better understand each other, they ought to make further analyses and benefit from the legacy that American missionaries left in the Near East.

ENDNOTES

1 Herrick derives the expression "the sweet of other brows" from Turkish, which might be translated as an honest penny turned by others. Constantinople is the contemporary name used for Istanbul. For a complete comparison of Istanbul and New York by Herrick, see Dr. Herrick from Constantinople, 1869, in *Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,* Microform Reel 583 (Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, c1984-1985), or Emrah Sahin, *Errand into the East: A History of Evangelical American Protestant Missionaries and Their Missions to Ottoman Istanbul During the Nineteenth Century* (Bilkent University: Unpublished MA thesis, 2004).

2 For a list of American missionaries that worked in Istanbul, see Appendix in Emrah Sahin, *Errand into the East*.

3 Fred Field Goodell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: ABCFM, 1961); Musa Cakir, *Anadolumuz Asla Hiristiyan Olmayacak: Misyonerler, Memleketinize Donunuz* (Istanbul: M.S. Matbaasi, 1966).

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5 Valentin H. Rabe, *The American Protestant Foreign Missions Movement: 1820-1920* (Harvard University: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1965).

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7 Betul Basaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908* (Bilkent University: Unpublished MA thesis, 1997).

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11 Robert W. Stookey, "The Holy Land: The American Experience, the Christian American Concern" *Middle East Journal* 30 (1976): 351-368.

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13 S. Ralph Harlow, *Student Witnesses for Christ* (New York: Association Press, 1919), 3-11

14 James S. Dennis, *Islam and Christian Missions* (New York: Funk and Wangalis, 1889), 9-21; Henry G. O. Dwight, *Missionary Herald*, 11 May 1859 (Boston: ABCFM, 1821-1934).

15 *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915* 28 January 1839, 29 August 1836, 28 July 1910.

16 George F. Frederick, "The First Missionaries to Turkey" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople* (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1906?), 45; Eddy Brewer, *The Social Aspects of the American Board's Work Eddy* (Boston: ABCFM, n.d.), 11.

17 *New Turkey* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [Pamphlet BV 3160. Z9].

18 "Qualifications of a Missionary's Wife" In E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*.

19 Edward B. Haskell, Pamphlet 817.83, 3-5.

20 Carolyn McCue Goffman, "Masking the Mission: Cultural Conversion at the American College for Girls" Paper given at Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East. Middle East Institute Conference at Bellagio, Italy, August 2000.

21 R. Salahi Sonyel, "Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire" *Tanzimat'in Yildonumu Uluslarasi Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 353-358.

22 *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*, 16 April 1899, 26 February 1915.

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24 Halide Edip Adivar, *Izmir'den Bursa'ya Hikayeler, Mektuplar ve Yunan Ordusunun Mesuliyetine Dair Bir Tetkik* (Istanbul: Akþam, 1919).

25 Halide Edip Adivar, *Yeni Turan* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1973) and *Kubbede Kalan Hos Sada: Hikayeler,Mensur Siirler, Sohbetler* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1974); Keith W. F. Stavely, *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630-1890* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

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[Editor's Note: Due to space limitations, the Bibliography for this essay was not included.]

"Our Preaching Has Caught Up With Us": Exploring the Impact of Southern Baptist Missions in Africa on the Southern Baptist Heartland

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During the wave of early-nineteenth century revivals in the United States, Southern Protestants, scattered about the rolling frontier of Southern society, became the epitome of isolated, individualistic Americans—manifestations of Fredrick Jackson Turner's frontier democrats.[1] The religious fervor never subsided. After the Civil War—and for much of the twentieth century—Southern Protestants held onto the Agrarian myth of American Democracy, and to a self-serving certainty that they, and they alone, had created a truly Christian society. This sense of Southern exceptionalism—religious and otherwise—persisted long after World War II. Indeed, Gregory Stephens wrote of relocating to North Carolina from Texas: "As a southwesterner, when I first relocated to North Carolina, I was impressed by the fact that my colleagues thought of the border as being the Mason-Dixon line—that would be the North as the Other of southern oppositional identity."[2]

White Southerners continued to defend their society (in particular, their *segregated* society) as Christian well into the twentieth century. After World War Two, that defense made the Southern United States a rarity in the rapidly-changing world. Southern religious historians have long pointed to the contradictions of Jim Crow Christianity, and rejected the idea that South's segregated was society was the epitome of a Christian society. Nevertheless, Southern historians have tended to operate, sometimes though not always, self-consciously within the framework of Southern exceptionalism.[3]

Scholars who have placed the American South in a more global context, have frequently let religion fall into the background. Indeed, in the quite-recently published (2005) collection of essays, *The American South in a Global World,* religion is almost entirely absent. Only Ajantha Subramanian examines religion, particularly Hinduism, as part of the globalizing South. Subramanian's analysis, however, shows that Southern politicians, in particular former North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt, view the high degree of religiousity of the South's Hindu Indian population as making that immigrant population compatible with "Southerness." Her analysis suggests, interestingly, that members of North Carolina's Hindu population are more religious in the American South than they had been in India. Similarly, scholars like Mary L. Dudziak have placed the American Civil Rights movement in its global context, but have not seriously contended with the religious aspects of that movement when doing so. By contrast, in *Religion in the Contemporary South,* religion is clearly the main focus, yet global trends are limited to the establishment of immigrant religious communities, and little is said about the interrelationship between "Southern" religions and the immigrant, particularly "non-Western," religions.[4]

The Southern religious experience, which exemplified the region's isolation, lay at the heart of this Southern exceptionalism.[5] When Southern religious leaders recognized that the region's isolation had been shattered, they often overlooked the extent to which their region had long been involved in the world community. In the late 1980s, North Carolina's first Buddhist Temple, in Bolivia, prompted the pastor of the local Antioch Baptist Church to comment that his town had been "thrust into becoming an international town overnight." Perhaps, but how different was that response from the one of a South Georgia Baptist who seemed surprised by the arrival of migrant farmers in his town during the late 1950s, despite the fact that the process had been repeated annually for years. Had Antioch's pastor, like the Georgia pastor thirty years earlier, just never noticed? The isolation and the exceptionalism of the South, then, has been unraveling for years, but both Southerners and Southern historians have been slow to examine its unraveling.[6] As a result, world history has interested few Southern religious historians.

World historians—and others—have studied missionaries for many decades now. Some of those studies have been barely more than triumphal accounts of souls saved; more serious work has looked at the social, political, and economic changes missionaries brought with them. Often, and not without reason, missionaries have been viewed as agents—knowing or otherwise—of Western imperialism. While world historians interested in religion have examined the impact missionaries had on the societies where they worked, far fewer have considered how this global interconnectedness changed the sending society. As the American South has often been considered largely isolated from world currents, such interconnected studies of the Southern religious experience have been quite rare indeed.[7] That notwithstanding, both Southern and World religious history could be enriched if the two were more thoroughly and frequently brought together.

This historiographical argument rests upon an historical argument. The Southern Baptist Convention dominated the religious landscape of the American South in the years following World War Two. Not only was it the largest denomination in the United States South, it was also the fastest growing. While it was staunchly conservative and earned a reputation for defending segregation, the Southern Baptist Convention was adamantly evangelical and sent missionaries around the world. Its progressive leadership, its missionaries, and those whom the missionaries brought to the Baptist faith all saw the contradictions between racial segregation and the missionary enterprise. Put plainly, the mission effort abroad forced Southern Baptists to confront racism at home on religious—as opposed to political—grounds.[8]

Thus, historians seeking to bring Southern and World religious history together might well look to the confluence of religious and racial ideology. Several recent books examine this issue in the South, primarily focused on particular denominations: Joel Alvis examined Presbyterians, Mark Newman investigated the Southern Baptists, and Peter Murray studied the Methodists. Paul Harvey crossed denominational, if not regional, borders with *Freedom's Coming.* But none of these studies looked beyond the American experience.[9]

Certainly Alvis, Newman, Murray, and Harvey are not "exceptionalist" historians in any strict sense; indeed, American historians, and Southern historians with them, have long recognized the problems and limitations of American Exceptionalism. Nevertheless, as Ian Tyrrell pointed out his article for the *American Historical Review,* "even though many American historians today eschew exceptionalism, in the absence of an alternative organizing framework the vast bulk of U.S. history is still written in terms that accept the primacy of the national focus." Tyrrell wrote in 1991, and in 2007 Southern religious historians continued to

maintain their focus largely in regional terms. Of course, this is not without reason, and one reason is—no doubt—that the Southern religious experience remains centrally important to understanding the region's social and political development. Despite there being good reason for the regional focus, it has its limitations.[10] One of those limitations is the failure to see the interrelationship between foreign missions and race relations. Missionaries could not ignore the perspectives of the people with whom they worked—even if they worked to change those perspectives—and that experience led them to understand that the world had something to teach the "Christian" South, especially about race.[11]

Southern Baptist missionaries in Africa and African Christians affected racial thought in the American South by challenging segregation in religious institutions. They did so both in word and in deed. By applying to and, ultimately, attending religiously-affiliated Southern colleges and universities, Africans became something of missionaries in reverse. They brought with them the Christian message of the unity of humanity to the American South, the region that sent many of the missionaries from whom they had learned about Christianity to Africa in the first place. Here, in the question of race and missions, world and Southern religious history met face-to-face.[12] Missionaries and African Christians, recent converts and lifelong believers alike, challenged Southern Protestants to be Christians first, and Southerners second—if at all.

Southern Baptists faced a particularly difficult situation. After World War Two, they expanded their missionary activity in an effort that Stephan Neill called "second to no other in the world,"[13] but they were also more clearly identified with the South and with segregation than was any other denomination. Segregation infiltrated every important Southern Baptist institution. According to religious historian Bill Leonard, growing up Southern Baptist meant growing up Southern—it meant never sitting next to a black person at church, in a restaurant, on a bus, or at school.[14] The centrality of "Southerness" to being a Southern Baptist presented Southern Baptist missionaries with an enormous problem.

In 1955, Dr. E. A. Dahunsi led the Nigerian Baptist Convention in passing a resolution stating: "Nigerians are acutely aware of the problems of race relations in America, they identify themselves with the American Negro, and they consider racism in any form unjust." The gathered Nigerians asked the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board—since renamed the International Mission Board—to circulate their resolution throughout the American South and reminded Southern Baptists that racism damaged their mission program.

Dahunsi spoke from personal experience. He related his experiences as a teaching fellow at the Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, recalling several instances of discrimination. The most hurtful, he said, "came from Southern Baptists through whose missionaries we had come to know Jesus Christ and whose support enabled us to be in the United States."[15]

Southern Baptist Missionaries serving in Africa understood Dahunsi's point; they knew racism in the United States undermined their efforts. In 1957, Southern Baptist missionaries serving in Nigeria announced that they had "become increasingly aware of the degree to which relationships between the Negro and White races in America determine the effectiveness of carrying out our mission task in Africa."[16] Africans had clearly influenced the missionaries. It was one thing to convince the missionaries who worked in Africa, however, it would be much more difficult to influence those Americans staying comfortably at home in the United States South. While missionaries at home on furlough worked to persuade their co-religionists, African students studying in the United States brought the message to America more emphatically and forced change in Southern Baptist institutions.

International students increasingly attended American universities in the Post-World War II era, including over 5,000 from Africa in any given year during the 1960s.[17] One, Edward Reynolds, a mission convert from Ghana, applied to Wake Forest College in 1960. The College—then segregated and Baptist—took over a year to act on Reynolds's application. Meanwhile, editors at *The Commission*, the monthly publication of the Foreign Mission Board, speculated that the questions raised by a mission convert's application to the school had prompted Wake Forest to integrate its graduate-level programs that year.

Wake Forest ultimately admitted Reynolds and removed all racial barriers from undergraduate admission. After that decision, the college administration wrote to the Ghana Baptist Mission stating Wake Forest's willingness to accept students of any race. The Mission responded by sending a letter of appreciation to the college trustees.[18] Four year later, Reynolds graduated with honors, an achievement attained by only 24 other scholars in Wake Forests' graduating class of 400 students.[19]

Like Reynolds, Vincent Amachree clearly demonstrated African students' success in American colleges. Amachree hailed from the mission at Buguma, Nigeria, and obtained a degree in History from Oklahoma Baptist University in 1963. While attending the University, Amachree served as a Student Government Congressman, as vice-president of the United Nations club, as president of the international relations club, and as an executive member of the Baptist Student Union.[20] Amachree clearly found acceptance among the students and faculty at Oklahoma Baptist. James R. Scales, president of the University, called Amachree "the embodiment of a Christian gentleman."[21] Students like Amachree and Reynolds significantly influenced the institutions they attended, and by 1963 African students were influencing Southern society beyond their campus communities.

The 1962-1963 academic year brought the issue of integration to Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. Sam Oni, a convert, and Harris Mobley, a missionary in Ghana, decided to challenge segregation at Mercer. Mobley had graduated from Mercer and Southeastern Seminary in North Carolina. He had already helped secure scholarships for two Ghanaian Baptists, Stephen Akinleye and Alfred Oteng, to attend Southeastern Seminary, although Southeastern had been integrated for a decade.[22]

Oni and Mobley intended the application to challenge their "Southern Baptist brothers and sisters in America to confront the gross contradictions in their Christian witnesses at home and abroad." They believed that Oni, as an African convert, offered the "most compelling and unassailable argument against the continuation of racial segregation as practiced in Southern Baptist churches, schools, hospitals, and other establishments across the Southern United States." Mobley, at home on furlough, told a group of Mercer students that "our preaching has caught up with us"; no longer could Americans send missionaries to Africa and practice racial segregation at home.[23]

Oni's application and Mercer's integration became a matter of public debate when Russell Hillard, a Southern Baptist missionary, wrote about Oni's application to *The Christian Index,* the weekly publication of the Georgia Baptist Convention. Based on that letter, John Hurt, the editor, wrote a column advocating that Mercer admit Oni as an international student, but not admit African Americans. Hurt quoted Hillard as saying Oni's acceptance would "not signify a change in our tradition, but it will mean a slight change in our hearts!" His editorial brought a steady stream of letters to the *Christian Index*.[24]

For Hurt, Oni's application involved the mission program, but did not challenge segregation itself. He announced, "We either admit him [Oni] or we should have the courage to call home all of our missionaries and go out of the business." Hurt believed that if Mercer did not admit Oni, it would prove that "we are in greater need of missionary preaching than Ghana." Only a few correspondents advocated closing the missions. One, W. J. Thurmond, suggested that if the success of missionary activity was "contingent upon the admission of this Negro student to Mercer, then I also say let's call all our missionaries home." That would not happen. As Romeo J. Martin of Atlanta realized, calling home the missionaries would make Georgia—and, by extension, Southern—Baptists the "ultimate hypocrites."[25]

Unlike Hurt, most Georgia Baptists writing to *The Christian Index* argued that

Oni's application was tied to integration as well as missions. Rowena Almand of Doraville asked: "what would Christ think about the hair-splitting legalistic distinctions made by the recent editorial advising that the admission of the Ghana student be separated from the broader issue of our own American Negroes?" Almand believed that "the time is long past for Mercer, if it is really a Christ-centered college, to accept all students on the basis of character and ability, rather than the color of their skin."[26]

Just as Mobley and Oni intended, the Mercer case caused some Baptists to reconsider their stand on integration. Jack Carpenter of Dahlonega believed, "my good friends and brethren will understand and forgive me if I say that, in spite of my middle-age conservatism, I cannot help but gag at the idea of excluding a young African convert from our beloved Mercer simply because God gave him dark skin."[27]

The Trustees ultimately came to the same conclusion. They met on 18 April 1963, barely four months after a Committee recommended against integration, and voted to drop all racial barriers in admissions. Hurt wrote that missionaries could "point to Mercer University, in Georgia and in the Deep South, as having sacrificed comfort to show Christian concern for young men and women 'without regard to race, color of skin, creed, or origin'."[28]

Clearly, Wake Forest and Mercer desegregated specifically because of the mission program and the application by mission converts from Africa. That policy change is easy enough to identify. Whatever personal conscience searching Reynold's application to Wake Forest caused, it took the institution a year to act on the application. While Mercer acted more quickly than Wake Forest, the fact that Oni's application became a matter of public debate allows the historian to see conscience wrangling that impacted both the Mercer community and the larger community of Georgia Baptists. Once on campus, Amachree, Reynolds, and Oni all impacted their campuses. Amachree's record of involvement in campus organizations makes it clear that he was a visible presence at Oklahoma Baptist. Oni's activities would be far more controversial and put him back in Baptist news, this time well beyond the Georgia state line. Oni, like other African students in the South, would seek acceptance at a local church, and that action would put him back in the spotlight.

African Baptists studying in the United States naturally sought to affiliate with local churches. Many attended as visitors, but those students staying in the country for several years sought full membership in a Southern Baptist Church. Their efforts to join those churches occasionally gained the attention of a broad range of Southern Baptists, thus helping spread the students' direct influence beyond their campuses. While many churches across the South accepted Africans, three particular instances—in Richmond, Virginia; Gainesville, Florida; and Macon, Georgia—exemplified the pressures African missions and converts put on Southern Baptist churches.

First Baptist of Richmond was closely tied to the mission program. Theodore F. Adams, the pastor, was a long-time member of the Foreign Mission Board. Several Board employees, including Rogers M. Smith, secretary for missionary personnel, belonged to the church. In 1965, two Nigerian students, Adbokun Oshoniyi and Bisi Adegbile—both sons of Baptist ministers in Nigeria—applied for membership. Both men saw the upcoming fellowship vote as a referendum on the entire mission effort, as did mission-minded members; they all believed that rejecting the two men would damage the Baptist mission effort in Africa and around the world. The Board of Deacons, however, rejected Pastor Adams' counsel and recommended against accepting the two students as members. Rogers Smith was so concerned about the potential impact on the mission effort that he wrote one of the most prominent—and progressive—Southern Baptists in the nation, T. B. Maston, asking him to offer words of encouragement to the pastor. The mission leaders' efforts paid off. When the question of accepting Oshoniyi and Adegbile into fellowship came to a vote by the membership, it passed.[29]

First Baptist thus opened its doors to international students and accepted Oshoniyi and Adegbile into full membership. But the vote failed to settle the matter completely; instead, it led to a six-month study of segregated church membership carried out "in light of changed world conditions." Still, the decision reflected an understanding of the international context. It directly involved the question of Baptist missions in Africa.[30]

When the *New York Times* reported the integration of First Baptist, its photograph showed Oshoniyi and Adegbile in distinctly African dress, clearly offering an intellectual separation between Africans and African Americans. In Florida, however, one church realized that the connection between segregation at home and the mission effort abroad involved African Americans as well as Africans. Johncyna Williams, an African-American student at the University of Florida and a member of the Black Student Union, entered full fellowship at Westside Baptist in Gainesville, a previously segregated church. Even though Williams was not from Africa, the decision to desegregate Westside took the world context into account. During the debate over ending segregation at Westside, one member queried: "How can we send missionaries to Africa and then discriminate against the American Negro"? This was precisely the point missionaries and Africans had been making for over a decade, and precisely the issue Mobley had posed to Mercer students when Oni's application was being debated. In light of such questions, three-quarters of the members voted to accept Williams as a member.[31] While Oshoniyi, Adegbile, and Williams all gained fellowship in congregations willing to consider the world context of local actions, Sam Oni, in Macon, faced rejection by a church more concerned with maintaining local traditions.

Tattnall Square Baptist Church was a logical choice for Mercer students; its grounds bordered the campus. Sam Oni, however, attended Vineville Baptist during his years at Mercer, while Tattnall Square remained segregated. In the fall of 1966, Oni tried to worship at Tattnall Square, but was twice turned away. He made the connection to missions explicit, saying "their segregationist policy is torpedoing their own mission program in Africa." The incident brought outraged editorials and letters in the Baptist press; one recommended divorcing Tattnall Square from the mission effort by returning all the money its members had given to support missions.

The uproar over segregation at Tattnall Square forced some Southern Christians to question their segregationist views. Two Macon churches, First Baptist and Centenary Methodist, desegregated as a direct result of the attention brought to Middle Georgia by the Tattnall Square incident. No longer could decisions about segregation in religious institutions be purely local; the global context had to be considered, or condemnation would surely ensue. This was the work of missionaries and, most especially, African Christians.[32]

The Southern Baptist mission program, especially in Africa, led many Baptists to examine segregation in its global context. In at least a few instances, Baptists ended segregation in their institutions in light of the mission program. The mission program led to an exchange of ideas that transcended boundaries, but these exchanges hardly transcended *all* boundaries. Southern Baptist missionaries never freed themselves of all their cultural biases. For example, they continued to offer a particularly negative vision of Islam, persistently referring to Muslims as "Mohammedan" and Islam as "Mohammedanism," terms as insulting as they were incorrect (which suggests a possibility for studying the ebbs and flows of anti-Islamic sentiment in recent America).

Furthermore, Africans who became Christian, particularly those who studied in the United States, often adopted parts of the Southern Baptist discourse. Indeed, like Vincent Amachree, they were often seen a laudable *because* they adopted a Christian worldview. African Baptists found that they could represent Africa to a Southern Baptist audience, but only within a circumscribed and Christian context. An awareness of such limitations clearly needs to be incorporated into placing Southern religious history in its global context.

Clearly, where issues of race and religion came into contact, the Southern situation was influenced by factors far beyond the borders of the South or even the United States. What I have suggested here is that a fuller understanding of both Southern and

World religious history requires putting the supposedly provincial Southern evangelicals into their global context. While this paper is but a bare scratching of the surface, once this surface is scratched, I believe we will discover a wealth of topics to pursue. There is much in the American South for the world historian, and much in the broader world for the Southern historian.

ENDNOTES

I would like to thank Cassie Dupras for her research assistance. Although this paper offers both new research and new interpretations, some of this research has been previously published or presented. Notably: "'Our Preaching Has Caught Up With Us': The Impact of Missions and Mission Converts on American Race Relations" World History Association 14th Annual Conference, Ifrane, Morrocco; "A Baptist Dilemma: Christianity and Discrimination, and the Desegregation of Mercer University" *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80(Fall 1996); *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005).

1 Dickson Bruce, *And They All Sang Hallelujah* (Knoxville: University Press of Tennessee, 1974), passim**.**

2 Gregory Stephens, "Monolingualism and Racialism as Curable Diseases: *Nuestra América* in the Transnational South" in James L. Peacock, Herry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews, eds., *The American South in a Global World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) 205; Sam Hill, *The South and North in American Religion* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980) 2-6.

3 Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Rufus B. Spain, *At Ease in Zion: A Social History of Southern Baptstis, 1865-1900* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Barry Hankins, *Uneasy in Babylon*: Southern Baptist Conservatives and American Culture (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1971); Beth Barton Schweiger, "Max Weber in Mt. Airy, Or, Revivals and Social Theory in the Early South," in Schweiger and Donald G. Mathews, ed., *Religion in the American South: Protestants and others in History and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); George F. Frederickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002, passim, particularly Chapter 3.

4 Ajantha Subramanian, "North Carolina's Indians: Erasing Race to Make the Citizen," in James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews, eds., *The American South in a Global World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 192-201; Mary L. Dudziak: *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Corrie E Norman and Don S. Armentrout, eds. *Religion in the Contemporary South: Changes, Continuities, and Contexts* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 123-225.

5 Spain, *At Ease in Zion*; John Lee Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of the Southern Baptists* introduction and epilogue by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1972).

6 Thomas A. Tween, "Our Lady of Guadeloupe Visits the Confederate Memorial: Latino and Asian Religions in the South," in Norman and Armentrout, eds., *Religion in the Contemporary South,* 147; Alan Scot Willis, *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945-1970* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky), 125.

7 A complete historiographic entry on Christian Missions would run the length of sizable article. An early work of critical scholarship on missions in Africa is Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, 1965). An example of triumphalist history is Baker James Cauthen, et. al. *Advance: A History of Southern Baptist Foreign Missions* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1970). A very good comparative study of the reaction of the Chinese and of West Africans by David Linfield recently appeared in the *Journal of World History.* It exemplifies the effort by historians to understand the impact of missionaries on the societies they attempted to convert to Christianity. David Linfield, "Indigenous encounters with Christian Missionaries in China and West Africa, 1800-1920: A comparative Study," *Journal of World History* 16:3 (Sept. 2005): 327-369. Something of an exception to my characterization is William D. Campbell's work, which looks explicitly at the Mercer case. Campbell provides a detailed case study, but lacks some broader context and says little about the mission in Ghana. William D. Campbell, *The Stem of Jessie: The Costs of Community at a 1960s Southern School* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1995). Dana Robert provides an interesting study of the impact of mission work on gender ideology in the United States in Dana L. Robert, *American Women n Missions: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996). A recent sampling of articles from the *Journal of World History* suggests that even when world historians engage the American religious experience, they do not focus on the American South. For example: Michael C. Lazich, "American Missionaries and the Opium Trade in Nineteenth-Century China" *Journal of World History* 17:2 (June 2006): 197-233.

8 Mark Newman, *Getting Right With God: Southern Baptists and Desegregation 1945-1995* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001); Eighmy, *Churches in Cultural Captivity;* Willis, *All According to God's Plan,* esp. 13-14.

9 Joel L. Alvis, Jr., *Religion and Race: Southern Presbyterians, 1946-1983* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994); Newman, *Getting Right With God;* Gardiner H. Shattuck, *Episcopalians and Race: Civil War to Civil Rights* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000); Peter C. Murray, *Methodists and the Crucible of Race* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004); Harvey, *Freedom's Coming.*

10 Ian Tyrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96:4 (Oct. 1991): 1032.

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21 James R. Scales quoted in "Foreign Mission News," *Commission* 24, no. 6 (June, 1961): 13.

22 "Foreign Mission News," *Commission* 26:3 (March 1963): 29; Vele Keyata Y. Redding, "Mercer Celebrates Anniversary of Integration," *The Mercerian* 4 (Spring, 1994): 1; Campbell, *The Stem of Jessie.* See also Alan Scot Willis, "A Baptist Dilemma: Christianity, Discrimination, and the Desegregation of Mercer University," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80:3 (Fall 1996): 595-615.

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25 "Majority of Letters Favor Admitting Ghanaian," *Christian Index,* March 7, 1963, 3; "Missionary Agrees," *Christian Index,* March 14, 1963, 7; Dr. and Mrs. William R. Norman, "Mangled Missions," *Baptist Student* 38:9 (January 1959): 28.

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Mini-Essays on Religion and World History

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Selling Sanctity: The Pilgrimage Trade is Good Business

Annika Fisher

Although motivated by otherworldly goals, pilgrimage brought immediate earthly rewards to popular destinations. Taxes on pilgrims, donations to shrines, and purchases made at the markets that sprang up around holy sites, allowed pilgrimage towns to thrive.

Pilgrimage trade could single-handedly support a local economy. On the sacred mountains of Tibet, strict parameters preserved the hallowed landscape, forbidding hunting, land cultivation, and husbandry of unclean animals. Income from the Bonpo and Buddhist pilgrims enabled the survival of the resident communities. In India, massive Hindu temples, like that of Nathdwara in Rajasthan, could sustain over 1,000 families.

Pilgrimage could also permit a town to accrue great wealth. Due to the miracles that followed Thomas Becket's murder and their subsequent promotion by the town's clergy, Canterbury, England became a major pilgrimage center, at its height rivaling even Rome and Jerusalem. The shrine's healing powers, extolled in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, motivated vast numbers of pilgrims during the Black Death in the 1340s. The plentiful visitors (100,000 during the 1420 Jubilee alone) and sustained royal patronage yielded great prosperity. Until the sixteenth century, Thomas's tomb remained among

the greatest concentrations of wealth in England.

Such accumulation of revenue was possible due the expenditures required of pilgrims on their trek. Food and shelter were sometimes free, such as the provisions placed in Buddhists' begging bowls or the housing offered Christians in Jerusalem by the Hospitalers, but they usually required money. Donations and further purchases, such as incense or flowers, were necessary for rituals. Souvenirs were also common.

The French town of Conques was supported from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries by pilgrims visiting St. Foy. The saint's bones resided in a statue that embodied her requests for gifts. Miracle accounts report how Foy, who was martyred as a young girl, particularly desired jewelry. Pilgrims were compelled to "donate" such items after Foy appeared-and occasionally threatened them-in visions. The reliquary that contained St. Foy's earthly remains was such a reliable source of income that it was paraded through the countryside whenever the cathedral needed funds.

Conques lay on the *Iter Sancti Jacobi* (Route of Saint James), a major pilgrimage road that culminated in Santiago de Compostella, Spain. The pilgrimage business was so lucrative at Conques that the burgers and clergy fought for decades over control of the marketplaces. When cathedral-owned souvenir stands cut into the people's profits, rioters nearly assassinated the bishop. The clergy claimed it required the funds to aggrandize the cathedral, which would in turn encourage more pilgrimage. Such tactics spurred the great church building boom of the High Middle Ages.

Whereas European Christian pilgrims were exempt from taxes, cities on other continents often taxed pilgrims. Muslims arriving in Mecca had to pay eight gold dinars to the amir or they, together with the ship captains who brought them, were severely punished. At times, such heavy fees even worked to decrease the number of pilgrims undertaking the hajj to this holiest site in Islam. Excessive taxation similarly affected the Anasazi pilgrimage destination of Chaco Canyon in New Mexico. Around 1050, construction of elaborate tombs, ceremonial kivas, and broad roads jumped 600 percent as the area became a major center. By 1111, however, the Anasazi ceremonial capital moved north to a site today known as Aztec, New Mexico, likely due to the excessive tribute pilgrims were charged.

Commercial venues also worked in convergence with pilgrimage traffic. Medieval European markets and fairs were timed to fall upon the feast days of local saints when pilgrims flooded the towns. A similar symbiosis occurred at the Hindu Vitthala temple in Vijayanagara, where markets surrounded the shrines and pathways led the pilgrims away from residential zones and toward these ritual and commercial areas.

Many pilgrimage sites were along trade arteries, like Mecca on the major route between India and the Mediterranean or the Buddhist caves near Dunhuang in the Gobi Desert along the Silk Road. Dunhuang's success at appealing both to travelers motivated by profit and by piety made it wealthy for over 1000 years. Generations of artists were employed decorating the 492 laboriously dug-out grottos of the cave complex.

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Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism: Transformation of Chinese Religion 300-1000 CE

Jeffrey Richey

By 300 C.E., China was no longer under unified rule. The fortunes of the most prominent indigenous religious tradition, Confucianism, had fallen with the Han dynasty (202 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), while those of its lesser-known native and foreign counterparts, Daoism and Buddhism, were rising steadily. These three transformations influenced the subsequent development of Chinese religious history throughout the first millennium C.E. and beyond. From the "period of disunity" (220-589 C.E.) onward, Chinese religion would be defined by the interactions between Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

During the Han, the term "Daoism" (*daojia*) denoted a mélange of legal, medical, philosophical, and occult lore. Later it signified a constellation of sectarian movements, each claiming a host of divinely revealed writings as authoritative scripture alongside well-established texts such as the *Laozi (Daodejing)* and *Zhuangzi*. These movements' healing and longevity practices and commitment to moral rectitude no doubt made them doubly attractive to those searching for meaning in the fragmented post-Han world. Led by Zhang Ling (later known as Zhang Daoling), the "Celestial Masters" (*Tianshi*) venerated Laozi as a god and required rituals of confession for its members in anticipation of the imminent end of the world. "Celestial Masters," whose title signified initiation into an unseen cosmic bureaucracy, devoutly expected to assume positions of power in a purified society ruled by the elect. Daoist theocracies ruled by groups such as the "Celestial Masters" and the "Yellow Turbans" (*huangjin*) briefly flourished here and there. At the personal level, techniques for attaining physical immortality were in vogue, especially among the gentry of the south, to which Chinese regimes had retreated in the wake of northern "barbarian" invasions.

By the fourth century C.E., Buddhism had developed from a hitherto little-known South Asian faith introduced by merchants and missionaries traveling the "Silk Road" trade routes into a growing tradition patronized by Chinese elites. Initially, it did not appear likely that Buddhism would take root in China. Although trade routes had linked China to other regions of Eurasia for centuries, travel always was difficult and dangerous, especially across the Himalayas to the south and the great deserts to the west. The scriptural languages of Buddhism, such as Pali and Sanskrit, are completely unrelated to Chinese, and thus the translation of foreign texts and concepts into the vernacular presented an enormous challenge. Perhaps the most formidable obstacle to Buddhism in China was the uniformly nativist and negative Confucian reaction that it provoked. But in the absence of state support, Confucianism was at a profound disadvantage and was unable to mount any effective resistance to Buddhist proselytization efforts.

Daoist movements were in nascent stages of development and could not compete with the better-organized Buddhist missions. Many Daoists, as well as some disillusioned Confucians, were attracted to the apparent similarity of Buddhist teachings with those familiar to them from texts such as the *Laozi (Daodejing)* and the *Zhuangzi* and movements such as the "Dark Learning" (*xuanxue*) school. This attraction was encouraged by early translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese, many of whom adopted Daoist terminology in order to express Buddhist concepts. Later sectarian Daoist movements, such as the "Highest Clarity" (*Shangqing*) and "Spiritual Treasure" (*Lingbao*) sects, borrowed other Buddhist ideas (such as the doctrine of karmic retribution), resulting in further Buddhist-Daoist syncretism.

By the end of the long interregnum between unifying dynasties, Buddhism's prestige had reached its zenith. Yang Jian, the general who reunified the empire and reigned as Emperor Wendi of the short-lived Sui dynasty (581-618 C.E.), assumed the mantle of a Buddhist *chakravartin-raja* ("wheel-turning king," e.g., universal monarch) in order to legitimize his rule. Under the succeeding Tang dynasty (618-906 C.E.), Chinese Buddhists and their elite patrons sponsored missions to the regions now known as Vietnam, Korea, and Japan, and Buddhist diplomacy helped to cement cultural and political links between East Asian courts. Chinese sensibilities also transformed Buddhist iconography, as the *bodhisattva Avalokitesvara* (masculine in South and Central Asian representations) became Guanyin, a highly feminine figure in Tang art. Tang trade links to Central, South, and West Asia enabled the transmission of still more foreign religions to China, including Islam, Judaism, Manichaeism, and Nestorian Christianity.

Although none of these ever attained the popularity enjoyed by Buddhism, sizeable communities affiliated with each tradition thrived throughout the medieval period, and large Muslim communities still exist in China today. While elites in each religious tradition maintained the ideals of exclusivity and orthodoxy, there is no evidence that average Chinese showed much concern for exclusive religious participation or pure doctrinal teachings. Instead, syncretism prevailed, and each of the "Three Teachings" (*sanjiao*) (Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism) was enveloped in the trappings of Chinese popular religion, with its myriad local cults, deities, and mythologies.

Both the Sui and the Tang patronized Confucianism (in addition to Buddhism), reestablishing its canon as the basis for civil service examinations. Confucian ethics, with its "three bonds" of obedience (ministers to rulers, sons to fathers, and wives to husbands), continued to define social relationships among the educated. Confucian ritual dominated all ceremonies of public life and influenced religious practices among families and extended communities such as villages. Near the end of the Tang, Confucian and Daoist cliques at court persuaded the Emperor Wuzong (r. 841-846 C.E.) to launch a fierce persecution, directed at "foreign" religions, destroying Buddhist institutions, confiscating Buddhist property, and secularizing monks and nuns throughout his realm. This disaster prompted Chinese Buddhists to view their era as "the last days of the *dharma*" (*mofa*), a degenerate period in which customary methods of transmitting the Buddha's teachings would not suffice. Subsequently, new Chinese Buddhist sects developed around reliance upon a single practice, such as meditation (in Chinese, *chan, in Japanese, Zen*) or the recitation of a particular *sutra*, thought to be uniquely useful for gaining salvation in such troubled times. These developments in China strongly influenced Buddhist movements throughout East Asia.

After the fall of the Tang, various warlords competed for supremacy until a former Tang commander, Zhao Kuangyin, restored imperial unity as the Emperor Taizu (r. 960-976 C.E.) of the Song dynasty. Having relied upon Confucian scholars to help stabilize and legitimize their regime, early Song emperors gratefully embraced Confucianism and continued the anti-Buddhist policies of the late Tang. Some endorsed Daoism, leading to the imperial compilation of the Daoist scriptural canon in 1019 C.E. Nonetheless, while the influence of Confucianism only grew stronger under Song rule, Buddhism and Daoism retained their permanent places as fixtures in the Chinese religious landscape. The patterns of interaction between these three traditions set in motion during the "period of disunity" and the political precedents established by the succeeding dynasties ensured that Chinese religion would continue to be defined by syncretism, state control, and struggles for supremacy.

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Korean Buddhism, 400-1000 CE

Daniel C. Kane

For nearly a millennium, from its arrival around 400 CE until well into the Koryo era (918-1392), Buddhism played a dominant role in the political, social, and cultural life of the Korean peninsula. During this period it overshadowed Confucianism as the guiding state ethos and was a primary focus of intellectual and artistic energies.

By most accounts, Buddhism first arrived on the Korean peninsula through a proselytizing Buddhist monk of the Chinese Eastern Qin kingdom, who brought the new religion to Koguryo in the late fourth century. Shortly thereafter, the more southerly Korean kingdom of Paekche adopted the faith. The kingdom of Silla, furthest south, was certainly exposed to Buddhism from around 400 CE. But in a situation closely analogous with Japan, Buddhism seems to have been first greeted by Silla with animosity and distrust. The Silla aristocracy in particular perceived in the foreign religion a threat to their privileges, founded in part upon their close association with the worship of native shamanistic deities. But one secret of Buddhism's success worldwide has been its ability to accommodate native beliefs. Silla officially adopted Buddhism in 527, after legend states the Buddhist official Ich'adon was martyred and his blood flowed the color of milk. The Silla aristocracy soon found grounds of accommodation with the new faith, while the Silla monarchy would also use it to bolster royal authority.

Though the Hinayana school of Buddhism, with its stress on individual meditation and salvation, was tolerated, it was the Mahayana school, with its vast hierarchy of Bodhisattvas, emphasis on prayer over meditation, and its appeal to the masses, that prevailed in Three Kingdoms Korea. For one thing, the hierarchical nature of Mahayana Buddhism conformed well to social realities on the Korean peninsula. Similarly, the Mahayana concept of Bodhisattvas – lesser Buddhas who had forsaken final enlightenment to aid humans in their everyday struggles – readily accommodated many native deities.

When Buddhism arrived on the peninsula the Three Kingdoms were in the process of centralization and mutual rivalry. It was perhaps natural then that the monarchies of those kingdoms took the lead in the acceptance and promotion of the faith. Silla in particular linked Buddhism with royal power and the protection of the homeland. For a century or so after the faith's adoption in Silla, monarchs of that kingdom took on Buddhist names and styled themselves Buddhist kings and Silla in particular as a Buddhist Land, specially chosen to take the lead in the promotion of the doctrine. In the Silla capital of Kyongju the massive Hwangnyong Temple symbolized Silla's own vision of itself as Buddhist Land. The youthful bands of male Hwarang, who gained their greatest glory during the battles for unification, became linked to the worship of the Maitreya Buddha. In short, Silla's promotion of Buddhism was intimately tied to the growth of royal power and the drive for peninsula hegemony.

With the aim of promoting Buddhism on the peninsula, many monks from the Three Kingdoms, and later Unified Silla, made the pilgrimage to China, and even India, in search of Buddhist sutras and personal enlightenment. The Silla monk Hye'cho (704-787), for instance, recorded his long journey to the birthplace of Buddha in India in a five-volume travelogue (which was presumed lost until its rediscovery in a Buddhist grotto in Dunhuang, China in 1908). Likewise renowned was the Paekche monk Kyomik, who voyaged to India and returned safely to Paekche in 526, carrying vast amounts of Buddhist sutras that were eventually translated into Chinese (then being used by the Korean kingdoms). It is a testament to the efforts of such pilgrimages that the Silla monk Wonhyo in the seventh century was able to assimilate and harmonize the bewildering array of Buddhist doctrine without ever having left Korea.

In 668, with help from Tang China Silla finally succeeded in defeating its rivals and unifying the peninsula. Though relations with Tang were initially troublesome, with Tang wishing to carve its own colonies out of the defeated kingdoms, Silla eventually prevailed. Following Silla's absorption of the Buddhist legacies of Paekche and Koguryo, and then the normalization of Silla-Tang relations around 700, Korean Buddhism was prepared to enter a more intellectually mature period.

For Buddhism in Korea, Unified Silla was a period of unparalleled intellectual vigor and development. Foremost among the Buddhist figures of the period were the contemporaries Uisang (625-702) and Wonhyo (617-698). Uisang studied in Tang China and returned to Silla to found the Korean Hwaom (Huayen, Kegon) school, one of the major sects of Silla Buddhism. By the time of Silla unification so many various Buddhist sutras and doctrines had entered Korea that what emerged was a crisis mirroring the confusion of Buddhist doctrine then prevalent in China. The overall result was a Buddhism whose ultimate meaning was lost in the cacophony of various teachings. While W?nhyo never benefited from study abroad, his intellectual efforts are credited with bringing the various Buddhist doctrines under a unifying system of thought.

Ironies aside, the material splendor of Korean Buddhism is one of its most striking aspects, especially in the case of Silla. The Silla capital of Kyongju (its modern name) remains a vast storehouse of Silla period Buddhist temples, pagodas, murals, statues, and stupas. Most impressive is perhaps the stone Buddhist grotto of

Sokkuram, just outside the Silla capital. Echoing similar Buddhist grottos in Northwest and Western China, Silla's Sokkuram ("stone cave hermitage") is a masterpiece of Silla craftsmanship and testament to the deep inroads the faith had made by the eight century.

The socially turbulent period of Late Silla saw a new development in Korean Buddhism with the growth in popularity of Son (Chan or Zen) thought. Though this meditative sect of Buddhism had arrived from China as early as the seventh century, it failed to make an impact until the early ninth century. Its rise in popularity has been linked to the social realities of late Unified Silla, namely the rise in power of local gentry at the expense of capital aristocracy. The powerful local gentry of late Unified Silla, including Wang Kon, the future first king of Koryo, became the primary supporters of Son Buddhism. But its appeal may also be attributed to its dismissal of textual learning for personal meditation and sudden enlightenment. Over the century bridging late Unified Silla and early Koryo a total of nine independent Son monasteries were established on nine different Korean mountains, each headed by a patriarch. Unlike the earlier urban-centered Buddhist temples, Son temples chose as their locale isolated mountain retreats. In time Son overtook the textual schools of Korean Buddhism to become the main current of Buddhism in the Koryo period.

Following the fall of Silla in 927, Buddhism, notably Son, continued to play key social and cultural roles during the succeeding Koryo dynasty, though it would slowly be eclipsed by Chinese inspired Confucian statecraft in the realm of politics.

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Kalam: Islamic Speculative Theology to ca. 1000 CE

Kimberly Georgedes

The expansion of Islam beginning in the 630s, the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate at Damascus (A.D. 661-750) and the subsequent establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate in Persia ca. 750, meant that the Muslims had to deal with various religious questions that arose from political developments, the development of religious law (Sharia), as well as coming into contact with other religious traditions, such as Christianity and Zoroastrianism. The development of kalam (speculative theology) is very significant for the history of Islam.

In the Umayyad period (661-750) there were discussions concerning whether the Quran was the created or eternal Word of God, debates concerning works and faith, as well as free will versus predestination. The debate concerning whether a Muslim who sins remains a Muslim, and whether faith alone or works were necessary to be a Muslim was significant because of the political situation of the time, particularly the assassination of Uthman, the civil wars, and the establishment of the Umayyad Caliphate in 661. The Kharijites (the Seceders, those who initially followed Ali) militantly opposed the Umayyads and believed that works not only reflected, but also affected one's faith and that one did not remain a Muslim after a grave sin. The Murjites (those who postpone), who acquiesced to Umayyad rule and represented the majority of religious opinion, argued that faith alone is sufficient, that a grave sinner remains a Muslim, and works can neither quantitatively increase nor decrease faith. The judgment of a sinner should be reserved for God alone. On the issue of degrees of faith, orthodox Sunni theology took a middle road, but inclined toward the Murijite position. Arguably the central topic of discussion, around which many of the theological schools developed, was the problem of predestination and free will. On the one extreme were the Jabirites (jabr, coercion, force), who maintained strict determinism; on the other, the Qadarites (qadar, decree, power), who argued for free will and personal responsibility. Broadly speaking, those who believe in a created Quran also believed in man's free will, while those who argued for an eternal Quran also believed that God determines everything.

Kalam began to develop systematically after 750 C.E. during the Abbasid period, and it, too, was affected by politics. The first significant theological school in Islam was the Mutazilite school (those who refrain), which initiated the discussion of Islamic doctrine in terms of Greek philosophical conceptions. They attempted to find rational proofs for Islamic beliefs. The Mutazilites held five main points:

1) God's unity (tauhid), which entailed allegorical interpretation of divine attributes, and that the Qu'an was created;

2) emphasis on God's justice (God must reward the good and punish evil);

3)"The Promise and the Threat" (i.e. reward and punishment, Paradise and Hell);

4) the "intermediate position" (regarding a grave sinner, i.e. that he was neither a Muslim nor a non-Muslim);

5) "commanding the good and forbidding the evil," i.e. interfering publicly to maintain observance of the Sharia. Regarding the issue of free will, God is bound by justice to do what is best for man (i.e., send prophets, reveal the law, etc.), but it is man's responsibility to obey, and works can affect faith.

Although the Mutazilites were politically in favor for a short time, there was both popular and intellectual opposition to their views, and when they lost political support, they were considered heretics. Indeed, the majority of Muslims, including the ulama (religious scholars) rejected the mutakallimun (speculative theologians) and their theology. Kalam was thus studied by only a very small minority in Islam. The Asharite school of theology (after al-Ashari, died c. 935) arose in response to Mutazilite positions. Al-Ashari (a former Mutazilite) held that God's attributes did exist and were in some way distinct from his essence. The Quran is uncreated and eternal. Therefore, Quranic phrases about God's attributes must be accepted without question. Al-Ashari rejected the Mutazilite doctrine of free will and developed his doctrine of "acquisition." An omnipotent God creates both good and evil acts of man, and the acts are acquired by man. Man acts because God has given him the ability to "acquire" or perform the acts which He has already created. Moreover, since God is the creator of everything, he is continually creating, without which creativity all life would immediately cease. Thus, there is no cause and effect, only atomism, or occasionalism. Al-Maturidi (died 945) developed a system almost contemporaneously with al-Ashari's. The two systems were similar, but although al-Maturidi holds that all acts are willed by God, God does not take pleasure when evil acts are performed. Although emphasizing the omnipotence of God, he allowed for the ability of the human being to produce acts. Determinism prevailed medieval Islamic theology, for logically, only an omnipotent being can act.

The most widely discussed problem in systematic theology was the problem of Being, that is, whether essence and existence are one. The theologians tended to reject any difference between existence and essence and held that essences are created at the time of their existence, while philosophers generally tended to make a distinction between existence and essence. Discussions of being among the theologians would affect discussions among the philosophers as well.

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16th Annual WHA Conference

The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee June 28-July 1, 2007

Expanding Horizons, Collapsing Frontiers: The Macro and Micro in World History

The 16th Annual World History Association Conference, jointly sponsored by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and Marquette University will be held in downtown Milwaukee at the UWM's Conference Center. Registration begins on Thursday afternoon, 28 June, and sessions run from Friday morning through early Sunday afternoon.

Located 6 blocks from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee Art Museum and 9 blocks from the grounds of Summerfest, the World's Largest Music Festival, this venue will afford conferees easy access to the many fine restaurants and cultural activities available in one of the USA's most exciting cities. Low-cost public transportation is available throughout the downtown area.

Conference special events include, but are not limited to, a reception, tour, and special exhibit of the American Geographical Society Library, University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, on Friday afternoon and a reception and special exhibit at the Haggarty Museum of Art, Marquette University, on Saturday. The conference theme,has relevance to Wisconsin, the historic land of the Voyageurs and Jesuit missionaries, as well as the heartland of the Old Northwest Territories. But beyond that, the theme is sufficiently flexible to allow for a wide variety of sessions and papers.

Registration: A conference registration form is included on the following page and on the WHA web site <www.thewha.org>. Because there is a late-registration fee after 1 May, conferees are urged to register as soon as possible. The conference fee before 1 May is $120 for WHA members, $175 for non-members, and $35 for students. Day passes are also available. The conference fee includes two receptions, welcoming hospitality on Thursday afternoon during registration, 3 continental breakfasts, 1 luncheon, and 5 refreshment breaks.

Housing: Because of the popularity of Summerfest, which draws large crowds from afar, downtown accommodations should also be arranged as soon as possible. The Local Arrangements Committee has secured blocks of rooms at two locations. The Hyatt Regency Hotel, situated one block from the conference, offers a special conference rate of $112 for a single or double, $132 for a triple, and $152 for a quad. Considering the usual cost for a room at a Hyatt and the fact that this is the height of Summerfest, this is a bargain. Parking is at the rate of $15 per night. This special rate is good only for the first 100 rooms and the cutoff date for reserving at this rate is 30 May 2007. Reservations can be secured directly at (414) 276-1234 or (800) 233-1234 or www.hyatt.com. Conferees should request the special WHA rate.

For persons on a very limited budget, there is Straz Tower, a former YMCA now run by Marquette University as a residence hall. Located 7 blocks from the conference site, its 2006 rates were $41 for a single, $56 for a double, $66 for a triple, and $72 for a quad. The rates for 2007 will be slightly higher. Regardless, this rock-bottom price will allow conferees to reflect on how much they saved as they walk the extra 6 blocks. Rooms are air-conditioned and have private bathrooms. Parking is $5 per night. Reservations must be made directly by calling (414) 288-7208.

Special Events for the Conference: The 2007 WHA Conference will be held at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Conference Center in downtown Milwaukee, six blocks from Lake Michigan and the Milwaukee Art Museum with its spectacular Calatrava addition (www.mam.org), and nine blocks from the grounds of Summerfest, the World's Largest Music Festival (www.summerfest.com). Low-cost public transportation is available throughout the downtown area.

Reception, tour, and special exhibit of the American Geographical Society Library at UW-Milwaukee (www.uwm.edu/Libraries/AGSL), Friday afternoon

Reception and special exhibit at the Haggerty Museum of Art, Marquette University (www.marquette.edu/haggerty), Saturday afternoon

Reduced price ($8 per person, including entrance to the featured exhibit) for admission for conference attendees (with a conference badge) any time throughout the weekend at the Milwaukee Art Museum. Special docent-led orientations of the museum from a world history perspective: Thursday at 6:00 PM and Sunday at 1:30 PM. Tickets for the orientation (also $8) must be purchased in advance with conference registration.

Exhibit and reduced price at the Pabst Mansion, an enormous 1890s Flemish revival mansion built by the Pabst family (www.pabst-mansion.com), throughout the weekend

Film Festival, with films provided by the Milwaukee International Film Festival (www.milwaukeefilmfest.org), running throughout the conference

Receptions, coffee breaks, and at least one lunch sponsored by ABC-CLIO, Houghton-Mifflin, Marquette University Department of History, Alverno College, and others.

For information on other Milwaukee attractions, see the article in the September 2006 issue of National Geographic Traveler, pp. 54-7 or at: www.nationalgeographic.com/traveler/features/ 48hours_milwaukee0609/milwaukee.html. The website links to a very interesting podcast of a socialist history walking tour of downtown Milwaukee.

BOOK REVIEWS

Peter Dykema
Book Review Coordinator

Donald Johnson and Jean Elliot Johnson. *Universal Religions in World History: The Spread of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam to 1500*. Explorations in World History. McGraw-Hill, 2007. 226 pp.

Alexander Mirkovic
Arkansas Tech University

The book under review belongs to an ambitious new series called *Explorations in World History,* a series conceived as thematic surveys of a particular issue in world history, such as oceans, socialism and revolution, or in this case, universal religions. All the books in the series—five volumes have appeared so far—are envisioned as supplements to a standard textbook and provide more ambitious students with an opportunity to expand their knowledge and take a snap-shop of world history from a particular angle. With a clearly defined thematic, global, and comparative approach, the series, and this book in particular, further enhances McGraw-Hill's strong offerings in world history. The strengths of Donald and Jean Johnson's book on universal religions, especially its usefulness in the classroom, outweigh its weaknesses, which mainly lie in the lack of a clear definition of what constitutes a universal religion.

The book is a brief, but exceptionally dense, informative historical survey of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam up to the 1500s. It often goes beyond just covering the well-known facts and describing the most important groups as they emerged in each tradition. It stresses historical developments, adaptations and assimilations of each religion to historical circumstances through time and space. Common social patterns are often mentioned, but they are not the main focus.

Because the authors believe that one of the characteristics of a universal religion is the role of a historical founder, the introduction includes short biographies of the three founders. Following the introductory chapter, come three chapters that cover the expansions and diversifications of the three religions. These chapters, emphasizing the diversity within each religion, often bring to light a number of less-well-known groups that are frequently missing from even far more comprehensive surveys. For example, a lot of space is given to the spread of Christianity in the direction of Asia and Africa, including Ethiopia, Thomas Christians of India, and Nestorian groups that spread their version of Christianity from Mesopotamia to China. In the conclusion Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam are compared and contrasted in terms of their mutual influences and borrowings, similar rituals and practices, as well as attitudes toward religious toleration, among other topics. Because it is clearly written and avoids refined theoretical concepts often used by scholars of comparative religions, the students will enjoy this book especially for the wealth of information that it makes available.

The weakest point of the book is the unfortunate choice of the title, which reflects the lack of clarity throughout the book about what actually makes a religion "universal." The authors' definition of universal religions as those that "anyone can join", that were "founded by a historic person," and are "usually focused on a single all-powerful divinity" (6) clearly leaves many unanswered questions. The phrase "universal religions" is especially controversial because it was very popular in the Victorian period, when a strong distinction was made between "national" or "tribal" religions vs. transnational or universal (see the classic: Abraham Kuenen, *National Religions and Universal Religions*, 1882). The world "universal" is tainted by Victorian racist and Eurocentric views, which saw religions as develop-

ing from primitive (non-white races) to more civilized forms (usually the religion of contemporary Britain). In my opinion the word is inappropriate and should have been avoided, especially for a textbook aimed at undergraduate students. The word "transnational" religions, even though it has its problems, could be more appropriate, but it would involve a greater level of theoretical definition, which the authors were apparently trying to avoid.

Also in the conclusion the authors touch upon the current debate about the "clash of civilizations," trying to make the book's material more relevant for the contemporary world. Surprisingly, however, this section only focuses on turbulent relations between Christianity and Islam, forgetting about the third "universal" religion, Buddhism. One wonders how is it possible, when one talks about the "clash of civilizations," to overlook the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan by Islamic fundamentalists?

In spite of its weaknesses, the book is a good supplement to any basic textbook of world history. What it lacks in theoretical sophistication, it compensates with the abundance of information, clear outline, and accessible language, making it appealing for classroom use.

***A People's History of Christianity*, vol. 5, *Reformation Christianity*, ed. Peter Matheson. Fortress Press, 2007. 306 pp. Hardcover, $35.00.**

Peter Dykema
Arkansas Tech University

Fortress Press and the general editor, Denis Janz, are to be commended for this attractive and useful *People's History of Christianity*. While writing history "from the bottom up" can no longer be described as cutting edge, this series and its editors have done a fine job to ensure that the focus stays firmly on the people in the title. In his general foreword, Janz notes it is the goal of these volumes to provide neither a history of theology nor an institutional history of the church but, rather, a history of Christians, taking "lay piety as the central narrative" (xv). The series thus offers the opportunity to sum up the findings–over the past 50 years–of social and cultural historians of Christianity and present them to a general reading public. *A People's History* is made up of seven volumes, the first five of which have been published, addressing *Christian Origins*, *Late Ancient Christianity*, *Byzantine Christianity*, *Medieval Christianity*, and *Reformation Christianity*. Readers of the *Bulletin* may be most interested in the two volumes set to arrive later in 2007, *Modern Christianity to 1900* and *Twentieth-Century Global Christianity*. Each of the volumes has an inviting page layout, with judicious use (but not overuse) of illustrations and primary-source boxes. At $35 for a hardcover copy, it is clear that Fortress is targeting college and seminary classes but also the interested reading public.

In volume 5, *Reformation Christianity*, the reader is promised that "the likes of Luther, Calvin, Leo X, Henry VIII, and Charles V [will] recede into the wings, taking on supporting roles" (xv). For the most part, this is achieved. Peter Matheson, the volume editor, and his eleven capable and experienced contributors have set up the structure of the book and chosen their topics to recast the analysis so that the common people and their religious experiences take center stage. Part 1, addressing "The Life of Faith," unfolds the lived piety of urban and rural Christians, and raises the question to what extent the Reformation was a people's movement. Topics discussed include the sacraments and other rituals tightening social bonds and building unity, family worship in the home, lay participation in services and confraternities, the use of vernacular liturgies, poor relief and communal discipline, as well as rural and urban complaints against the clergy. The overarching conclusion of the first three chapters is that the lay people of Europe always adapted clerical expectations to their own needs. When this adaptation was accomplished in a spirit of pragmatism and compromise with the religious and political elites, then the movements for Reformation were usually a success. When reforming ideas were imposed on the people and conflicted with urban and rural needs, then the Reformation was a failure or was only embraced by the people over the course of decades or even centuries.

Part 2 presents the life cycle of ordinary Christians "From Cradle to Grave": maternity rituals, childbirth, infant and maternal mortality, baptism, childhood, play and religious instruction, relations between parents and children, love and discipline, orphans, gendered politics and economics, courtship and marriage, inheritance, confraternities and women's orders, preparing for a "good death," the Protestant rejection of purgatory, and new forms of managing the relationship between the living and the dead. The authors reveal lay agency in all of these areas, sometimes as autonomous activity and sometimes as actions taken against the desires of clerical leaders and state officials. While the contributors avoid any detailed elaboration of Zwingli's ideas on the eucharist or Calvin's stress on the catechism, the phrase "the reformers sought to ..." does appear with regularity across the pages, as if the use of the generic plural really dilutes the role played by the religious elites. It's not so easy to push the Pope, Luther, or Henry VIII into the wings! In any case, conflicts between the authorities and the people were indeed commonplace and a characteristic of the era.

Part 3 is entitled "Finding Their Voice," and addresses peasant movements, resistance, and revolts, as well as lay theologies and the language of the common folk as expressed in the writings of popular pamphleteers. Ordinary Christians were emboldened and empowered in the early Reformation movement as their lay leaders spoke and wrote with an immediacy and an expectation of imminent change. Also in part 3 is a chapter on the experiences of those outside the normative Christian community: Muslims, Jews, heretics, and refugees.

From the 1960s to the 1980s, a great deal of research on the Reformation focused on two themes: the Reformation in the cities and the revolution of the common man. Both topics stressed the communal nature of early modern Christianity and how the Protestant message was channeled through existing local structures and embraced by specific social groups. In the 1990s, the field experienced a cultural turn and the focus shifted to the formation of confessional identity through religious ritual, gender construction, and the coercive power of the state. *Reformation Christianity* provides a clear assessment and summary of this generation of scholarly research. While nothing in this collection is explicitly "global" (the intended audience is not world historians), the authors do address several hotly debated issues at many points throughout the volume: the impact of the Reformation on women, the success or failure of the various Reformation movements, and the formation of parallel and competing confessional cultures over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, the contributors have succeeded in lifting up the stories and voices of ordinary Europeans. A look at the pages and the index still reveals several references to Luther, Calvin and the like, but just as many to Anne Askew, the Archer family, Katharina Schütz Zell, Argula von Grumbach, and Utz Rychsner. The people are now a key part of the story.

Philip Jenkins. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. Oxford University Press, 2002. 270 pp. $15.95.

Peter Dykema
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The prolific author of twenty books ranging in subject matter from a basic U.S. history textbook, to a whole series on "moral panics" (the Klan, the red scare, child molesters, serial killers, and terrorists), to analyses of contemporary religion, Philip Jenkins intends the volume under review to be part of a trilogy on the changing demographics and shifting beliefs of world Christianity. *The Next Christendom* introduces the decline of western, mainstream, European and North American Christianity and the rise of "Southern Christianity," a Bible-oriented, spirit-friendly, conservative form of Christianity growing rapidly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Jenkins published a more detailed study of the beliefs of Southern Christians last year in *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* and, later this year, he will detail the chang-

ing religious face of Europe in *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis*. A revised edition of *The Next Christendom* is due to hit bookstores any day now (but too late to be used for this issue of the *Bulletin*). All three volumes are published by Oxford University Press, ensuring quality, availability, and a very fair price.

The main points in *The Next Christendom* can be summarized as follows. The population of the global South (Africa, Asia, and Latin America) has grown and will continue to grow. Christianity has boomed in the global South and will continue to expand rapidly. In the face of these demographic shifts, the relative influence of "Western" Christianity in Europe and North America will decline. As Southern Christianity grows in numbers and influence, global Christianity will probably become more conservative and traditionalist, will read the Bible more literally, will be focused on spiritual warfare between forces of good and evil, and could well be supportive of reactionary politics. Since religion, not loyalty to a nation-state, provides the core of identity for most Southern Christians, the potential exists for a new kind of "Christendom," whereby Southern Christians would unite and seek to shape societies across the globe according to their beliefs. This opens the door for potential conflicts, not only between Southern Christianity and the other rapidly expanding world religion, Islam, but also between Southern Christianity and the secular (and/or liberal Christian) global North. Jenkins is clearly a member of the "clash of civilizations" school of prognostication.

Two other dynamics, perhaps straw men, drive aspects of Jenkins' presentation. He relishes pointing out the cultural arrogance of Western Christians, who assume that Western Christianity has always been the normative form of the religion, and he does not hesitate to show up the short-sightedness of those, who would argue that the future of global society belongs to liberal democracy, global capitalism, and secularism. In contrast, Jenkins suggests "that it is precisely religious changes that are the most significant, and even the most revolutionary, in the contemporary world" (1).

In the historical sections of his study, Jenkins does well to remind readers that Christianity has deep, ancient, and long-lasting roots in north and east Africa, the Middle East and central Asia, and that (cultural imperialism not withstanding) Christianity has been embraced by hundreds of millions of native and mestizo Americans, Africans, and Asians over the course of the past 500 years. While many assumed that the retreat of European colonial powers would lead to a decline of Christianity in the Third World, in fact older mission churches as well as indigenous varieties of the faith strengthened the religion all the more. "It was precisely as Western colonialism ended that Christianity began a period of explosive growth that still continues unchecked, above all in Africa" (56). In 1955, there were 16 million Catholics in Africa, today there are over 120 million. Whether we look at Catholics, Anglicans, Pentecostals, or independent/indigenous evangelical churches: all are growing across the global South. Jenkins explains this growth by pointing out the estrangement felt by many as people move from rural villages to the growing, impoverished metropolises of the region. This estrangement creates a need filled by churches and religious organizations. They offer fellowship, community, and better lives to women, children and the poor. Furthermore, Jenkins argues, Southern forms of Christianity have always provided protection against spiritual evil and demonic forces deemed very real by the common folk of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This has been a point of concern: "If there is a single key area of faith and practice that divides Northern and Southern Christians, it is this matter of spiritual forces and their effects on the everyday human world" (123). Providing instances of exorcisms, witchcraft trials, divination, miraculous healing, and prophetic utterances, the author raises what he admits is a distinctly Western question: are these beliefs really Christian or are they simply pagan, tribal, animist beliefs covered by a thin veneer of Christianity? Jenkins concludes that while Southern Christianity is enthusiastic, charismatic, and literalist, and thus very different from liberal, contemporary Western forms, it is also very recognizably Christian. Indeed, he implies that perhaps it is rational Western Christians who have moved away from the historic mainstream of Christian practice.

In the final three chapters of the book, Jenkins addresses the "next Christendom" and the potential conflicts it may pose. Southern Christians, he argues, do not feel the need to compartmentalize spiritual issues within a more broadly secular framework of their lives; that is a Western phenomenon. In the global South, political life is deeply shaped by notions of the sacred. In the 20th century, Southern clerics often participated in activist politics and movements for liberation, revolution, and human rights; Archbishops Romero and Tutu being two examples. Jenkins predicts that in the 21st century, this activism will move beyond priests and pastors and will take a decidedly more conservative turn, especially on the social issues of abortion, AIDS, and rights for women and homosexuals. In 1991, Zambia declared itself a Christian nation, with the vice president urging Zambians to "have a Christian orientation in all fields, at all levels" (153). In these varieties of politicized Christianity, Jenkins sees the potential for conflict not only among rival Christian groups but, more importantly, between Christians and Muslims, especially in those regions of the world where each faith has significant numbers, for example, the Sudan, Nigeria, the Balkans, and areas of Southeast Asia. And what will be the role of the global North, the West, in these conflicts? Will Western Christians support their co-religionists or will the West seek increasingly secular solutions, perhaps leading to it being labeled "infidel" by both radical Islam and Southern Christianity?

Much of Jenkins' book seeks to probe these future possibilities but he does so in a careful, even-handed fashion. His projections are based on solid demographic evidence from the past and present. His conclusions often reveal his own Christian perspective (he's an Episcopalian, if that's relevant) but one that is both cautious towards certain aspects of Southern Christianity as well as frustrated with the ignorance of Western Christians and the exclusively secular-minded. His work is well-written and nicely organized, with clear subdivisions to each of the chapters. For this reader, and for many world historians, the greatest strength of *The Next Christendom* is how it reveals the unfamiliar global dynamics of a seemingly familiar religion.

Jürgen Osterhammel. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Shelley Frisch, translator. 2nd ed. Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005. 147 pp. $24.95.

Kevin Kreiner
Broome Community College

Picking up the newest edition of Jürgen Osterhammel's *Colonialism*, it's hard to imagine a thorough and innovative treatment of a subject as complex as colonialism in such a small package. Osterhammel engages the monumental world system of Immanuel Wallerstein, re-interprets the issue of power and agency in the struggle between colonized and colonizer, and sets out a definition of colonization intended to be applicable across three continents and five hundred years in a book barely more than one hundred pages in length. Its size alone would suggest this book as a student's introduction to colonialism.

The history of colonization, as Osterhammel points out, usually appeared in older textbooks as the history of a particular colony. Writers who were still operating within the old assumptions of the colonizers saw their endeavor as a "civilizing mission." Modern scholarship has tended to reverse the issue, seeing European colonizers as nothing but invaders to be resisted. Osterhammel goes beyond both these approaches. He argues for a more unified view of colonialism as a process that began with the first European expansions after the Middle Ages and is in many ways still going on today. "The history of colonialisms is thus not only – perhaps not even chiefly – a history of conquest, acquisition, and flag-hoisting. It is a history of the gradual emergence of state structures and societal forms and their geographic expansion or contraction within nominally claimed regions" (28).

For students, the most useful aspect of this book is Osterhammel's ability to define a highly complex problem in terms that can be applied to many situations. By considering colonialism as

"a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders ... [who] ... are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule" (16-17), Osterhammel is able to break down barriers of location and periodization that previous definitions of colonialism often get hung up on. He is therefore able to apply the insights of this book to areas in which formal colonization may not have occurred, making this work useful in topics courses of any sort that consider historical power relations. For example, Osterhammel sees missionaries as agents of cultural change which colonial authorities, who often preferred to leave in place existing social and political structures and rule from behind the scenes, did not want. Osterhammel's ability to see colonialism as a multi-faceted issue, with different forces at work among both colonizers and colonized is among the greatest strengths of this book. This is in keeping with his focus on colonization as a process that goes on even after formal colonization came to an end. This, in turn, makes this book useful for those interested in post-colonial situations.

What Osterhammel does not do is spend much time on the details of the different colonial situations. In a small book with such a broad scope, this is necessary, but it does mean that *Colonialism* requires a certain knowledge of world history to be fully appreciated, making it unsuitable for younger or beginning students. In the end, this is a mere quibble. Osterhammel has mapped out a new approach between the apologetics of the old colonial historians and the current writers who diminish the effects of colonization on the history of the non-western world. His "long duration" approach is a history almost without people, in which forces shape all those who come into contact with conqueror and conquered alike. In doing so, he has created not only a theoretical overview, as the subtitle promises, but a new working definition of colonialism that should serve as a base for further re-evaluating such an important and difficult topic.

Williamson Murray and Richard Hart Sinnreich, editors. *The Past as Prologue: The Importance of History to the Military Profession*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. 265 pp.

Georgena Duncan
Arkansas Tech University

The Past as Prologue is a collection of fourteen articles and essays on the need for historical study within the military, particularly among officers. The editors' choice to include both reflections of professional military officers as well as academic articles broadens the scope of the book. The four essays written by officers on their own uses for and interests in history are valuable for the academic historian. These officers, both British and American, give insight to the emphasis given, or not given, to military history in their professional education, and also insight into the reality of battle and the uses of history in that reality. Academic historians, who face battle primarily on paper, need contact with those who have faced the chaotic reality of battle. Eight articles, written by historians, complete the book. These are wide-ranging articles, from Thucydides and Clausewitz to modern terrorism and U.S. civil-military relations. Both Thucydides and Clausewitz, in odd combination, can be considered the theorists of war. While Thucydides was describing one particular war his great talent was an understanding of the human dimension of war. Clausewitz still stands as the greatest theorist on the nature of war. It never harms to be reminded of these two very different authors. The remaining articles are more clearly confined to the twentieth century, often grappling with the effects of technological change, the ways the professional military envisioned the use of these changes, and the ways these changes actually worked on the battlefield. This is a fascinating topic not only to the historian, but to the professional officer. It is particularly interesting to note the "lessons" often drawn by the professional military from their own experiences have often led to the next failure. It may be in this area that the academic historian can provide the greatest service. While *The Past as Prologue* is not written for the beginning novice, whether a serving officer or a student of history, it is a thought provoking introduction to a wide variety of trends within the modern military world.

Timothy E. Gregory. *A History of Byzantium*. Blackwell History of the Ancient World. Blackwell, 2005. 381 pp.

Alexander Mirkovic
Arkansas Tech University

Since undergraduate surveys of Byzantine history are not published often, Timothy Gregory's new textbook fills an important gap in the contemporary offerings. Teachers of Byzantine history will welcome it with great enthusiasm. The book is an excellent survey, clearly written and accessible. It follows a traditional political narrative of Byzantine history. In the introduction, the author makes a valid argument that a survey should follow the narrative framework based on "kings and battles" because of the lack of knowledge about the basics of Byzantine history in the English-speaking world. This is a controversial decision taken by the author, who made his name by incorporating archeology and anthropology in his historical research. In spite of the author's argument, one still wonders whether the book clings to this chronological arrangement to the detriment of other aspects of history. The text has many useful features, but because of its narrative framework, it falls short of the ideal desired by world historians.

Brevity and clarity are the best features of this book. The book, just under four hundred pages long, divides the material in sixteen clearly defined chapters, appropriate for the sixteen week long semester, contains a useful glossary at the end, and provides the student as well as the specialist with well-chosen suggestions for further reading. The expected features of any excellent textbook are there, including attractive illustrations, chronological tables, and valuable lists of primary sources available in English translation. Especially appealing are what the author calls "boxes," used to break the pace of the slowly moving political narrative and intended to provide a "window" into the *mentalite* of the Byzantine society. The boxes are engaging because they provide an insight in the economic, social, and cultural life of Byzantium beyond the confines of the imperial palace, and they also testify to the originality, the breath of knowledge and the depth of the teaching experience of the author. They are ideally suited for spirited discussions in the classroom. I would single out the following "boxes" as especially useful for world historians: (a) Digenes Akritas, focusing on a popular hero of Byzantine medieval epics, which contains a wealth of information on the interaction between Christian and Muslims in the border areas; (b) the box on Byzantine golden coinage, which had a world-wide appeal; (c) the box on Byzantine views on the origins of Islam; and finally (d) the box on Byzantium and the Brothers Karamazov exploring the enduring fascination of Russia with the Byzantine tradition.

Every teacher of Byzantine history has to justify to his or her students and the administration why it is necessary to go through the often excruciating minutia of Byzantine political conspiracies and the tedious details of religious controversies that were the integral part of the empire's social and cultural life. Gregory's decision to follow the traditional political narrative is counter-productive here. In other words, while the author is right that a coherent chronological narrative is necessary for an introductory textbook, his narrative lacks an appealing organizational focus (or one might even say "a selling point") that would make this book more engaging. I would go even further and say, while the book contains information and examples that the students and the teachers will love because they will be introduced to a world that is both similar and different from the well-known history of Western Civilization, the book's good points are diminished and often hidden behind the traditional chronological narrative.

A teacher of Byzantine history today has to justify why Byzantine history is relevant in the existing globalized world. The answers often suggested are as follows: (1) Byzantium, as a sister civilization of the West, is relevant because it was a repository and a transmitter of the Classical Tradition (see Robert Browning, *The Byzantine Empire*, 1992); (2) Byzantium represents a historical link of the modern Greeks with their ancient

heritage, and an understanding of its history is necessary for the national history of the Greeks as well as the peoples of the Byzantine Commonwealth (see Dimitri Oblensky, *Phoenix: The Byzantine Commonwealth*, 2000); (3) As an empire that spread over three continents, Byzantium was unique among world civilizations linking Africa with Europe and Asia, the steppe with the Mediterranean, the South with the North, and Christianity with Islam (currently no textbook exclusively follows this approach but see Angeliki E. Laiou and Henry Maquire, eds., *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, 1995). Gregory's narrative is focused on the second point (and to a lesser extent on the first), making this book attractive to the audience of Greek and Eastern European heritage. Therefore, the book does not fully emphasize the global aspect of Byzantine history, even though the author occasionally includes material, especially in the "boxes", that illustrates the cultural mixture that was Byzantium. A slightly different emphasis outside of the purely chronological would help, in my opinion, the book (and the discipline) to overcome the narrow confines of the western and national histories, and make the book and Byzantine history in general, attractive, if not irresistible, to world or comparative historians.

In conclusion I must say that, even though I found some organizational faults with this textbook, I will use it in my courses since it is clearly written, attractive for both teachers and students, and includes many global connections that are not present in current offerings. However, in some ways, Gregory's text represents a missed opportunity to make Byzantine history more global, especially today in the world of the "clash of civilizations." The long-lasting Byzantine society and its widely disseminated culture that included peoples from three continents and an enormous diversity of creeds and customs, deserves to become more relevant on college campuses. Gregory's textbook will contribute to that goal, but it falls short of its full potential. The reason for this shortfall is, in my opinion, the author's decision to hold on closely to the traditional "kings and battles" narrative. Because kings and queens are so numerous in Byzantine history, their shadow does not allow the gems of Byzantine social and cultural diversity to shine.

Felipe Fernández-Armesto. *The World: A History*. Pearson-Prentice Hall, 2007. 1056 pages, Combined Volume.

David W. Krueger
Arkansas Tech University

The author, about whom there is a fine bit of biographical background on page xlii, explains in his introduction to the text that "History is stories" and reminds his readers that "History isn't over." On that same page he attracts his readers by stating that "a textbook can be entertaining, even amusing, as well as instructive and accessible; challenging without being hostile; friendly."

Dr. Fernández-Armesto breaks his textbook down into ten parts and thirty chapters. In each part he makes a successful effort to stay true to the title of his book, so that the various parts of the world are included in almost every chapter. On page 355, for example, he begins a discussion of "Eurasia's Extremities Japan and Western Europe." To accommodate this approach he places emphasis upon trends and inter-relationships far more than on individuals; such persons as Julius Caesar and Lord Nelson, for example, receive little or no coverage, and for whatever reason, my favorites, the Aramaeans, make no appearance.

The book is well edited; maps and illustrations appear in the text at positions where they most complement the material being presented, although the photograph of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony could be a bit mis¬leading, since Stanton's name is mentioned first, even though she is sitting on the right (913).

For students, the strengths of this textbook are many; it is written in a style that makes the subject matter easy to follow, and the well chosen illustrations are accompanied by a number of helpful notes. For example, from the photograph of the Grand Canal in China (page 316) students learn that the project itself dates all the way back to the Seventh Century C.E.

The text is further strengthened by the inclusion of a series of excellent maps, many of which allow the reader to see obvious comparisons and/or differences, such as the ones on page 295 that focus on the extent of Islam and Buddhism around 1000 C.E. There are also a number of special features, such as "A Closer Look," which provide more detailed information about a particular subject or event, such as "Board Game from Ancient Sumer," "Royal Blood-letting," and "An Ethiopian View of the Battle of Adowa." These sections are complemented by other entries called "Going to the Source," in which "a key problem" is discussed and compared. For example, the article entitled "Feasting" discusses this custom in different parts of the world, from Hambledon Hill in England to Sumer in ancient Mesopotarnia. Since students can relate easily to well known holidays which feature "feasting," such as Thanksgiving Day, such entries should arouse interest from all but the most lethargic scholars. Another entry, certain to stimulate class discussion, compares the teachings of Jesus Christ and Mozi on the subject of Love. Students are asked to explain how the doctrines of these two teachers were related to the needs of the people and the state.

The author consistently emphasizes the human side of history, often by including accounts of individuals who were sent by their rulers on specific missions. The Egyptian ambassador, Wenamun, was such a person. Sent by his pharaoh to purchase timber for the Egyptian navy from the Phoenicians, Wenamun has a series of adventures that demonstrate the author's belief that History can be both entertaining and instructive.

Another great strength of this book is the availability, if the instructor chooses, of a CD-ROM: "Primary Sources: Documents in Global History." This academic tool introduces the student to a large number of primary source materials that will certainly complement material found in the textbook itself. Here, for example, are some of the Ana1ect of Confucius and excerpts from the edicts of Asoka.

In conclusion, Dr. Fernández-Armesto has written a fine textbook; it covers many individuals and trends, but it does not bog down the reader with unnecessary details. It convinces the reader that the study of history can be both interesting and rewarding and therefore can be read with a great deal of enjoyment by a significant number of the general public, who, like the students themselves, will become aware of the great debt we owe to the past and the ways society has constantly been changing in order to deal successfully with problems it will certainly face in the future.

Alan V. Murray, editor, *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO, 2006. 1314pp.

Alexander Mirkovic
Arkansas Tech University

Adopting the notion of crusading, this four volume encyclopedia is ideally suited for both practitioners and teachers of world history. Chronologically, the encyclopedia covers not only the nine "canonical" crusades, but also events and missions well into the early-modern period. Organized into entries on persons, dynasties, and historical sources and places, the project includes the classical coverage of expeditions to the Holy Land, but widens its coverage to also include such "crusades" as those against the various "heretics" and "schismatics," the Baltic Crusades, and the Spanish *Reconquista*. Judicious yet clear editing combined with an international team of distinguished contributors make this encyclopedia much more than a reference tool. Students and academics who study the relations between Christianity and Islam in all periods of history will keep coming back to it again and again. *An excellent resource!*

Call For Contributors - World History Bulletin

The *World History Bulletin* is seeking quality essays for inclusion in upcoming issues.

Volume XXIV Number 1 (Spring 2008): *Focus Issue*: Food in World History. *Deadline:* 1 February 2008. *Guest Editor:* Rick Warner, Wabash College

Essays and classroom activities are also sought which deal with any aspect of the teaching of world history. Interested parties should direct their inquiries to Micheal Tarver, *WHB* Editor, at either bulletin@thewha.org or (479) 968-0265. International submissions are especially encouraged. Submission guidelines are available online at: www.thewha.org/WHB.pdf.

Two Chinese Scholars Named as First WHA World Scholar Travel Fund Recipients

During the 2006 WHA Conference at California State University at Long Beach, the Fund Raising and Conferences Committees announced the inauguration of the WHA Conference Travel Fund to underwrite travel to future WHA conferences by historians and teachers from abroad. Generous donations by Bedford/St Martin's Press, the Center for International Education at California State University, Long Beach, the Department of History, California State University, Channel Islands, and The Society for History Education provided the initial money to make this fund a reality. This program was subsequently renamed the WHA World Scholar Travel Fund to underscore its global and academic dimensions.

The first two recipients of a travel purse from this fund are **Dr. Zhang Weiwei** of the College of History, Nankai University, Tianjin, China, and Professor **Gao Yanli** of Peking University in Beijing, who have been invited to attend the WHA Conference in Milwaukee, 28 June-1 July 2007.

An associate professor of global history in the Department of World History, where he has been teaching Modern World History since 1978 and for which he received two University Excellence Awards (1985, 1998), Zhang offers such graduate- and undergraduate-level courses as "A History of World-Systems," "A History of International Trade," "China in World History," and "The West and China in Global History." During the spring and fall semesters of 2002, he served as Distinguished Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Louisville. He has twice been a visiting scholar at the University of London's Institute of Historical Research (1987-88, 1999-2000) and in 1997 was Visiting Scholar at Seoul National University.

Dr. Zhang approaches world history from a perspective that he describes as "noncentric and holistic," and within that context he argues that global disequilibrium has determined world history in general and shaped the histories of its parts, which in the modern era are its nation-states. With this theory in mind, he will offer at Milwaukee the paper "Global Disequilibrium and Expanding Horizons: A Noncentric Approach to Collapsing Frontiers from 1000 to 1900 CE."

Gao, an associate professor in the Department of English at Peking University, has held a Freeman Fellowship at the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2005-2006), and in 2002 was a fellow in American Studies at the Salzburg Seminar. She was also a visiting scholar at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, 2000-2001. Although located in the Department of English, where she teaches English language and culture, Gao also offers courses in modern Chinese and U.S. history.

Her conference paper, "When the West Met the East: The Transnational Experiences of Walter H. Judd," will focus on Walter Henry Judd (1898-1994), a medical missionary to China, 1925-1931 and 1934-1938, and his perceptions of Chinese culture, society, and politics. Further, it discusses how those perceptions and his transnational experiences influenced his career as a congressman from Minnesota (1943 -1963) and his work in Sino-US relations.

Foreign scholars who are interested in being considered for travel grants to future WHA conferences from this fund should submit a *curriculum vitae* or biographical resume and a one-page statement of their needs and the paper or panel session they propose to offer to the chair of the Conferences Committee, A. J. Andrea at aandrea@uvm.edu. At the same time, they must make formal application to the WHA's Program Committee to present a paper or session. Those paper and session proposal forms can be found at the WHA website www.thewha.org In order to allow time for the Conferences and Program Committees to make their decision and for the Executive Directorate to arrange travel for recipients, both applications must be received no later than 31 January of the year in which the conference is being held.

In order to grow the fund into a more robust entity, the WHA offers its members and friends an opportunity to contribute to this travel fund on the association's website www.thewha.org. Please go to the Conference Registration page. Contributions can also be mailed to The World History Association, 2530 Dole Street, The University of Hawai'i, Sakamaki Hall A203, Honolulu, HI 96822. Unless otherwise instructed, patrons of the fund will be acknowledged in the 2007 Conference Program, if their contributions are received by 15 May 2007.

Reviewers Sought for the Following Books:

Title:	Author:
Oceans in World History	Rainer Buschmann
History of Central America	Thomas Pearcy
History of Venezuela	M. Tarver and J. Frederick
In the Beginning: From Human Evolution to the First States	Lauren Ristvet
The Communist Experiment	Robert Strayer
Warfare State: Britain 1920-1970	David Edgerton
Global South Asians: the Modern Diaspora	Judith Brown
Terror, Mass Murder, and Everyday Life in Nazi Germany	E. Johnson and K. Reuband
The Business of Empire: The East India Company	H. V. Bowen
Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World	Colin Kidd
Guns for the Sultan: Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire	Gábor Ágoston
A Time for Peace: The Legacy of the Vietnam War	Robert Schulzinger
The Mexicans: Coming to America	C. J. Shane
Contagion and the State in Europe, 1830-1930	Peter Baldwin
Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility acr. the Indian Ocean	Engseng Ho
Frontiers of History: Historical Inquiry in the 20th Century	Donald Kelley
Life Among the Inca	James Corrick
Catastrophe in Southern Asia: The Tsunami of 2004	GailStewart
Morocco	Kevin Delgado
A History of the Two Indies	Peter Jimack
Tales from Spandau: Nazi Criminals and the Cold War	Norman Goda
The Guiana Travels of Robert Schomburgk, 1835-1844	Peter Riviere
Minorities in the Ottoman Empire	Molly Greene
The Ottoman Balkans, 1750-1830	Frederick Anscombe
The New Face of Lebanon: History's Revenge	William Harris
Iraq	Adrian Sinkler
Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia	Richard Frye
Libya	Debra Miller
A Concise History of Finland	David Kirby
Trading Tastes: Commodity and Cultural Exchange to 1750	E. Gilbert and J. Reynolds
The Atlantic in Global History 1500-2000	Cañizares-Esquerra, Seeman
Imperialism in the Modern World: Sources and Interpretations	Bowman, Chiteji, and Greene

World History Association – 16th Annual Conference
28 June-1 July 2007, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Early Registration

A valid conference badge is needed for admission to all sessions and activities.

Please note: Prices below are for Early Registration submitted before May 1, 2007. After that, the prices in parentheses will apply.

_____ WHA Members at $120 each ($135)

_____ Non-Members at $175 each ($190)

_____ Students at $35 each ($40)

_____ Day Pass for WHA Members at $65 each ($70)

_____ Day Pass for Non-Members at $90 each ($100)

_____ Companion Reception Badge at $35 each ($35)

_____ Milwaukee Art Museum at $8 each

_____ Exhibitor's Badge at $60 each (see website for details) ($60)

The Last Day for a Conference Fee Refund (less a $10 handling fee) is 15 May 2007. Requests must be made in writing, by either e-mail thewha@hawaii.edu or post. The WHA cannot make exceptions because each registration entails financial commitments by the Association.

1. Non-members qualify for the member fee by joining the WHA online in conjunction with their conference registration. Non-members who register on-site in Milwaukee may join the WHA at registration and enjoy the reduced member fee. A person does not qualify for a rebate if he/she registered for the conference as a non-member and subsequently joins the WHA.
2. Any matriculating student regardless of affiliation with the WHA. A valid student ID card is needed when picking up conference materials. Students who graduated in May or June 2007 are eligible for this discounted fee.
3. For Friday or Saturday, 29 or 30 June. Sunday is gratis for any day-pass holder.
4. This badge admits the companion only to the receptions of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.
5. Exhibitors have free run of the conference and may attend any and all sessions and activities.

Name: _____

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For additional information please contact: World History Association, 2530 Dole Street, A203, Honolulu, HI 96822. 808-956-7688. E-mail: thewha@hawaii.edu

2007 RENEWAL NOTICE

YOUR MEMBERSHIP EXPIRES 12/31/06

If you have already paid 2007 dues, please disregard this notice
Please note: membership year runs from January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2007

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"'New professionals" are in their first five (5) years of paid professional work at any level. This does not include paid graduate teaching assistants and fellows who still qualify for the student rate.

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Honolulu, HI 96822-2383

If you have questions, please contact Leslie Miller at thewha@hawaii.edu

World History Association/Phi Alpha Theta Paper Prize in World History

Entries must be e-mailed or postmarked by August 15, 2007

Thanks to a generous subvention from Pearson Prentice Hall, Inc., a leading publisher of world history textbooks, the World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society in History co-sponsor a student paper prize in world history. An award of $400 will be given for the best undergraduate world history paper, and an additional award of $400 will be presented for the best graduate-level world history paper, both composed during the academic year of 2006-2007.

A world history paper is one that examines any historical issue with global implications. Such studies can include, but are not limited to, the exchange and interchange of cultures, the comparison of two or more civilizations or cultures, or the study in a macro-historical manner of a phenomenon that had a global impact. For example, world history topics would include: a study of the trans-cultural impact of Eurasia's Silk Road; a comparative study of the Ottoman and British empires; or the worldwide impact of the Influenza Pandemic of 1919.

To qualify for this competition, students must be members of either The World History Association or Phi Alpha Theta and must have composed the paper while enrolled at an accredited college or university during 2006-2007.

- All submitted papers must be no longer than 30 typewritten (double-spaced) pages of text, exclusive of the title page, endnotes, and bibliography.
- All pages, except for the title page, must be numbered, and all endnotes must conform to standard historical formats.
- Parenthetical or in-text notes are not to be used.
- The author's identity is to appear nowhere on the paper.
- A separate, unattached page should accompany the paper, identifying the author (along with the title of the paper) and providing that person's home address, telephone number, e-mail address (if available), college affiliation, graduating year and status (undergraduate or graduate student), and the association (WHA or PAT) to which the person belongs. Phi Alpha Theta members must indicate the institution at which they were inducted and the year.
- A one-page (250-word) abstract **must** accompany each submission. Abstracts of winning papers will be published in all announcements of competition results.
- Additionally, a letter or e-mail from a relevant history faculty member (the supervising professor, the Chair of the department, or the Phi Alpha Theta chapter advisor) must attest to the fact that the paper was composed during the academic year of 2006-2007. That letter may be mailed or submitted by e-mail to the addresses below.
- **Papers submitted that do not adhere to these guidelines will be disqualified**.

Submit either:

- In an e-mail, electronic files of 1) the paper, 2) the page with identifying information, and 3) the abstract attached as Word files. The faculty member's letter must be e-mailed or posted separately. OR
- For persons who lack e-mail capability, mail three (3) printed copies of the paper and one copy each of the page with identifying information and the abstract to: Professor A.J. Andrea, Department of History, The University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405-0164. Email: Alfred.Andrea@uvm.edu **or alfredo@thewha.org**

PLEASE NOTE: The Committee prefers to receive e-mail submissions but does not discriminate against printed submissions.

Winning papers are eligible for consideration for publication in the various journals of the World History Association and Phi Alpha Theta, but no promise of publication accompanies any award.

2006 Student Paper Prize Winners Announced

The 2006 WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History competition produced two outstanding winners, one in the undergraduate category and other in the graduate student category.

Robert Cole, class of 2007 at the **University of Richmond** and a member of Phi Alpha Theta, produced a first-class study entitled "Power and Performance in Bombay's Victoria Terminus." Using a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, as well as a university-funded research trip to Mumbai (Bombay), India, Cole wrote a paper that argues:

> *The reshaping of Bombay's urban space was an integral part of the city's colonial experience, and the dynamics of this process of urbanization directly reflected the complicated power relationships that comprised the colonial order. Using the Victoria Terminus, a monumental railway station completed in Bombay in 1888, this study challenges the habitual narrative of urbanization that places the will of the "colonizer" in opposition to that of the "colonized." Closer analysis of the Victoria Terminus reveals the power relationships of colonial Bombay, though far from equal, to have been more complex than the dichotomized narrative suggests. This paper illuminates the overlap and interplay of the several different forms of agency that contributed to the terminus's creation both as a structure and as a symbol.*

Jeffer Daykin, who is pursuing the M.A. degree in History at **Portland State University**, and is a member of both the WHA and Phi Alpha Theta, produced an equally fine study entitled "Progressive Pedagogy in Rural China: Tao Xingzhi's Xiaozhuang Experimental School as an Implementation of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy." Also using a wide variety of primary and secondary sources (but not traveling to China for on-the-spot research), Daykin argued that:

> *The American Progressive and education reformer John Dewey was invited to China to give a series of lectures in 1919. Though frustration with the West began to mount in this period, the New Youth Movement in China aimed to reform and modernize Chinese society and welcomed Dewey as a guide to help achieve this, even persuading him to prolong his stay as a visiting lecturer for a second year. Despite being an expert in the field of American education, Dewey urged his audiences to not simply import an American or Western model. Instead, he suggested they follow the philosophy of Pragmatism to devise their own modern school system and that they work with existing institutions to draft the guiding principles of education at the national level. It is unsurprising—given the growing anti-foreign sentiment and weak position of China's national government, as it competed with various warlords—that progressive education as advocated by Dewey did not ultimately materialize at the national level in China. However, an example of Dewey's influence can be found at the local level in the form of the Xiaozhuang (Morning Village) School created by Tao Xingzhi in the rural hinterlands of Nanjing. Whereas scholarship on Tao Xingzhi tends to minimize his links to Dewey and portrays his school as a radical departure from Deweyan pedagogy, this paper illuminates the ongoing relationship between Tao and American Progressives and demonstrates how the Xiaozhuang School represents a Chinese articulation of Deweyan Pragmatism.*

The prize committee commended both papers for their originality.

Thanks to the generosity of Pearson Prentice-Hall and its senior history editor, Charles Cavaliere, each winner will receive an award of $400 and a certificate. Both have indicated their desire to attend the 2007 WHA conference in Milwaukee to receive their certificates and well deserved plaudits.

There will be a 2007 competition for an award of $400 in each category. Complete rules are to be found elsewhere in the pages of the *Bulletin* and on the websites of the WHA and Phi Alpha Theta.

WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History

Note: The WHA-Phi Alpha Theta Student Paper Prize in World History Committee invited both 2006 laureates to submit their papers for publication to the WHA Bulletin. Robert Cole accepted; Jeffer Daykin chose to submit his paper to another journal.

Power and Performance in Bombay's Victoria Terminus*

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Introduction

On New Year's Day 1882, the first public trains pulled out of the Victoria Railway Terminus in Bombay. Riding on those inaugural lines were more than passengers, cargo, and the best wishes of a municipal Bombay government that had just spent a sizeable sum in the construction of the terminus and its surrounding railway system. These trains also bore with them an evocative symbol of the colonial order—one which emphasized the centrality of the city as a node of administrative, economic, and cultural power.[1] The Victoria Terminus, a monumental example of British colonial architecture, was thus the emblematic center of the colonial economy around which life in late-nineteenth century Bombay revolved.

To British imperialists, architectural achievements in the colonial hinterlands served both as space with utilitarian purpose and as a physical canvas on which to project the cultural statements of superiority that undergirded the colonialist project. Colonial architecture in Bombay was to be not only a display of real British power, but also a representation of the aims and ideals which British colonialists held regarding the city and the people who lived in it.[2] The proliferation in Bombay of what have habitually (and somewhat inaccurately) been referred to as European architectural forms testifies to the profound and pervasive nature of the impact of British colonialism on the organization and development of the city's urban space. In fact, the ostensibly unmitigated control which British administrators and architects exercised over the process of urbanization in Bombay, ranging in scale from the broad aims of urban planning to the nuances of architectural motif, might suggest at first that the British were *exclusively* responsible for the conceptualization, design, and construction of buildings such as the Victoria Terminus. The European composition and overt colonial messages of the building seem to bespeak a colonial power relationship in which the colonizing power created and manipulated a unified repertoire and vocabulary of urbanization while all other members of the society were essentially powerless. Closer analysis reveals the power relationships of colonial Bombay, though far from equal, to have been more negotiated than the top-down, single-agent narrative suggests. It also yields the realization that no unified vocabulary of urbanization ever existed; rather, it was a fractured and diverse urban discourse.[3]

Even in the single case of the Victoria Terminus, a building which exudes the imagery of the colonialist endeavor, the top-down narrative falls short on several accounts. For one, it collapses the British into a single category — that of the "colonizer" — even while there were clear disputes among the British regarding the shape and context in which the new terminus should be realized. For another, it fails to account for the uniqueness of Bombay's Indian merchant population, whose power in the sphere of urban affairs should not be discounted or underestimated. Perhaps most importantly, the single-agent narrative creates the illusion that the physical structure of the Victoria Terminus had a single symbolic meaning that was inherently stable, which is an oversimplification of the process by which symbols acquire and retain meaning.[4] Although this top-down narrative attempts to address the question of agency, its answer is unsatisfying.

This study of the Victoria Terminus illuminates the overlap and interplay of the several different forms of agency that contributed to the building's creation both as a structure and as a symbol. These intersections of agency can be expressed most clearly by addressing them in terms of three dualisms that the Victoria Terminus embodies. First, the terminus was assigned meaning even while it was producing meaning. In other words, the people who used and experienced the VT gave the building their own meaning, but the building was also affecting them (causing reaction, eliciting response) in return. Second, the building represents the influence both of a larger British colonial urban discourse and of the authorship of an individual architect. The convergence of these two forms of agency (the discursive and the authorial) had an important role in giving rise to the specific form the terminus ultimately took. Finally, the Gothic architectural style, in which the VT was built, was simultaneously mobile and mutable. Certain aspects of "Gothic" architecture traveled unchanged from London to Bombay, while other aspects were altered in a way that fundamentally changed their meanings. When viewed through the lens of these three dual roles, the Victoria Terminus takes on a much more dynamic quality—a quality which reflects the dynamic nature of colonial power relationships as a whole.

Artifact and Performance

The Victoria Terminus, sprawling in size and grand in scale, is like a massive clot in the main artery of contemporary Mumbai's traffic flow. It sits awkwardly at the intersection of three major roads, each of which must bend or turn to negotiate the terminus building. This quality makes the intersection more of a node of destination or arrival rather than a zone of passage, since the straight lines of streets dissolve into a pool of traffic, where the ubiquitous yellow and black taxicabs pick up and drop off passengers, where vendors and beggars congregate, where the crowd of rush hour commuters begins and terminates. The epicenter of this flow of urban life is the commanding façade of the Victoria Terminus itself. In all aspects of its construction, it is a remarkable building, from its unique adaptation of Gothic architectural sensibilities to its orientalist embellishments. These various attributes of the Victoria Terminus—its physical interaction with the city's urban order, its significance and meaning in the minds of the people who use it, and its architectural uniqueness—fit together to create a structure that is both meaningful as an historical artifact and active as a representational performance.[5]

Figure 1 - Victoria Terminus, c. 1895 [6]

To state that a physical structure can function both as an "artifact" and as a "performance" is to imply that it has the capacity to embody

meaning or have meaning assigned to it, while also actively participating in the creation of meaning. In the case of the contemporary Victoria Terminus, it is evident that the terminus has intrinsic meaning by virtue of its architectural history; that it is assigned meaning by the commuters, vendors, and beggars who frequently pass by or through it; and that the terminus creates physiognomic meaning as it sits in the middle of a complex intersection, forcing traffic to move around it and becoming the physical, visual, and figurative center of this piece of urban space. This line of thought proves immensely fruitful in analyzing the symbolic nature of the Victoria Terminus today, but how is it to be translated into late-nineteenth century terms, when the VT existed in a very different urban context from the VT of 2006?

The first two forms of symbolic meaning—intrinsic and assigned—are those which describe the Victoria Terminus's behavior as an artifact, and these forms of meaning can only be understood historically through texts and analysis of sources other than the physical building itself. The context in which the terminus was created no longer exists, and it would be impossible to recreate it without extensive reference to historical documents that give insight into the thoughts and intents of the people who designed the building. The third form of meaning—the performative—is different from the first two in that it is concerned not with intentions and origins but with *effects*. For this reason, it is possible to analyze the VT as an active late-nineteenth century architectural performance by experiencing the building in its contemporary context, even while it is not possible to grasp its artifactual meaning in the same manner. To be certain, this form of analysis has its conceptual limitations, since performative symbolism requires an audience if it is to be meaningful, and the audience of today is vastly different from the audience of 1888 when the building was completed. Nonetheless, the hermeneutic stance adopted by this approach is capable of shedding light on the ways in which the Victoria Terminus may have spoken when first given its performative voice.[7] What we find is that this voice, though loud and boldly declamatory, was characterized largely by its instability, uncertainty, and multiplicity.

When it was originally built, the VT formed the crux at the intersection of two axes, one of which ran down the Bombay peninsula to Apollo Bunder, and the other of which crossed the city by way of the Esplanade from the docks to Marine Drive. These axes physically connected the terminus with the Court of Justice building, Bombay University, the General Post Office, Elphinstone College, the police headquarters, the Town Hall, the European General Hospital, the Mint, and a number of barracks facilities. Thus, the Victoria Terminus's ability to project a sense of its own centrality is not a modern phenomenon; on the contrary, that sense was likely even more palpable in 1888 before Bombay's rapid growth

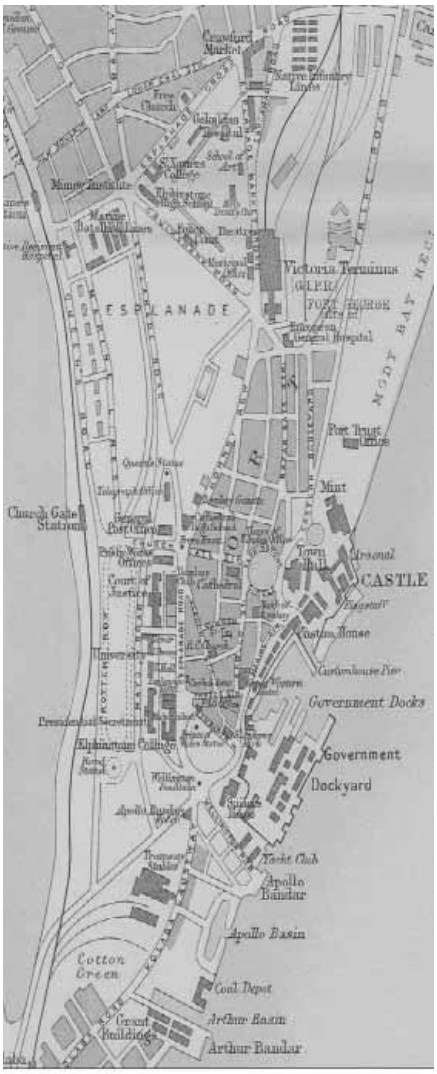

Figure 2-Map of Bombay, 1893[8]

obscured the directness and immediacy of the terminus's physical connection to the rest of the city. Whereas the VT is today only visible once one enters the intersection on which it is located, in 1888 the spacious maidans (open fields) of the Esplanade and relatively uncomplicated street patterns would have given a less obstructed line of sight to the VT and thus reinforced the visual impact of the terminus as city center.[9]

In addition to the breadth of impact the Victoria Terminus was able to effect because of its location, the building's physical structure itself contributed to the effective reach of the terminus's performative voice. As one of the largest and most elaborate structures in Bombay of the late-nineteenth century, the VT imposed itself upon the consciousness of the city both in terms of its epic scale as a performance writ large and as a stunning artistic achievement. Furthermore, as the basis of operation for a railroad industry that was of increasing importance to the colonial economy, the terminus's function enabled the building to assert itself as a key participant in Bombay's economic and industrial spheres. The Victoria Terminus was thus able to project its performative meaning quite effectively, an ability that can be attributed to its location within the city, its physical size, and its functional significance.

Where the terminus was not as effective was in projecting a unified, singular meaning. Unlike

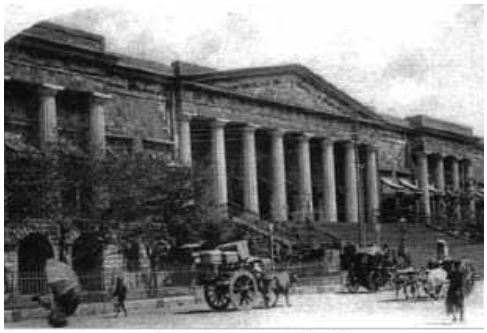

Figure 3-Bombay Town Hall, n.d.[10]

other Bombay buildings such as the Town Hall (1804) or the Bombay University Convocation Hall (1874), which evoked a sense of almost untempered European influence and power, the Victoria Terminus suggested a relationship of hybridity and mediation.[11] The performative voice of the VT spoke neither English nor Marathi; instead, it was built in an architectural pidgin, making free reference to symbols and motifs that were both British and Indian in origin.[12] The result of this combination, which one historian has memorably called a "riotous extravaganza,"[13] is a structure which itself is neither British nor Indian. European stained glass and Mughal multicolored stone arches coexist, monkeys and mongooses watch over the distinctly Gothic entrances to the terminus, and a Western representation of Progress stands atop an Indian-influenced dome flanked by gargoyles designed to handle the unique water challenges of the torrential South Indian monsoons. Regardless of the intentions of the people who designed it, the Victoria Terminus is a building without a unified performative meaning. It suggests the power of the British Empire even as it undermines that power by diluting the British colonial symbology with Indian architectural notions.

Ultimately, it is the viewer of the building—the audience to the terminus's performance—that must give meaning to the VT. The interpretation of the structure's unique hybridity is not self-evident. Whether the terminus's design and original intention was the result of British appropriation and domination or of mutual mitigation and exchange is impossible to determine based on the building's performative aspects alone. This question, then, is left to the viewer, since the instability and multiplicity of the terminus's voice render it unable to project an unambiguous message. In the presence of such ambiguity, the viewer becomes the final arbiter of the competing meanings bound up within the performative aspects of the terminus's physiognomic form. Whether one sees the monkeys and mongooses as evidence of

a colonial power demonstrating its mastery of the "Orient," or as physical representations of the processes of compromise and mediation that typified the colonial order, is the decision of the person looking at the building. On this point, the voice of the Victoria Terminus falls silent.

Discourse and Authorship

Where the first section was concerned with the building's meaning as a performance, this and the following section analyze the building's meaning as an historical artifact. The same ambiguity discussed in the previous section extends to the artifactual meanings of the Victoria Terminus, further challenging the notion that the terminus is exclusively a symbol of the colonizing power.

One historian of the architecture of India captured the difficulties of describing the origins of the Victoria Terminus when he wrote that the building "is a highly original work," even while it is "rooted firmly in the tradition of Ruskin, Scott, and Burges."[14] The perplexing quality of the terminus identified here is its resistance to being reduced to a single author or authorial intention. On the one hand, the building is clearly a unique accomplishment which fits into the stylistic development of the architect who designed it. On the other, the terminus also shows the influence of larger ways of thinking about architecture and urban space that connected individuals from all parts of the British Empire in what might be called the colonialist "project." Thus, the Victoria Terminus, though designed and built by architect Frederick William Stevens (1848-1900), was not his project alone; nor was it wholly the avatar of an overarching colonial urban "discourse."[15]

The relationship between F.W. Stevens and the colonial urban discourse was a mutual one.[16] Stevens's ways of thinking about architecture and its role in a colonial society were not entirely original—they were informed by the styles and ideologies both of London and of Bombay. He was also forced to respond to the rising dissent regarding the form that urbanization in Bombay should take. At the same time, Stevens participated in developing the urban discourse in Bombay, and his individual effects on the city and its way of thinking about urbanization were tangible. It was out of this interplay of author and discourse that the Victoria Terminus and its unique architectural form emerged.

In 1876, the Great Indian Peninsular (GIP) Railway chose Bori Bunder, a warehouse in the Fort district of Bombay, as the site for the construction of its new offices and railroad terminus.[17] In terms of city geography, the location was ideal. Bori Bunder was situated at the center of Bombay's residential, administrative, and economic spheres, with the main harbor located just a few blocks behind, the Crawford Market immediately north, and the municipal offices and university a short walk southward.[18] For a railway company wishing to establish a dominant presence in the economic life of the city, few sites would have lent themselves to that goal better than Bori Bunder.

For the design of the building itself, GIP Railway executives turned to a young architect, Frederick William Stevens, who had just recently begun to attract attention for his bold neo-Gothic designs commissioned for buildings including the Royal Alfred Sailor's Home in Bombay and several municipal structures in Pune.[19] Born in England in 1848, Stevens moved to India in 1867, where he had worked with the Public Works Department until he received the commission for the GIP Railway terminus (named the Victoria Terminus upon its completion).[20] The terminus was a project much larger in scale than any of Stevens's previous commissions; thus, in order to become acquainted with the styles and techniques being used to construct similar stations in Europe, as well as to cull inspiration for his own project, Stevens spent ten months in 1878 traveling and studying European terminus designs.[21]

During his ten months in Europe, and throughout his architectural education, Stevens was exposed to two competing architectural styles. The first was the Victorian Gothic Revival style of public architecture, which in the mid-nineteenth century was at the height of its popularity in England. The Gothic style also enjoyed wide use throughout much of continental Europe, including France, Germany, and Italy. Although it was most often incorporated into the design of churches or academic buildings,[22] the Gothic mode of construction also appeared in government buildings, offices, museums, railroad stations, and private residences.[23] The British proponents of Gothic architecture argued that theirs was an authentically British style, since it was believed to have stemmed from the architectural practices of the Anglo-Saxons who were native to the British isles.[24]

This argument of authenticity was made in order to set up Gothic architecture against its stylistic competitor: the Classical mode. The Greek Revival and later Greco-Roman styles traced their architectural influences back through the Renaissance to classical Greece and Rome. Although Classicist architecture continued to be built throughout the Victorian era,[25] Gothic was indisputably the preferred mode for large public structures. Given this stylistic preference in Europe of the mid- to late-nineteenth century, it is not surprising that Stevens chose to work within the Gothic oeuvre as he drew up his plans for the GIP commission. This was also possibly due to the fact that Classicism simply did not have the contemporary equivalent of such Gothic achievements as St. Pancras Station (which greatly influenced Stevens's work),[26] the Palace of Westminster, or the Royal Courts of Justice (which were nearing completion during Stevens's tour of Europe) to serve as a model for a more Classicist vision of the GIP terminus.

Upon returning to Bombay from his furlough in Europe, Stevens entered another divided architectural milieu. The competition of architectural styles based on considerations of authenticity existed among British architects in India as well, but their argument was of a markedly different timbre. Since British colonial architects recognized the significance of their work in the creation of an imperial India, they argued over whether their efforts would be most effective by aiming to build a distinctly European architectural presence in India, or whether they should aim to build in a style more indigenous to India, creating the visual impression that they were the rightful successors of the Mughal kings. This sharp disagreement was a hallmark of British colonial architecture until the rise of Indian nationalism brought an end to British imperial aspirations.[27] Rather than a unified architectural discourse, British colonial India had widely divergent approaches to urbanization and architecture, differing by region, city, and historical moment.

In most Indian cities, it was the second approach to British colonial architecture that most flourished, giving rise to a style often termed "Indo-Saracenic" to express the style's studied incorporation of Indian motifs and practices. Bombay, however, proved to be a special case in that it was the only city in which a Gothic ideal was pursued by its colonial architects, of which Frederick Stevens is among the most notable. This trend of preference toward Gothic and against Indo-Saracenic did not begin with Stevens, even though he did contribute to the solidification of Bombay's status as a "Gothic" city. For the source of Bombay architects' proclivity for the Gothic style, we turn both to the career of Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Governor of the Bombay Presidency (1862-1867) and to the philanthropic Parsi business leaders who financed the transformation of Bombay in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

Until 1862, when Bartle Frere became the presidency's governor, Bombay's retained a feature common to many British colonial settlements: a fortress wall. In his first year as governor, Frere had the wall demolished, making way for the realization of his plans for a new Bombay built in the Gothic style. Earlier in his career as an administrator in India, Frere had come to favor Gothic architecture while participating with George Gilbert Scott (an important British neo-Gothic architect) in the design of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Bombay. This same attachment to the Gothic style followed Frere to the governorship of the city, where he initiated extensive improvements and developments of Bombay's infrastructure. Frere's comprehensive plan led—directly or indirectly—to the construction of such Gothic-inspired buildings as the Bombay University library, the University convocation hall, the Secretariat, the High Court, and the General Post Office. In fact, Frere was the first to mention the possibility of constructing a new railroad station for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.[28]

Governor Frere was not the only one with a sweeping vision for the remaking of Bombay's

urban landscape. From the beginning of the British colonial enterprise in India, Bombay's native population had exercised a degree of power and autonomy that was unparalleled in other Indian cities. This was due to the fact that Bombay was founded as a trading and commercial city; thus, successful merchants and businessmen held considerable influence over the affairs of the city.[29] Rather than imposing rule over an already existent Indian population in Bombay (as occurred in other colonial cities), the British invited Indian merchants and traders to do business in the new settlement, creating from its inception a relationship that suggested greater equality and mutual dependence than the habitual narrative of colonialism depicts.[30]

Of particular note is the city's Parsi population, which, though small in number, exerted such extensive power over the urban development of Bombay that a 1907 observer was led to remark, "at the first aspect Bombay gives the impression of a city of Parsis. They are visible, they and their work, everywhere."[31] Over the course of several hundred years of British presence in Bombay, the Parsis had carved out a unique niche in the power dynamics of the city, associating themselves economically and politically with the British and working to distinguish themselves from other Indians in Bombay.[32] By the mid-nineteenth century, a number of Parsi merchants had used their privileged position in Bombay to amass sizeable fortunes, and many of these successful individuals chose to use their wealth to contribute to public works and urban development. In fact, were it not for the philanthropic contributions of Bombay's Parsi merchants, Frere's plans for a new Gothic Bombay would have been impossible.[33] On the whole, the Parsi magnates were supportive of the Gothic style both because it created a visual association with Europe (affirming their feelings of closeness with the British) and because it was capable of evoking the sense of ornamentation and detail that characterized Mughal and Hindu architecture (making it more familiar and appealing than Classicist approaches).[34]

Not all Parsi tastes were motivated by a desire to strengthen and reaffirm their connections with the British. The actions of one Parsi philanthropist of the mid-nineteenth century, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (1783-1859), had a significant impact on the urban discourse of Bombay,[35] shaping the context in which Frederick William Stevens would draw up his design for the Victoria Terminus. In addition to his many contributions to public works including hospitals and city infrastructure,[36] Jeejeebhoy established the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy (JJ) School of Art in 1855 as an institute to encourage and preserve the traditional arts of southwestern India. His decision to found the JJ School was based both on a realization of the marketability of Indian artistic goods in an increasingly global market and on an understanding that the technical knowledge of the British directly threatened the viability of Indian artisanship. Accordingly, the school was charged with the dual mandate of preserving knowledge of the area's crafts while also ensuring that they evolved so as to avoid obsolescence. The school flourished, and when the Gothic Revival reached the peak of its popularity in India, JJ School artists, who were primarily of Indian descent, designed and created many of the stone and wrought iron elements that gave Bombay Gothic buildings their distinctive look.[37] The Victoria Terminus was one such building.

Even though Gothic was the favored style in Bombay, a fact that was largely due to the influence of Governor Frere and wealthy Parsi businessmen, it did not go unchallenged in the urban public discourse. As was mentioned earlier, the style of architecture that was most popular in the rest of colonial India was not Gothic Revival. Instead, the Indo-Saracenic style, which aimed to design buildings in a more authentically "Indian" manner, was more widely practiced. A particularly prominent proponent of Indo-Saracenic was Robert Fellowes Chisholm (1840-1915), who enjoyed great success in Madras and Baroda but found stiff resistance to his style in Bombay.[38] In fact, only one of Chisholm's designs for projects in Bombay was ever built,[39] and it was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that the Indo-Saracenic style was used widely in Bombay. The respective architectural visions of Chisholm and Stevens clashed on several occasions, the most celebrated example of which was in the design of the Bombay Municipal Corporation Building (1893). Although Chisholm's Indo-Saracenic design won the initial competition, it was later shelved in favor of a Gothic design by Stevens after the city's enthusiastic reception of the newly completed VT elevated him to the level of celebrity architect. Stevens's Gothic style was to remain the dominant public architectural mode in Bombay for at least another decade. Nonetheless, Chisholm had asserted himself as a dissenting participant in the public urban discourse of Bombay, as he adamantly defended his views both in design competitions and in specialty periodicals such as Britain's *The Builder*.[40]

Between the architectural trends in Europe contemporary to Stevens, the historical legacies of Governor Frere and the Parsis, the artistic presence of the JJ School, and the conflicting views of practitioners of Indo-Saracenic such as Chisholm, it is evident that the urban discourse of late-nineteenth century Bombay was richly variegated and by no means constituted a unified vocabulary. This left the task of negotiating a dense web of overlapping and intersecting ideas to Stevens himself. The trajectory of Stevens's stylistic development mirrored concurrent shifts in the Bombay urban discourse. Each time Stevens designed a new building, he was variously influenced by the constantly changing urban modalities in Bombay, leading to the creation of structures that had their origins both in the colonial discourse and in Stevens's own personal genius.

The overwhelming influence of Gothic is evident throughout Stevens's work, reaching its grandest realization in the Victoria Terminus. With its echoes of London's St. Pancras Station, the VT is clearly a product of Victorian England sensibilities. The Victoria Terminus was the continuation of a Bombay Gothic tradition spanning several decades. At the same time, however, the VT was a new configuration of this tradition, pushing Bombay Gothic architecture and Stevens into stylistic territory neither had ever explored. The Victoria Terminus represents a key turning point both in Stevens's personal style and in the development of Bombay's late-nineteenth century approach to urbanization.

As Indo-Saracenic architects brought their ideas to Bombay and grew more prominent within the city's urban discourse, Stevens began to make subtle alterations to his style to respond to the emergent voice of Indo-Saracenic dissent. When compared with Stevens's earlier and later projects, the Victoria Terminus appears to be situated at the beginning of a trend in Stevens's work that saw increasing incorporation of elements of the Indo-Saracenic style. His earliest Bombay project, the Royal Alfred Sailors' Home (1876), showed only a minimum of influence from Hindu and Mughal architecture, mostly in the form of the multicolored stone motif above the windows,[41] while the BB&CI Railway Offices (1893), with its multitude of white onion domes, represented a more complete merging of Gothic and Indo-Saracenic.[42] The Victoria Terminus fell somewhere between these two extremes. It retained the form and feel of Gothic architecture, but it was also the first of Stevens's buildings to incorporate a central dome, a hallmark of Indo-Saracenic design.[43] The Indian imagery in the building's ornamentation, designed by artists at the JJ School, was indicative of an architect—and, indeed, a city—struggling to resolve the question of architectural authenticity that had colored the colonial urban discourse since architects had become aware of their own potential role within the making of the colonial order.

The conceptualization and construction of the Victoria Terminus was characterized more by synthesis and exchange than by the imposition of a monolithic colonial will. There was no unified colonial urban discourse in Bombay of the late-nineteenth century. It was instead a fractured and flexible one, a fact captured by Frederick William Stevens in his masterful design for the VT. The mutual histories of Bombay city, F.W. Stevens, and the Victoria Terminus suggest a colonialist endeavor that was more ambiguous, locally realized, and multifarious than once thought. The origins of the Victoria Terminus are disparate and multiple, belying the notion that it was the symbol of unmitigated colonial power.

Mobility and Mutability

After demonstrating the uncertainty and instability of the Victoria Terminus's performative voice and suggesting the complexity of the

building's origins, a final problem still remains in the interpretation of the terminus as a colonial symbol: the question of the relationship between Gothic and Indian motifs in the imagery of the building's design. It has already been argued that this confluence of style prevented the terminus from speaking with an unambiguous voice, a fact that has been attributed to the lack of a unified authorial intent for the building, but what does the Victoria Terminus's unique syncretism imply about the nature of power in late-nineteenth century Bombay?

Previous scholars, particularly those versed in the Orientalist critique, have suggested that the Victoria Terminus and buildings like it were demonstrations of the imperial power's mastery and knowledge of its colonial subjects—that the relationship between Gothic and Indian was one solely of appropriation and representation.[44] The assumption made by such an argument is that the process of taking the Gothic style out of Europe and adding Indian-inspired embellishments to its exterior did not significantly change the fact that the Victoria Terminus was a Gothic building. However, these changes did not have as superficial an effect as the Orientalist narrative supposes; instead, the change of cultural and geographic context and the incorporation of Hindu and Mughal elements caused a fundamental shift in meaning, even while the building retained certain elements of the European Gothic symbology. In this process of adaptation and change, the Victoria Terminus demonstrates the capacity for colonial institutions and systems of meaning to be both mobile and mutable.

If a late-nineteenth century colonialist were to choose an architectural style based specifically on a desire to project a sense of unmitigated European power, he would not go wrong in selecting the Gothic. In Europe, Gothic was extraordinarily expressive, and its practitioners were painstakingly conscientious in creating buildings that presented a clear message.[45] The Gothic style, whether in its medieval conception or its later revivals, was most effectively used to convey ideas of power, grandeur, and sublimity. The emphasis on verticality and upward-sweeping lines emphasized the transcendent, almost spiritual nature of the Gothic aesthetic, fitting qualities for a style that originated in the Christian architecture of the middle ages.[46]

Various reasons have been proposed as explanation for the resurgence of the Gothic style in late-nineteenth century Europe. One common argument places the Gothic style within the larger context of romanticist nationalism, suggesting that the search for a "national" style of architecture led Europeans away from the Classical architecture that had dominated the previous century.[47] A related view claims that British architecture of the late nineteenth century was a response to ongoing urbanization and industrialization. Gothic Revival architecture, by this argument, was a style that responded specifically to the unique circumstances of the nineteenth century European city.[48] In either case, the architecture of the Gothic Revival acquired a significant symbolic association that medieval Gothic did not share. It was no longer a form of architecture that only expressed religious sublimity and power; in its revival, Gothic architecture was suffused with a self-reflexive "Europeanness" (or, to be more specific, "Britishness" or "Germanness"). Gothic Revival architects, like other artists, were willing participants in the production of modern national identity, and they used the powerful imagery of Gothic architecture to create buildings that would reinforce that identity.[49]

This European Gothic symbology was not transported verbatim when it was brought to Bombay. Certain elements of Gothic did make it through the journey intact, including the bold expressiveness that contributed to the ability of the Victoria Terminus to project itself as a performance. The same proclivity of Gothic style for ornamentation was translated into an Indian context, in which there was already a tradition of rich decoration and embellishment in architecture.[50] Bombay's public Gothic architecture also exhibited a similar sense of visual scale to that of London and greater Europe. In general terms, Bombay Gothic structures retained the European connotation with public power, but, as will be discussed later in this section, the types of power connoted by either the Bombay or the European version of Gothic were not exactly the same.

These continuities between London and Bombay have been highlighted in numerous past studies.[51] What has not received as much attention is the extent and significance of the mutability of the Bombay Gothic style. In its cross-continental transit, the European Gothic can be seen changing in response to the physical environment of Bombay, merging its religious overtones with commercial imagery, and being mobilized to express several different forms of power. The consideration of these manifestations of Gothic's mutability yield the observation that it is misleading to claim that Bombay's Gothic structures were simply lifted from their original European context and brought to Bombay with their meanings as Gothic buildings intact. On the contrary, the Gothic architecture of Bombay was so far removed from Europe's Gothic Revival that it ceased to connote a purely European or national identity, sharply delineating it from the self-consciously nationalist work of many Gothic Revival practitioners in Europe.[52] The mutability of the Bombay Gothic style suggests that buildings such as the Victoria Terminus can be better understood as quotations of several different styles, which makes the terminus a unique product of colonial power relationships specific to Bombay.

In analyzing the mutability of colonial institutions, post-colonial scholars have often referred to the idea of "transculturation" as a method of describing the reciprocal and mutual (though by no means always equal) relationships that comprised the colonial order. Transculturation and its syncretic effects were at work in the Victoria Terminus, perhaps most notably in the building's response to the environmental and climactic challenges of Bombay. The European Gothic style that proved most influential in Bombay was Italian (or Venetian) Gothic rather than English Gothic, since the Mediterranean climate was more comparable to Bombay than that of London. The heat and humidity of Bombay weather necessitated the conscientious design of public buildings that would allow for airflow and open space.[53] The Victoria Terminus's open galleries, placement of arches, and window configuration all show evidence of a concern for the management of shade and air movement.[54]

Gargoyles as functional and decorative devices are a feature of all Gothic buildings, but on the Victoria Terminus they are particularly prominent, both in size and in number. During each monsoon season, Bombay's buildings are assailed by storms of an intensity that far surpasses those even of rainy London. As such, Bombay architects were forced to modify the water-handling capacities of European buildings. F.W. Stevens and the artists at the J.J. School took this functional requirement and turned it into a fancifully active form of ornamentation—one can almost imagine the Victoria Terminus being transformed into a monumental fountain during monsoon season as torrents stream from the mouths of the myriad gargoyles scattered over the building's exterior.[55] The terminus was thus distinctive from its European counterparts in that it interacted with the Indian environment to create new architectural ideas.

A second way in which the Victoria Terminus illustrates the mutability of the Gothic style is the manner in which it takes traditionally religious symbols and alters them to create a building that celebrates the colonial economy. The terminus is in some respects reminiscent of the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The stained glass, high vaulted ceilings, ornate statuary, and perpendicular layout of the platforms against the company's headquarters call to mind the central nave of a cathedral, but in the VT the altar is replaced by ticket counters and railway offices, and parishioners arrive and depart by train not to worship, but to do business. The images at the entrance to the office building are not of saints, but of powerful men in the history of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway. And standing at the highest point of the building is not a cross, but a human representation of the spirit of Progress. Colonial Bombay was a city defined by its commercial significance, and this fact is reflected and reinforced in the Victoria Terminus's appropriation of religious imagery to create an economic "cathedral."

The mutability of Gothic in Bombay took on a temporal dimension as well. As power relationships within the colonial city changed, so did the meaning of Bombay Gothic and the contexts in which the Gothic symbology could be mobilized. This quality is perhaps most salient in a comparison of the Victoria Terminus and the building

located just across the intersection from it: the Bombay Municipal Corporation headquarters, completed only five years after the VT. During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, the Indian population of Bombay as a whole began to claim increasingly more power in the administration of city affairs. One result of this trend was the foundation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC), which was intended as a form of self-government for the city's Indian residents. The power and significance of the BMC grew as the turn of the century neared, leading to the decision to build a headquarters fitting of its

Figure 4 - BMC Building, c. 1900 [56]

new status. After the previously mentioned confrontation between Indo-Saracenic and Gothic designs for the BMC project, it was Stevens's Gothic-inspired design that ultimately won the commission.

If we accept the argument that Bombay Gothic architecture is a symbol of British power, we are faced with a contradiction in the BMC building as compared to the Victoria Terminus. Where the VT represents the economic nature of the relationship between London and Bombay, the BMC's growing power signaled the eventual erosion of imperial control over the city's urban spaces. This erosion was manifested in the more prominent influence of Indian architecture in the design of the BMC building. That the Gothic style could be invoked in Bombay both to express the power of the colonial economy and to accompany the emergence of anti-colonial forms of power is further proof that the Gothic of Bombay is a fundamentally different system of meaning from its public, political, and national Gothic Revival progenitor in Europe.

In light of this observation of Bombay Gothic's mutability, the question of the relationship between Indian and Gothic styles in buildings such as the Victoria Terminus takes on new significance. If the Gothic style was capable of being changed so dramatically in its move to India, this suggests that, rather than being a ready-made set of European symbols that could be placed identically in any context, Gothic architecture offered a malleable repertoire that could be quoted, mimicked, and modified by architects in Europe and abroad.

It is this process of quotation that gives any building its cultural, political, and temporal meaning.[57] Architects in colonial Bombay made visual references to Indian and European architectural forms when designing buildings such as the Victoria Terminus. These references do not make the terminus an example of a European building whose designers appropriated Indian symbols and motifs. After all, Stevens and other proponents of the Bombay Gothic style were appropriating the symbology of Gothic Revival architecture, modifying it, and deploying it in its altered form. Thus, the building quotes and assimilates both European and Indian architectural sources in the creation of a symbol that is unique to the Bombay context out of which it emerged.

Conclusions

Today, the Victoria Terminus has assumed new meanings in a city that is rapidly changing. Once devoted almost entirely to long-distance trains to the interior of India, the terminus now serves the millions of commuters who flood into the city from the outlying suburbs everyday. It handles a volume of traffic which it was never intended to accommodate, a shortcoming that is most acutely felt during rush hour as crowds of commuters try to press into or out of the terminus through only a handful of small entrances. The terminus is now fronted by a large iron fence intended to separate walking traffic from the chaotic intersection. Caterpillar-like structures emerge from the ground to weave their way around the intersection, allowing pedestrians to go underground and pass beneath the busy streets.

Changes have brought a new identity for the terminus, and for the city as well. In 1996, the ruling Shiv Sena party renamed the station the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, enabling it to fit within their vision of a city—now called Mumbai—that would strive to divest itself of any echoes of its colonial past. Appellation has since become a point of political contention, with supporters of the Shiv Sena preferring to call the city "Mumbai," while opponents sometimes insist on the use of "Bombay." Such controversies are not as inconsequential as they might seem. Historians' role in the creation and perpetuation of the Eurocentric narrative myth of colonialism is clear, and the study of history must be recognized as having contributed to the development of a contemporary Mumbai political environment in which it is more desirable to forget the colonial past than to understand it.[58]

The history of the former Victoria Terminus, imprinted with the evidence of many different forms of agency, offers a particularly significant challenge to the top-down narrative of colonial urbanization. As has been argued in this study, the terminus emerged from processes of compromise and exchange rather than relationships of dominance. It is an unstable symbol, making reference to Gothic and Hindu motifs as it speaks with a performative voice that is neither wholly British nor purely Indian in origin. This instability was perhaps an inevitable result of the multiplicity of influences, both authorial and discursive, that came to bear on the building's design. In this respect, the terminus and its architectural style owed their existence and symbolic salience not to their Gothic and Hindu progenitors, but instead to the specific historical context of Bombay of the late-nineteenth century. Indeed, the Victoria Terminus is of Bombay—of the history that shaped it, the politics that moved it, and the people that made it.

* This project would have been impossible without the support of the Richmond Quest and its generous funding of two weeks of on-site research in Mumbai in January 2006.

ENDNOTES

[1] Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991), 175-85.

[2] John Lang, Madhavi Desai, and Miki Desai. *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity—India 1880 to 1980* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997) 72-73.

[3] Preeti Chopra's PhD dissertation (Preeti Chopra, "The City and its Fragments: Colonial Bombay, 1854-1918," [Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003.]) explores this idea in great detail and with considerable success.

[4] Arjun Appadurai provides a lucid analysis of the instability of the symbology of locality. See (Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1996).).

[5] My conversations with John Marx and Kathleen Hewett-Smith while in Mumbai were instrumental in the process of bringing this argument together.

[6] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Victoria Terminus, Bombay,* <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/icrt/ho_1985.1168.11.htm> (2 February 2006).

[7] Prof. Carol Breckenridge of the New School contributed immensely to my articulation of this issue during our meeting in Mumbai, January 2006.

[8] *Constable's 1893 Hand Atlas to India,* <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00maplinks/colonial/constable1893/constable1893.html> (2 February 2006).

[9] Vikas Dilawari, an architect with the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, was the first to draw my attention to this larger physical connection of the Victoria Terminus with the rest of Bombay.

[10] BEST Undertaking, *A Hundred Years Ago*, <http://bestundertaking.com/his_chap01.asp> (5 February 2006).

[11] Hybridity as a post-colonial concept is a fascinating one, but its further exploration is beyond the scope of this paper. See (Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Hellen Tiffin, eds., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* [London: Routledge, 1995].).

[12] A variety of sources aim to describe the manner in which Indian and British artistic forms interacted. See (Catherine King, ed. *Views of Difference: Different View of Art* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1999].), and (Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* [Chicago: Chicago UP, 1992].).

[13] Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, (London: John Murray Publishers, 1985), 173.

[14] John Ruskin, Giles Gilbert Scott, and William Burges were major proponents of Gothic revival architecture in Great Britain. See (Davies, *Splendours of the Raj,* 173.).

[15] I am grateful to Prof. Mariam Dossal of the University of Mumbai for her help in developing the line of thought which guides this section of the paper.

[16] The use of the term "discourse" has in many ways become its own discourse. I use the concept in its simplest form: for referring to dialogue and exchange centered around a certain topic or problem. I realize that wider, more abstract historiographical applications of "discourse" exist, but they go beyond the aims and intentions of this study. For sources of these other forms of discursive analysis, there is a volume edited by Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer that offers several substantial essays which make use of discursive analysis to understand the specificities of colonial power: (Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993].). Sumit Sarkar's chapter entitled "The City Imagined" (Sumit Sarkar, "The City Imagined," *Writing Social History* [Delhi: Oxford UP 1997], 159-185.), while not explicitly dealing with discourse, nonetheless uses discursive considerations to develop a new understanding of the manner in which Calcutta was viewed by its residents, British and Indian alike. J.V. Naik approaches discourse from a standpoint similar to intellectual history in a 1976 essay (J.V. Naik, "An Early Appraisal of British Colonial Policy," *Journal of the University of Bombay* XLIV & XLV [1975-96].). Finally, Anthony King applies discursive analysis to the question of colonial urbanization: (Anthony King, "The Language of Colonial Urbanization," *Sociology* 8 [Jan 1974]: 81-110.).

[17] Vikas Dilawari, Personal communication.

[18] Christopher London, *Bombay Gothic* (Mumbai: India Book House, 2002), 89.

[19] Ibid., 78.

[20] Fort Walks, 86.

[21] *Bombay to Mumbai: Changing Perspectives*, 239.

[22] Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1962), 20.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*. (Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation, 1979), 4-5.

[25] Gavin Stamp and Colin Amery, *Victorian Buildings of London: 1837-1887*. (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), 17.

[26] Lang, Desai, and Desai, *Architecture and Independence,* 97.

[27] Thomas Metcalf, "Architecture and the Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910," *Representations* 6 (1984): 6-10.

[28] *Bombay Gothic*, 16-30.

[29] Chopra, "The City and its Fragments," p. 104.

[30] Mariam Dossal, Personal communication.

[31] Sidney Low, *A Vision of India* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1907), 44.

[32] Chopra, "The City and its Fragments," 104.

[33] It is perhaps my greatest regret in this study that I was unable to further explore the contributions of Bombay's influential Indian and Parsi populations. A rich historiography has developed recently around these questions of Indian agency and identity. See Dobbins (Christine Dobbins, *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840-1885* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1972].) for a particularly insightful study of Indian communities and their role within the formation of broader urban policy. Eckehard Kulke authored one of the definitive works on Parsi history: (Eckehard Kulke, *The Parsees in India: A Minority as Agent of Social Change*, [Munich: Weltforum Verlag, 1974].)

[34] London, *Bombay Gothic*, 30.

[35] See (Asiya Siddiqi, "The Trading World of Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 19 (1982): 301-304.).

[36] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "Jeejeebhoy (Jijibhai), Sir Jamsetjee (Jamsetji)."

[37] London, *Bombay Gothic*, 20.

[38] Lang, Desai, and Desai, *Architecture and Independence*, 102.

[39] London, *Bombay Gothic*, 34

[40] Ibid., 101.

[41] Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 173.

[42] Sharada Dwivedi and Rahul Mehrotra, *Anchoring a City Line: The History of the Western Suburban Railway and its Headquarters in Bombay, 1899-1999* (Mumbai: Eminence Designs, 2000).

[43] Dilawari, Personal communication.

[44] Thomas Metcalf is perhaps the most prolific author in this vein. See (Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989].) and (Thomas Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005].). The more general line of thought undergirding Metcalf's work can be traced back to Michel Foucault (Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* [New York: Harper Colophon, 1972].), but it has been expanded by such authors as Edward Said (Edward Said, *Orientalism* [New York: Pantheon, 1978].), Timothy Mitchell (Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991].), and Bernard Cohn (Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* [Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996].).

[45] George Hersey, *High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1972).

[46] Clark, *The Gothic Revival*.

[47] Ronald Bradbury, *The Romantic Theories of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: AMS Press, 1976).

[48] Stamp and Amery, *Victorian Buildings of London*, 15

[49] Allison Agnes, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival* (New York: Richard R Smith, 1938).

[50] Chopra, "The City and its Fragments," 435.

[51] Several of the works heavily cited in this paper have focused on the mobility of the Gothic style. See (Metcalf, "Architecture and the Representation of Empire."), (Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*.), and (London, *Bombay Gothic*.)

[52] A robust literature on the Gothic Revival and its nationalist associations exists. See [Georg Germann, *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, Influences, and Ideas,* tr. Gerald Onn (London: Lund Humphries for the Architectural Association, 1972).] and [Nikolaus Pevsner, *Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc: Englishness and Frenchness in the Appreciation of Gothic Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969).], as well as previously cited [Ronald Bradbury, *The Romantic Theories of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century*.], [Allison Agnes, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival*.], and [Charles Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*.].

[53] Chopra, 434.

[54] London, *Bombay Gothic*, 93.

[55] I cannot take full credit for the articulation of this image. Dr. Kathleen Hewett-Smith first took note of the distinctive gargoyles and their effect when we visited the VT in January 2006.

[56] *Homolka Bombay Abb*. 67, <http://www.baugeschichte.de/bomabb67.htm> (1 February 2006)

[57] See (Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1977].) for a particularly provocative application of this idea.

[58] Breckenridge, Personal communication.

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Dossal, Mariam. Professor of History at the University of Mumbai.
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The *World History Bulletin*, an official publication of the World History Association, is published twice-yearly, in April and December. The *Bulletin* Editor invites articles and essays on all aspects of world history and the teaching of world history. **The *Bulletin* publishes articles of varying lengths, and will accept entries between 500 and 4000 words (including citations and works cited) for consideration.** Authors are responsible for submitting accurate and error-free essays for consideration by the *Bulletin* editorial staff. While a certain degree of editorial assistance is expected, the burden of providing quality essays for consideration rests with the authors. Names of non-WHA endorsed editors can be provided, upon written request to the *Bulletin* Editor, for those members who seek grammar and/or translation assistance. For more information, email the Bulletin Editor at bulletin@thewha.org.

Update on 2005 Paper Prize Winner

From Luke Clossey at Simon Fraser: *Most likely our executive director had no idea what sequence of events he initiated by sending the award money to **Kyle Jackson**, 2005 winner of the World History Association & Phi Alpha Theta undergraduate paper prize.*

Combined with savings from Safeway pay cheques, the prize last Spring flew Kyle across the eleven thousand kilometers from Vancouver to Mizoram, the region he had studied in Simon Fraser University's early-modern world history seminar the previous semester. (Although the seminar instructor had never heard of Mizoram himself, his atlas confirmed its existence, at the southernmost part of the easternmost extension of India.) This was Kyle's first major trip abroad, but his landing was softened by the gracious hospitality of the economist Dr. Vanlalchhawna and his family.

The Simon Fraser libraries' modest Mizoram holdings turned out to be sometimes wrong, as did the basic language training Kyle conscientiously took up in preparation, as he discovered by praising food as "A tui lo em em!"--which turned out to mean "This tastes exceedingly bad!" He was the only undergraduate to present a paper at the Indian Council of Historical Research Conference, at Mizoram University in Aizawl, where the global and environmental approach introduced by his "Integrative World History: Mizoram and the Early-Modern World" was widely appreciated, except by the scholar who denounced it as a "futuristic" history possibly the work of a CIA operative.

The WHA prize knocked him clear off the path towards a safe job as a municipal bureaucrat and into the wider world, and into world history. Please send all recommendations for a history graduate program for northeast India to kylej at sfu.ca.

Put a Little Acting Into Your Teaching

Dr. Linda Karen Miller, recipient of the 2001 World History Teaching Prize, announces the publication of her e-book: *Put A Little Acting Into Your Teaching* published by National Social Science Press. The former national award winning teacher, showcases her acting talents and those of her former world history students as she presents standard based lessons on how to use drama in the classroom. The book is also used in her *Acting for Teachers* class at the community college.

By acting, students can learn about a particular period of history be becoming people of the past, reliving dramatic moments of their lives, experiencing the problems and actions of real men and women and discover the historical concepts involved.

Creative drama and theater are powerful teaching tools. As actors portraying people and events of the past, students come to understand circumstances and characters in the context of time and place and get an indepth look at a specific time period. Excitement replaces boredom and the class becomes a "hit".

The picture below is Dr. Miller's students performing on stage at a school in Moscow. It was this acting project that won for the students the right to travel to Russia. The students rewrote scripts from the WPA's Federal Theater Project in the 1930's and made them fit the new millennium. This type of "agitational" theater was started in Russia and I stood on the same stage where it was first performed. It is now the home of Friendship House in Moscow.

The e-book contains a review of current literature on the topic then shows examples from Dr. Miller's classes over a twenty year period. The World History examples include *Lascaux Cave painting, Byzantine Empire and the Nika Revolt, Athena and the Athens City State, Joan of Arc, Queen Isabella and the Columbus crew, Bess Of Hardiwick (this is the performance that Dr. Miller submitted to win the NCSS Outstanding Secondary Teacher of the Year in 1996), Age of Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, Kabuki Plays, and African Safar.* The American History examples include: *Revolutionary America, the Founding Period, Westward Expansion, Depression Era, the Living Newspaper, World War II and the Battle of the Bulge.* American government examples include: *Plessey v. Ferguson, Brown vs. the Board of Education, and Wisconsin v. Yoder.* Lesson plans and standards are given for the examples.

The e-book can be purchased through NSS press for $35.00 which includes shipping and handling. Contact: NSS Press 2020 Hills Lake Drive El Cajon, California 92020.

Here is an excerpt from a student created play about Joan of Arc. [Standard: ERA 4 Standard 4B: the student understands the coalescence of political and social order in Europe.]

Narrator: *Early in the fourteenth century, there began a long series of wars between England and France. These wars dragged on more than 100 years.*
Mother of Joan: *I hate this war. How many years do we have to bear?*
Charles VII of France: *How can we triumph at this war? What can I do? Oh our destiny is gone!*
Narrator : *Joan of Arc, a simple peasant girl believed that she was divinely inspired to help the French king.*
Joan of Arc: *My country is getting dangerous. Someone should help France. That is my responsibility. Your Majesty, I want to help you. I love France like you. I cannot bare the English army's deeds. Just give me a chance…*

World History Association Teaching Prize

PURPOSE: The World History Association is committed to working across all grade levels to maintain the use of current world history research in classroom practice.

THE SOURCES: Current historical research most frequently found in books (and *The Journal of World History*) is a significant inspiration for our teaching. The WHA is committed to encouraging teachers at all levels to turn to scholarship for content ideas. We are seeking lessons either inspired by or directly related to World History scholarship published within the last ten years.

AWARD: The winning lesson will be published in the Fall WHA *Bulletin*. The designer of the winning lesson will receive a $750.00 cash award sponsored by Pearson-Prentice Hall and recognition at the WHA Annual Meeting in June. Educators may have a letter announcing the award sent to their supervisors and local press.

DEADLINE: Send one copy by **MAY 1, 2007** to each of the committee members listed below.

ELIGIBILITY: Submissions from all grade levels are welcome. So as to encourage new recipients, winners from anytime in the past three years, as well as committee members, are ineligible.

SUGGESTIONS: These are suggestions to guide your thinking. Feel free to add to the prompt questions below.

1. **Brief introduction**
   For whom is the lesson intended?
   What is the purpose of the lesson?
   How does it fit into your curriculum, or larger plan?
   What are the lesson's links to current research?

2. **Procedures for implementation**
   What preparatory work is assigned?
   How does the lesson work? (procedure, number of sessions, etc.)
   How do you know that students have "gotten it?"

3. **Conclusion**
   Reflections on how it went in your class? (Student work and/or student reflections are encouraged)
   How might you adapt it to more advanced or lower level students?
   What other possible conceptual links do you see?

4. **Possible Appendices:**
   Appendix of relevant handouts or supporting materials used
   Annotated list of available resources for students and teachers

World History Association Teaching Prize Award Committee

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AP World History Summer Institutes

Although the Institutes & Workshops area of AP Central lists many professional development opportunities for AP teachers, they are not necessarily endorsed by the College Board. Each listing will indicate the status of endorsement. Tuition for non-endorsed events will not be covered by states that only reimburse for events endorsed by the College Board. Additionally, sponsored events are professional development opportunities that are coordinated and managed via a College Board Regional office, those that are not sponsored are provided by a college, university or educational institution other than The College Board. Events that are not sponsored may be endorsed by The College Board unless otherwise noted. For more information on a particular Institute, see: http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/Pageflows/InstitutesAndWorkshops/InstitutesAndWorkshopsController.jpf

Start	Location
06/11/2007	University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (Las Vegas, New Mexico, United States)
06/11/2007	The Community School of Naples (Naples, Florida, United States)
06/18/2007	Southern Methodist University (Dallas, Texas, United States)
06/18/2007	Shrine Catholic High School (Royal Oak, Michigan, United States)
06/18/2007	Kennesaw State University (Kennesaw, Georgia, United States)
06/18/2007	Woodward Academy (College Park, Georgia, United States)
06/24/2007	AP by the Sea Summer Institutes at the University of San Diego (San Diego, California, United States)
06/24/2007	Western Kentucky University (Bowling Green, Kentucky, United States)
06/25/2007	Pacific Advanced Placement Institute at Notre Dame de Namur University (Belmont, California, United States)
06/25/2007	The University of Texas at Arlington (Arlington, Texas, United States)
06/25/2007	George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia, United States)
06/25/2007	Fairfax County Public Schools - Annandale High School (Annandale, Virginia, United States)
06/25/2007	Shrine Catholic High School (Royal Oak, Michigan, United States)
06/25/2007	Carleton College (Northfield, Minnesota, United States)
06/25/2007	University of Arkansas at Little Rock (Little Rock, Arkansas, United States)
06/25/2007	Goucher College (Baltimore, Maryland, United States)
06/25/2007	University of South Florida (Tampa, Florida, United States)
06/25/2007	Rice University (Houston, Texas, United States)
06/25/2007	University of Arkansas at Little Rock (Little Rock, Arkansas, United States)
06/25/2007	Silver State Advanced Placement Summer Instutute at Del Sol High School (Las Vegas, Nevada, United States)
06/25/2007	Nebraska Wesleyan University (Lincoln, Nebraska, United States)
06/25/2007	University of Central Florida (Orlando, Florida, United States)
06/25/2007	Silver State Advanced Placement Summer Instutute at Del Sol High School (Las Vegas, Nevada, United States)
06/26/2007	Rochester New York Collaborative - Gates Chili Central School District (Rochester, New York, United States)
06/26/2007	Pacific Northwest AP Institute at Interlake High School (Bellevue, Washington, United States)
06/26/2007	Pacific Northwest AP Institute at Interlake High School (Bellevue, Washington, United States)
07/08/2007	St. Johnsbury Academy (St. Johnsbury, Vermont, United States)
07/09/2007	University of Arkansas (Fayetville, Arkansas, United States)
07/09/2007	Center for Teaching International Relations- University of Denver (Denver, Colorado, United States)
07/09/2007	Texas Lutheran University (Seguin, Texas, United States)
07/09/2007	Shrine Catholic High School (Royal Oak, Michigan, United States)
07/09/2007	Morehead State University (Morehead, Kentucky, United States)
07/09/2007	Pappajohn Education Center (Des Moines, Iowa, United States)
07/09/2007	Butler University (Indianapolis, Indiana, United States)
07/09/2007	Long Beach Unified AP Summer Institute at Milikan High School (Long Beach, California, United States)
07/09/2007	The Taft School (Watertown, Connecticut, United States)

07/09/2007	Rice University (Houston, Texas, United States)
07/09/2007	Oglethorpe University (Atlanta, Georgia, United States)
07/15/2007	The Venetian Resort, Hotel and Casino (Las Vegas, Nevada, United States)
07/15/2007	The Venetian Resort, Hotel and Casino (Las Vegas, Nevada, United States)
07/15/2007	AP by the Sea Summer Institutes at the University of San Diego (San Diego, California, United States)
07/16/2007	Fordham University (New York, New York, United States)
07/16/2007	Advanced Placement Program Summer Institute at Sacramento State (Sacramento, California, United States)
07/16/2007	Fitchburg State College (Fitchburg, Massachusetts, United States)
07/16/2007	University of North Carolina at Charlotte (Charlotte, North Carolina, United States)
07/16/2007	The University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas, United States)
07/16/2007	Texas Christian University (Fort Worth, Texas, United States)
07/16/2007	Texas Christian University (Fort Worth, Texas, United States)
07/22/2007	St. Johnsbury Academy (St. Johnsbury, Vermont, United States)
07/23/2007	Phoenix Desert AP Summer Institute at Pinnacle High School (Phoenix, Arizona, United States)
07/23/2007	The University of Tulsa (Tulsa, Oklahoma, United States)
07/23/2007	AP Summer Institute for Teaching Professionals at Cal State San Marcos (San Marcos, California, United States)
07/23/2007	SUNY Purchase College (Purchase, New York, United States)
07/23/2007	The University of Texas at Dallas (Richardson, Texas, United States)
07/23/2007	Saint Joseph's College (Standish, Maine, United States)
07/23/2007	La Salle University (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States)
07/23/2007	Oakland University (Rochester, Michigan, United States)
07/23/2007	Rice University (Houston, Texas, United States)
07/23/2007	Augsburg College (Minneapolis, Minnesota, United States)
07/29/2007	Salem State College (Salem, Massachusetts, United States)
07/30/2007	Cherry Creek AP Institute at Cherry Creek High School (Greenwood Village, Colorado, United States)
07/30/2007	Lewes Beach, DE (Lewes, Delaware, United States)
07/30/2007	Manhattan College (Manhattan, New York, United States)
07/30/2007	Cooperating School Districts (St. Louis, Missouri, United States)
07/30/2007	University of California Riverside Extension (Riverside, California, United States)
07/30/2007	Bridgeport Middle School (Bridgeport, West Virginia, United States)
07/30/2007	Central Christian College (McPherson, Kansas, United States)
07/30/2007	College of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Virginia, United States)
07/30/2007	Oakland University (Rochester, Michigan, United States)
07/30/2007	Winnetonka High School (Kansas City, Missouri, United States)
07/30/2007	LeTourneau University (Longview, Texas, United States)
08/06/2007	Intermountain West AP Summer Institute at University of Utah (Salt Lake City, Utah, United States)
08/06/2007	Southern California A.P. Institute at Palos Verdes Peninsula High School (Rolling Hills Estates, California, United States)
08/06/2007	WSWHE BOCES - Skidmore College (Saratoga Springs, New York, United States)
08/06/2007	George Mason University (Fairfax, Virginia, United States)

FROM THE WHA HEADQUARTERS

As many of you know, I joined headquarters in March of 2006. However, what most of you don't know is that I come from one of the best cities in the U.S., Portland, OR (no, really, Portland is cool). I received my B.A. from Reed College (also in Portland) in 2001. Afterwards, I took a couple of years off to work at Reed and travel around Europe. After a brief stint living in Seattle (which is not nearly as cool as Portland), I moved to Honolulu. I am currently working on my M.A. at the University of Hawaii, Manoa. I have finished my coursework and teaching, so I'm currently agonizing over my thesis. I am looking at the use of mass rape during war and comparing the Japanese experience in WWII with the Serbian during the fall of Yugoslavia. Needless to say, I now need therapy. So far, working for the WHA has been my therapy, or at least a good excuse for not working on my thesis. Everyone I've worked with has been very welcoming and helpful. I'm glad that I had the chance to meet so many of you in Atlanta. Besides the obvious walks on the beach and candlelit dinners, I love traveling, sports (especially volleyball), film, music, and, of course, history. So that's why I'm happy to work for the WHA. Thank you, thank you. --Leslie

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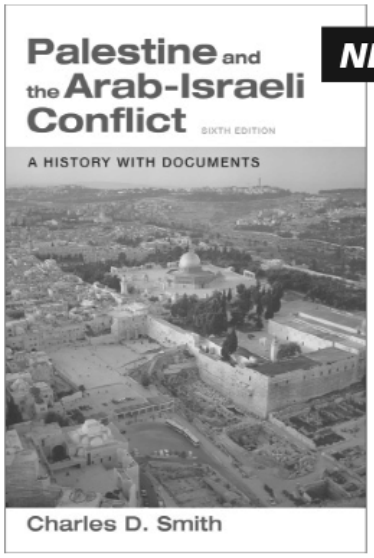

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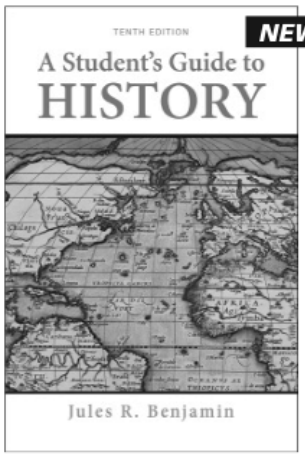

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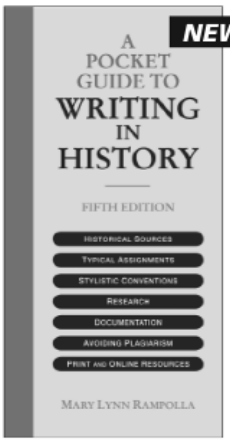

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Regular Membership	$60 per year
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WHA dues are payable on a yearly basis. During each year, members will receive two issues of the *Journal of World History* and two issues of the *World History Bulletin*. Memberships run on a calendar year. Applications received before September 1 will receive that current year's publications. Applications received after September 1 will begin membership the following January unless otherwise requested. If your address has changed since the last issue of the *World History Bulletin*, please send notification to the WHA Headquarters.

The *World History Bulletin* appears in April and December.