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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 24, Folder 10, International Colloquium on Religion,  
Peoplehood, Nation and Land, October-November 1970.

EXCERPTS FROM OPENING ADDRESS BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM,  
NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM  
ON "RELIGION, NATIONALISM, LAND, AND PEOPLEHOOD", CO-SPONSORED  
BY THE TRUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY,  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AND THE ISRAEL INTERFAITH COMMITTEE  
NOV. 1 - 8, 1970, AT THE ISRAEL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

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Three recent experiences on the American scene converged and brought into sharp focus the urgency of facing now the pervasive importance of the issues that are involved in the colloquium theme of the dynamic interaction of religious attitudes and behavior, the rise of nationalisms and group consciousness, the emotional and reverent attachment to land, and transnational peoplehood. These experiences, and the pressing need to make sense out of them in some organized way, are what motivated the American Jewish Committee to join in organizing this international meeting in Jerusalem.

For the past few years the American Jewish Committee and I personally have been involved in supporting movements of self-determination among black, ~~Latin~~-Spanish-speaking, American Indian, and white poor people in the United States who are seeking economic equality and social justice for their deprived masses. At the same time we have been engaged in helping ethnic Americans, low-income, blue-collar working class people, to organize ~~in~~ for the sake of meeting their serious human needs. The domination of the American scene on the part of the black and other minority groups in their struggle for equality led to "a backlash" on the part of the ethnic white Americans, who have profound problems as well and felt that these were being neglected or sacrificed in the interest of those more militant racial groups.

In our involvement with both the racial minorities and the ethnic Americans, we were impressed by the emergence of two new strong realities on the American scene. The "melting pot" theory has come to an end, and <sup>in</sup> its place there has emerged a clearcut pluralism, characterized by at least two decisive features: first, a strong group consciousness on the part of racial minorities as the vehicle to achieve their goals in the larger society, and a group solidarity among white ethnics tinged by the recovery of their national origins in the old country - Ireland, Italy, Germany, Poland, Scandinavia, etc; second, the increased involvement of religion, both as a set of ideals and values as well as an institution and source of manpower, in ~~the~~ both sides of the group conflict.

Thus, the American scene has now become a vigorous staging ground on which the issues of nationalism and group solidarity and religion are confronting the society. In the racial and ethnic conflict just described, the black movement is essentially Protestant in its cast, while the white ethnics are primarily Roman Catholic. Beneath the surface of what is ostensibly a social and economic struggle, Protestantism and Catholicism are increasingly salient factors.

The awareness of the part on Protestant and Catholic leaders of the degree to which the racial conflict is being played out on religious lines has led them in recent months to use their religious influence to lead both racial and ethnic groups away from a collision course, toward the building of coalitions in which blacks and ethnics will seek to realize their common objectives together, rather than destroy or undermine each other. The Jewish community has had a stake in trying to bring about such coalitions, because up until now Jews frequently have gotten caught in the crossfire between blacks and ethnic whites.

The second experience was the involvement of the Jewish community in relief efforts for the victims of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. Since August 1968, the American Jewish Emergency Relief Effort for Nigeria-Biafra organized by the American Jewish Committee brought the Jewish community into intimate awareness of the degree to which religious, national, and ethnic factors were decisive in shaping that tragic conflict. While the civil war was ostensibly political and economic, the fact that the Ibo tribes of Biafra were Christian and were in mortal fear of a holy war being launched against them by the Muslim Yoruba and Hausa tribes contributed explosive emotional content that straggled. No resolution of that conflict and its aftermath will be possible in any fundamental way unless the forces of religion, nationalism, land, and peopelhood are taken into account and are resolved constructively.

Third, the Middle East conflict has become a dominant issue on the agenda of Jewish-Christian relations in the United States. Jews have taken for granted their group solidarity with other Jews in Israel, as they have their strong mystique of attachment to the land of Israel. To the many Christians, especially liberal Protestants, who have spiritualized the land and space, the Jewish involvement in Israel has been incomprehensible. Yet if there is to be any real reconciliation between Christians and Jews in the U. S. -and abroad, these issues will have to be understood deeply by both groups.

The examination of these concerns, seen in the perspective of similar problems in Ireland, India between Hindus and Muslims, Belgium, Aldo Triesta between Italy and Yugoslavia, Malasya, and elsewhere hopefully will lead to a more objective understanding of the entire range of problems in which these forces are now central. Our hope is that this international colloquium with key representative intellectual leaders from the five continents will initiate a process of study and evaluation that in time will knit the "governing elites" of nations throughout the world cope more effectively with the tensions that arise from the collision of these forces, and thereby help advance the cause of universal peace and world community.

PROGRAM

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON  
"RELIGION, PEOPLEHOOD, NATION AND LAND"

Sponsored By

THE HARRY S. TRUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE ISRAEL INTER-FAITH COMMITTEE

October 30 - November 8, 1970

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

Arrival LOD International Airport  
Transfer to Holyland Hotel, Jerusalem

7.00 P. M.

Hospitality in Private Homes

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

10.00 - 12.30

Guided Tour of Old City

17.30

Sherry Party

Host: The Most Rev. George A. Appleton  
Anglican Archbishop, St. George's Close

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

A. M.

Church Services (See church list in kit)

14.30 - 16.30

Guided Tour of Modern Jerusalem

19.30

Opening Dinner  
Foyer of Wise Auditorium, The Hebrew University

Sunday, November 1 (cont'd)

**Host:** Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
National Director, Inter-Religious  
Affairs  
The American Jewish Committee

**Greetings:** Rabbi Tanenbaum

Professor Zwi Werblowsky  
Professor of Comparative  
Religions  
The Hebrew University

Introduction of International  
Colloquium Participants

MONDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 2

OPENING SESSION

9.30 - 10.00

CHAIRMAN: Professor E. D. Bergmann  
Acting Chairman of the Board  
The Truman Research Institute

10.00 - 11.00

ADDRESS: "Religion, Peoplehood, Nation  
and Land"

Professor Zwi Werblowsky  
Professor of Comparative  
Religions  
The Hebrew University

11.00 - 11.15

COFFEE BREAK

11.15 - 12.15

DISCUSSION

12.30 - 14.30

LUNCHEON

MONDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 2

SECOND SESSION

15.00 - 15.15

CHAIRMAN: Father Mveng Englebert  
Professor of History  
Federal University  
Yaoundé, Camerouns

ADDRESS: "History: The Universal and the Particular"

15.15 - 16.00

Professor Nathan Rotenstreich  
Professor of Philosophy  
The Hebrew University

16.00 - 16.45

"Religion und Zynismus"  
"Zur Kritik der Unterscheidung  
Zwischen Spirituell Fortges-  
chrittenen und den 'Einfachen  
Leuten' "

Professor Dr. H.R. Schlette  
Professor of Philosophy  
Koenigswinter, Federal Republic  
of Germany (In German)

16.45 - 17.00

COFFEE BREAK

17.00 - 18.00

DISCUSSION

EVENING FREE

TUESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 3

THIRD SESSION

9.30 - 9.45

CHAIRMAN: Professor Nikos A. Nissiotis  
Director, The Ecumenical Institute  
World Council of Churches

9.45 - 10.30

ADDRESS:

"The Concept and Historic Experience of Peoplehood in Judaism and Christianity"

Abbé Kurt Hruby  
Gregorian University, Rome  
(In French)

10.30 - 11.15

ADDRESS:

"The Concept and Historic Experience of Peoplehood in Islamic Tradition"

Professor James Kritzeck  
Director, Institute for Advanced Religious Studies  
University of Notre Dame  
South Bend, Indiana

11.15 - 11.30

COFFEE BREAK

11.30 - 12.30

DISCUSSION

12.30 - 14.30

LUNCH

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 3

FOURTH SESSION

15.00 - 15.15

CHAIRMAN:

Brother Marcel Dubois  
Superior, Isaiah House

15.15 - 16.00

ADDRESS:

"Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Christian Tradition"

Professor W. D. Davies  
The Divinity School  
Duke University  
Durham, South Carolina

16.00 - 16.30

DISCUSSION

16.30 - 16.45

COFFEE BREAK

16.45 - 17.30

ADDRESS:

"Zionism and the Jewish Religious Tradition"

Professor Arthur Hertzberg  
Professor of History  
Columbia University, New York

Tuesday Afternoon, November 3 (cont'd)

17.30 - 18.00

DISCUSSION

18.00 - 19.30

DINNER

20.00 - 22.00

Reception by the Mayor of Jerusalem,  
Mr. Teddy Kollek in the Israel  
Museum; and tour of the Museum

WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 4

FIFTH SESSION

9.30 - 9.45

CHAIRMAN: The Most Rev. George A.  
Appleton  
Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem

9.45 - 10.30

ADDRESS: "The Concept and Historic Ex-  
perience with Land in Major  
Western Religious Traditions"

Canon M. A. C. Warren  
Westminster, London

10.30 - 11.15

ADDRESS: "The Concept and Bond of the  
Land in African Religious Tra-  
ditions"

Professor Bernardo Bernardi  
Procura Generale  
Missione Consolata, Rome

11.15 - 11.30

COFFEE BREAK

11.30 - 12.30

DISCUSSION

12.30 - 14.30

LUNCH

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 4

SIXTH SESSION

15.00 - 15.15

CHAIRMAN: Father Wolfgang E. Pax  
Director, Institute for Bible  
Research, Jerusalem

Wednesday Afternoon, November 4 (cont'd)

15.15 - 16.00                      ADDRESS:     "Problems of Nationalism,  
Religion, Peoplehood, and Land  
in the Asian World"  
  
The Venerable V. Dharmawara  
Asoka Institute  
New Delhi, India

16.00 - 16.45                      COFFEE BREAK

16.15 - 17.00                      ADDRESS:     Dr. Tich Minh Chau  
Rector, Van Hanh University  
Saigon, South Vietnam

17.00 - 17.30                      DISCUSSION

18.00 - 20.00                      Reception by Mr. Yigal Alon,  
Deputy Prime Minister of Israel

THURSDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 5

SEVENTH SESSION

9.30 - 9.45                      CHAIRMAN:     His Grace Archbishop Vasileos  
Chief Secretary  
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate

9.45 - 10.30                      ADDRESS:     "Peoplehood, Nationalism and  
Land In Modern Nationalism"  
  
Professor J. L. Talmon  
Professor of Modern History  
The Hebrew University

10.30 - 11.15                      DISCUSSION

11.15 - 11.30                      COFFEE BREAK

11.30 - 12.30                      Summaries by Representatives of Partici-  
pants and Discussion

12.30 - 14.30                      LUNCH

AFTERNOON FREE

Thursday, November 5, (cont'd)

19.30

CLOSING BANQUET

Holyland Hotel

HOST:

Professor Jacob Katz  
Rector of The Hebrew University

GUEST OF HONOUR:

Dr. Zerah Warhaftig  
Minister for Religious  
Affairs

Remarks by:

Canon Peter Schneider  
Executive Secretary  
Ecumenical Theological Research  
Fraternity in Israel

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 6 and

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 7

Touring

(Participants are requested to make their wishes  
known to the Travel Desk as early as possible)

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 8

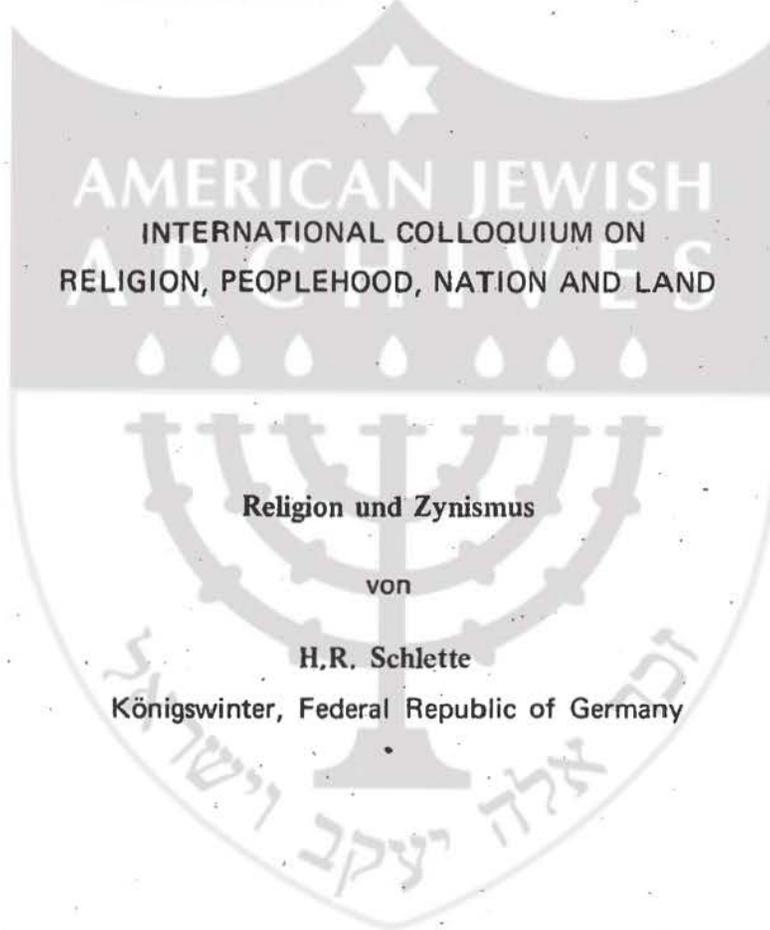
DEPARTURES

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THE HARRY S TRUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE ISRAEL INTER-FAITH COMMITTEE



Jerusalem, Nov. 1 - 7, 1970.

## Religion and Cynicism

By

H. R. Schlette

The considerations to be presented by me fall under a subject whose connection with the subject of this Conference - "Religion, Peoplehood, Nation and Land" - is not quite obvious at first sight. I must also concede that a reflection of the subject "Religion and Cynicism" . i. e. on a subject which must appear both inexact as well as unusual, may be counted as belonging to the general subject only in a wider sense. There are, however, a few important viewpoints that seem to justify the subject chosen by me here as definitely being in place after all. From a methodical point of view, I may insert the presumption that the subject "Religion and Cynicism" means an extension of the questioning as to the religious-philosophical and religious-sociological realms. This may, in my view, be only useful for the widest possible discussion of the comprehensive subject as a whole.

Nor can I ignore another preliminary remark I have to make. If I am not mistaken, an overwhelming majority of present-day religious scientists hold the view that religious science ought to be a science free of values, merely pointing out what can be shown and proved as well as registered by historical comparisons, psychological understanding and sociological description. This is not the place to once more explain the relative justification of this presumption, which protects us against a too obvious and fateful ideologization of religious science. Although in the case of the subject in question, we also deal with a description of data, there is, at the same time, a certain evaluation involved. I therefore say expressly that it is my intention not only to describe a certain relationship within the form of appearance and self-presentation of religion as cynical, but also to evaluate it negatively.

This, now, is the mode of procedure adopted by me: In the first place, I would like to elucidate in short what I understand under the term of "cynicism" and by what

standards I denounce it, morally and socially. Secondly, I shall try to divulge the problematic aspects of cynicism with regard to a certain constellation, as it may be found in a number of religions, perhaps even all of them. Finally, I shall try to show to what extent the subject of the framework of this Conference has been affected by the problematic aspects entailed in cynicism.

I. Establishing and evaluating cynicism

Of course it should be elucidated beyond doubt what actually should be discussed here. I am trying to meet this methodical requirement by presenting a short historical and semantic consideration, i. e., I am trying to - as it were - give you a little phenomenology of cynicism. For to present a definition of its nature is albeit impossible in this case, not less that it is with regard to other conceptions and circumstances. Each definition defines the subject to be defined by a new terminology which, in turn requires further definition. Each definition is hence a metamorphosis of a problem to another, more distantly located level, and thus becomes a verbal regressus in infinitum. What can, however, be accomplished is an historically and semantically drawn sketch of what is meant, and in this sense a presumed phenomenological orientation. Without such preliminary understanding by prior exploration, any attempt at arriving at an operative modus must necessarily be in vain.

The term cynicism reminds us of the ancient Cynic or Kynikos, particularly of Antisthenes, and Diogenes of Sinop, on whose lives we are fairly well informed: they were provocative, ascetical and unpretentious like dogs. They wanted to confront their contemporaries with the question on the real meaning of all human life and activity, and availed themselves to this end partly of drastic-dramatical means, in some ways reminding us of the forms adopted by our contemporary seething youth and its protest movements. According to the accounts contained in the Vitae. by Diogenes Laertius (1. VI.), the Cynics purposefully and in full awareness of the consequences violated the laws of the so-called good taste of their society, so as to

give vent to an ethical criticism.

But in speaking today of cynicism, this notion has nothing in common with the mode of thought and rules of conduct of the ancient Cynics, aside from its lingual affinity. This is not the place and time for attempting to investigate when and for what reasons this distortion of meaning regarding the term cynicism came into being. An alert observer of present day public speech employed via our mass media can easily find out that words like cynicism, cynic and cynical are in very frequent use, and always in respect of problems involving the immoral or inhuman abuse of power. The term also invariably implies a negative evaluation, cynicism standing for the most extreme measure of vileness that ought not to exist. The powerful, those who make the decisions, i. e. the people weilding might and power who are in a position of having their will fulfilled (even if they are a handful only) can be cynical. But for the characterisation of cynicism we should also add another specific element - that of contempt. Cynicism is not only the very execution of might and power per se, but rather the application of might and power in which the inferiority, the feebleness of the many as a remaining, unchangeable or even a priori unalterable factor withing the acting of the mighty has been calculated. This means: cynicism bases on the thesis of the principally or factually not abolishable human inequality, and it legitimates from this vantage point the might of the mighty, of the influential, the privileged, the masters of knowledge etc., over the powerless, uneducated, ignorant crowd.

True, cynicism must not necessarily derive from the very data of inequality, it rather crystallizes out of an interpretation of this inequality and out of the consequences, in practice. It should be added here that in this conjunction, too, the question of priority of theory over practice or practice over theory cannot be finally answered. In concise terms: cynicism means contempt for human beings and is always associated with a psychological and sociological differentiation of people into men of knowledge, on the one hand, and ignoramuses on the other hand, into complicated and naive, into privileged and underprivileged, into active

and passive, into powerful and powerless, etc. Whoever avails himself of this differentiation, immortalizing it at the same time, whoever does not strive for a mitigation, or greatest possible abrogation of this differentiation, exposes himself to the charge of cynical conduct. The relationship delineated here can be defined as pertaining to the public, the social and the political level.

For this very reason, it also concerns the religions and with regard to them it is not only a relationship confined to external boundaries, but also one deriving from within, inasfar as the religions always present social-public objectivations of certain convictions.

Cynicism, I said, is here disqualified morally. On the strength of what criteria does this come about? I can answer this difficult question by producing a normative criterion only with a few words: Cynicism is being rejected in the name of enlightened, liberal humanity.

For a person standing at the height of scientific and cultural-philosophical consciousness of our century, there exists, in spite of all divergences, a consensus with regard to what humanity means and presupposes. A long history of mediation has led to this awareness - Jewish and Christian inspirations, as well as the thinking of the Greeks and Romans have had their share in shaping it. This does not have to be discussed here further. All I wish to say is that, to give an example, the declaration of human rights by the United Nations - notwithstanding the feebleness of this organization from the point of view of "Realpolitik" - does reflect this convergence of all mankind in regard of the interpretation of concrete humanity. In certain extreme situations, when appeals are directed publicly to the so-called "civilized world", this convergence may also enter our awareness for short moments. The conclusion may thus be drawn that cynicism, or let us call it contempt for human beings, as a violation against the dignity of each individual or of certain groups, should be evaluated as such, as a mode of human conduct immortalizing the existing inequality and thereby the bad rule of man over man, preventing to the same extent the liberation of society as a whole.

So as to avoid misunderstandings, I should like to make an important complementary remark. It is not my objective to reproach this or that individual with charges of morally-subjectivistic cynicism. In this respect, I would not like to assume any role of judgment. Therefore, my attention is directed at a branch of cynicism structurally encased, at a habitually and not rarely also institutionally adopted form of cynicism whose causes can hardly be decided monolithically. By this term of "structural cynicism" I understand the range of judgments, sensations, principles, relationships, habits etc., on the grounds of which the concerns and sufferings as well as the general human situations of individuals or certain groups always appear to be arrayed in a so-called higher context and thereby to be justifiable. Thus, structural cynicism hardly implies any demonstrable, tangible entity to be seen with our eyes as it were, whose own gravity, or wake, may be almost coercive, independently of the conscious and ethical intentions of the individuals concerned, so that there is hardly a chance to pin the responsibility on anyone, but rather almost anything that happened and is chargeable can be shifted off to be borne by the anonymous complexity of entanglements and circumstances. Structure, even though it considerably restricts freedom, nevertheless does not mean determinism. Therefore, one cannot and should not present here a mere limited definition and description of any possible or tangible structural cynicism, but rather also and most definitely a judging religious criticism, without any attempt to pass moral judgment on individuals.

## II. The datum of spiritual inequality in religions as a factor of cynicism

Without professing the ambition to compile a complete catalogue of real and possible cynicisms in the great religions of mankind, I wish to heed here exclusively a certain constellation against which the problem of structural cynicism can be demonstrated with particular lucidity. I mean the difference based on the inequality of men between those professing a religion out of naivety, simpleness, relative ignorance and lack of criticism, or also consciously and decisively (perhaps on the basis of a sacrificium intellectus), and those others who, thanks to their intelligence, have

attained a more sublime understanding of their religion, or also arrived at a certain relationship to their religion on account of special refinement. Viewed quantitatively, it is the difference between an overwhelming majority and an extremely small minority. Both groups consider themselves, as a rule, to be the real representatives of their religion - a problem I do not have to follow up here, even though the claims of the silent majority may give rise to contemplation on cynicism, in this regard perhaps more than any other.

I shall therefore restrict myself to the difference mentioned above, which, in the terminology of Christian history may be classified as that between "Gnostics" and "Pistics" (or Psychics, Hylics) within one and the same religious community (this is very important!). This difference as such is by no means already cynical, but first of all a datum, an unavoidable datum. But in relation to this datum, at least that can arise which I have called by the name of "structural cynicism". For, this inequality among men - through possibly being recognized, mitigated and to a certain extent even overcome paedagogically, psychologically and "pastorally" and inasfar as one takes part in this endeavour, one becomes immune against cynicism - can also give rise to the possibility of the inequality mentioned here not being fought at all, or fought merely on the surface, so that in reality it is retained and upheld as a matter of fact, or even exploited, mostly for political reasons. A "political religion" thus created and designed, which would hence be based on an exploitation of the so-called "simple folk" must no doubt be defined as cynical. Not less cynical would be the attitude of those better informed, the wiser, who would refuse to lead "the people" out of the status of its lower religious-intellectual level, pretending to safeguard its welfare in religion and morality.

So, that difference, then - we could perhaps call it "spiritual" difference - that constantly makes such cynicisms possible, is contained in at least all great religions. I would like to clarify this thesis here, by casting a transitory glance at the wide range of religions. (The following no doubt requires further explanation but to illustrate the problem, it may suffice).

In one of the latest descriptions of religious history, by J.A. Hardon, a difference is made (to begin with) between "internal" and "external" Hinduism.<sup>1)</sup> The internal one is more enlightened, more cultured, some sort of humanism with a religious horizon embedded in the Indian tradition, yea, it combines the Western-European and the mystically-Indian into a luring entity characterized by: tolerance, humaneness, world-brotherhood, truth, mystery. As against this, external Hinduism, according to Hardon, is the religion of "the simple folk", those who take their gods and spirits, their cultish rites and ritual baths as well as their detailed law-codes seriously. A man like Gandhi was capable of becoming articulate in the forms of this so-called external Hinduism, so as to further, by setting out from this point, a process of religious-spiritual and political-social emancipation. Exactly because of these intentions, Gandhi was immune against cynicism, and only thus can one elude this danger. Whoever wishes to let the adherents of "external Hinduism" (to use the contestable conception coined by Hardon) be like that, or who even utilizes them to his ends, certainly acts in accordance with the cynicism described here.

The example of "Hinduism" seems to me well suited didactically. For the model which it represents, and the temptation which it indicates, can now be pointed out more easily within the other religions. May I therefore, very shortly, make a reference to Buddhism, in which the monkish Theravada and the ambitious Zen-schools are posed at a distance opposite the more popular Mahayana and Amidism. In Islam, too, there is the difference between a sublime, high-set interpretation, and the naive, often deplorable uncritical religious practice of the simple "people". In his writ: "Avicenna and the Aristotelian Left", Ernst Bloch, throwing light on Islam, has shown that the mythical, compact religious world of the "simple people" can be transcended in one of two ways: by the inroad to Mysticism and that to Philosophy!<sup>2)</sup> This clairvoyant observation of the Neo-Marxist Bloch can be applied, in my view, to all great religions. Hence, it holds true for Judaism and Christianity as well. The example of Christianity enables me to sketch the problem once more, with greater objectivity. Just nowadays, we witness - both in Protestant and Catholic Christianity - a sharp, deep-rooted controversy between those who,

with the help of modern theology and science, design a new image of Christianity, a "neo-interpretation" of it, and those others who, allegedly for the sake of the people, propagate the "No-other-Gospel" -maxim, thereby barring, or at least delaying, by means of doubtful motivations, the process of enlightenment and emancipation. The difference between the Christianity of modern theologians and that of the majority undesirous or unable to be taught better, is - as I said - not yet cynical by itself, but it is an open secret that, particularly in Catholicism, although not only there, certain usances prevail which practically prevent the difference, or the new Schlisma<sup>3)</sup> between these two Christian groups to be bridged by an evolutionary process of the "Pistics" within the framework of the feasible. One may definitely speak here of a pastoral cynicism that has taken on the form of structure. And thinking of the religious-philosophical problematicness of the so-called abolishment of Christianity as observed by Lessing, Kant, Hegel, via Feuerbach and Marx, up to a number of modern attempts at humanising Christianity, one will be unable to deny the seriousness of the situation, but at the same time be forced to bring all forms of the institutional and authoritarian strengthening of proprietorship or of the status quo, into connection with the problem of cynicism analyzed here.

### III. Religion, Nationhood, Land - and the temptation of cynicism

Let me now draw, in conclusion, a few connecting lines to the framework subject of this Conference. Beyond doubt, the complexity of "religion and cynicism" has been hardly explored so far. Besides, it is a highly delicate problem. In taking these difficulties into account, one will hopefully excuse me if my following reflections too will be rather fragmentary.

People, nation, land, homeland - all these in my view have far less meaning on the level of the reflective, introvertive, spiritual religion than on that of the "simple folk". He who measures his religion by the highest ideals and deepest mysticism, adopts a basically complacent attitude towards people, nation, land and homeland. The only exception is found in the case of the Jewish religion, on the

strength of its specific linkage between the people of Israel and the land of Israel - Eretz Israel. 4) But in the non-Jewish religions, the religious replenishment of the nation decreases concurrently with the degree of the spiritual level. This axiom is valid, on principle, theoretically - if one wishes "theologically" - but not always practically too. In practice, the utility of religion for people and nation, as well as for the sake of the religious mystification of the own nation, is often maintained, not rarely in contrast to the principal internationalism and world-citizenship inherent in the reflective conscience of the great religions. Again, I am withdrawing Judaism from this generalization, it being the exception to the rule, since it is obvious that this religion in some of its aspects easily succeeds in establishing the synthesis between the religious-political link to Eretz Israel and its not only liberal but also religious affirmation of internationality. The age of "state religion" is passed, even if it continues to be preserved as an anachromism in Pakistan, Spain or elsewhere. It is obvious that the harmony between religion, i.e. Divine will and pleasure, on the one hand, and the own country of cynical nationalists, on the other hand, whether the latter be religious or not, - a harmony created for the so-called "simple folk" - can be abused. Nor can it be denied that sometimes there may also still exist non-cynical, merely naive identifications of religion and nation, and in this sense consequently naive forms of "political religion" and religious folklore, but it is becoming ever more difficult to still detect such genuine, unbroken-mythical manifestations of naivety. It should be easier to expose that particular cynical form of political and national religion. 5) The manipulation of the "simple people" in the name of religion and nationality often leads to dangerous phenomena of political seducement and religious brainwashing, to a paradox the more scandalous as the most exalted ideas and realizations of religion principally transcend and burst such national patriotic and ethnic sentiments.

Allow me to consolidate this critical diagnosis yet by a few references. In 1702, the history of New England by the Boston preacher Cotton Mather appeared in print under the characteristic title "Magnalia Christi Americana". Peter Bulkeley preached as early as the 17th century about young America in the following vein:

"We are built like a town on a hill, exposed to the view of the whole world. The eyes of the world are upon us, because, as a nation, we confess to the Covenant with God." (The Gospel Covenant, London 1646, page 217). This Jerusalem-conception is not less ambitious than the idea of an anonymous American author who, around the middle of the 18th century, made the Biblical (Dan. 7) and patriotical notion of the wandering of the realms - in line with that of the celestial bodies from East to West - come to a conclusion in America.<sup>6)</sup> Finally, one is aware of the term coined by Cardinal Spellman regarding "Christ's soldiers" fighting in Vietnam. Of course we must make allowance for some historical understanding of the religious-political situation during the American pioneer era, but even if this interpretation of the USA were still topical, it would have to be said beyond doubt that an abyss would yawn between Christian-theological-responsible conduct and a different brand of Christianity popularized politically. The dangers of cynicism would then be quite obvious.

Similar trends can be discerned within the Christianity of Europe, particularly that of Germany, and, regrettably, even of quite recent date. In the twenties and thirties of the present century, as a sequence of the national metaphysics of romanticism, an ideology of a predestined creation of universal order was represented, by which the nations, or in any case the peoples, were considered to be entities of God's own making.<sup>7)</sup> The peoples are subject to their own angels and patron saints. One spoke of a "German mission" and of the "red deluge" threatening the world. The "German Christians" are still in lively memory, nor are the theological and Church-political arrangements between Catholicism and National socialism forgotten.<sup>8)</sup> Extreme examples for a bad association of religion, people, nation and country are also represented in the war sermons of World War I and World War II in all camps and confessions.<sup>9)</sup> In view of other examples, let me quote here a few sentences out of a speech delivered by the German Emperor Wilhelm II. following a religious field service conducted in Poland, in 1915: "We Prussians are accustomed to fight a superior enemy victoriously. To this end, one requires the firm confidence in our great ally up there, who will help our just cause to be victorious. From our childhood days we know, and as adults we have learned it during the study of history,

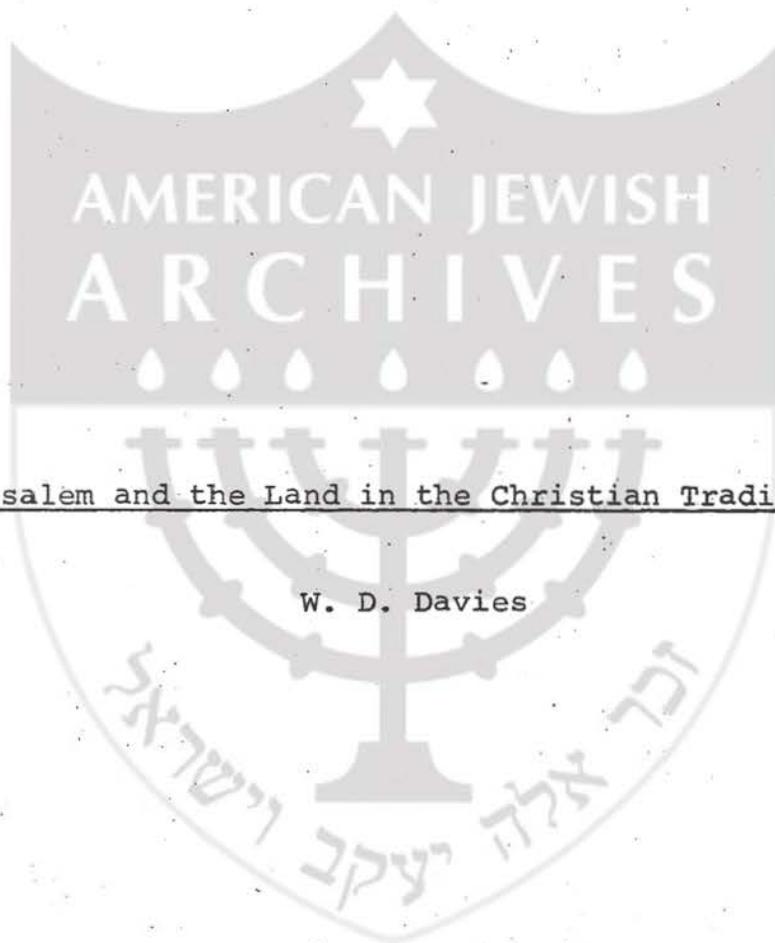
that God only fights with those armies whose members are believers. This was the case under the rule of the Great Elector, as well as under the Old Fritz, as well as under my grandfather, and so it is under my rule too. As Luther expressed it: 'One man with God is always in the majority.' " 10)

Suffice it to point out here that already a man like Erasmus of Rotterdam complained in the Querela Pacis that people fight each other on the battlefield although both camps carry the banner of Christ. What horrible parody - is there anything to prevent us to talk about the dangers of cynicism in view of such confusion of religion and nation?

I am disrupting my discourse at this point. It was my intention to expose a mortal long-range threat to religion, by looking into the future, simultaneously pointing out the ever present danger of being victimized by a cynicism. I wanted to do so intentionally with a view to the range of subjects brought up at this Conference. Let me close with a quotation from a diary entry by Albert Camus, who in 1938 warned us against self-complacency, by writing: "The temptation to which all intelligent people are exposed is - cynicism." 11)

Footnotes:

- 1) Cf. J.A. Haddon, Gott in den Religionen der Welt. Luzern-München 1967 67-73 (American version: "Religions of the World", Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland).
- 2) Cf. E. Bloch, Avicenna und die Aristotelische Linke. Frankfurt 1963, 15-28 (firstly 1952).
- 3) Cf. K. Rahner, Schisma in der katholischen Kirche?, in: K. Rahner, Schriften zur Theologie, t. IX. Einsiedeln-Zürich-Köln 1970, 432-452.
- 4) Cf. M. Buber, Israel und Palästina. Zur Geschichte einer Idee. Zürich 1950 (Hebrew 1944); R.-J. Werblowsky, Israel und Eretz Israel, in: Der israelisch-arabische Konflikt. Mit einem Vorwort von J.-P. Sartre, published by H. Abosch. Darmstadt 1969, 213-240 (French: 1967, in: Les Temps Modernes). Vide also my short essay: Das Volk Israel im Lande Israel, in: Orientierung (Zürich) 34 (1970) 119-122 (Lit.).
- 5) Cf. J. Moltmann, Theologische Kritik der politischen Religion, in: J.B. Metz / J. Moltmann / W. Oelmüller, Kirche im Prozess der Aufklärung. München-Mainz 1970, 11-51.
- 6) Cf. K.D. Bracher, Providentia Americana: Ursprünge des demokratischen Sendungsbewusstseins in Amerika, in: Politische Ordnung und menschliche Existenz. Festgabe für Eric Voegelin zum 60. Geburtstag, published by A. Dampf, H. Arendt, F. Engel-Janosi. München 1962, 27-48, especially 32-35.
- 7) Cf. E. Wolf, Volk, Nation, Vaterland im protestantischen Denken von 1930 bis zur Gegenwart, in: Volk - Nation - Vaterland. Der deutsche Protestantismus und der Nationalismus, publ. by H. Zillesen. Gütersloh 1970, 172-212.
- 8) Cf. E.-W. Bückenförde, Der deutsche Katholizismus im Jahre 1933, in: Von Weimar zu Hitler 1930 - 1933, publ. by G. Jasper. Köln-Berlin 1968, 317-343; vide also K. Breuning, Die Vision des Reiches. Deutscher Katholizismus zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur (1929 - 1934). München 1969 (Lit.).
- 9) Cf. H. Missalla, "Gott mit uns". Die deutsche katholische Kriegspredigt 1914 - 1918. München 1968; W. Pressel, Die Kriegspredigt 1914 - 1918 in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands. Göttingen 1967.
- 10) Reden des Kaisers. Ansprachen, Predigten und Trinksprüche Wilhelms II., published by E. Johann. München 1966, 128.
- 11) A. Camus, Tagebuch 1935 - 1942. Reinbek b. Ramburg 1963, 93.



Jerusalem and the Land in the Christian Tradition

W. D. Davies

In view of the limitations of time imposed upon us I have to concentrate in this paper on Jerusalem and the land as they are dealt with in the New Testament: it will not be possible - even if I had the necessary range of knowledge - to deal with this theme throughout Christian History. But since the New Testament is the foundation document of Christianity, and the source whence we can best recover its genius, and since it has necessarily exercised a certain normative influence on Christianity in all its phases, our neglect of post-New Testament developments is not as serious as it might seem at first sight. The attitudes which have always informed Christian thinking on Jerusalem and the land have been largely governed, implicitly if not explicitly, by the way in which the primitive Christian community dealt with these entities.

## I

Primitive Christians believed that they were living in the age when the promises of God in the Old Testament were being fulfilled. Among these promises was the one that the

people of Israel should dwell in the land of Israel in peace and that all nations should flow to its centre at Jerusalem. How did primitive Christianity deal with this aspect of the promises, with what I shall, for convenience, call the 'dogma' of the inseverable connection between the land, the people and its God? This question has seldom, if ever, been seriously discussed in modern scholarship, because Christian Theology, like Jewish Theology, has tended to regard Judaism as a system of ideas or doctrines, and has ignored its geographic and demographic dimensions, that is, the realia of Jewish belief. In this paper I shall summarize roughly my own attempt at facing this question in the various documents of the New Testament.

I  
Jesus

It is natural to begin our inquiry into the way in which primitive Christianity dealt with the expectations concerning the land by asking what the attitude of Jesus Himself was to them. To ask such a question is to confront the notorious difficulties involved in any attempt at rediscovering what Jesus did and said and thought. We can only offer a brief

statement setting forth what seems to us the most probable way in which the attitude of Jesus to the land is to be understood, in the full recognition that such a statement is necessarily precarious.

At the outset it is well to clear the ground of an old misconception which has recently again been brought into focus by S. G. F. Brandon and others, according to whom Jesus was virtually a Zealot, not averse to a military campaign against Rome because he shared the Zealots' view that Yahweh had chosen Israel to be His own peculiar people and had given it the land of Canaan as its peculiar possession: that is, Jesus fully emphasized and endorsed the dogma of the land. I shall not attempt to discuss this utterly untenable position.

The value of Brandon's work is that it compels the recognition of the burning nationalistic elements in first century Judaism. Jesus's ministry was conducted in an atmosphere of something like war-fever. He was constantly in contact with Zealots; although he rejected their appeals. But if He did reject the Zealot movement, how did He come to terms with the political movements of his day?

What do the texts reveal about Jesus and politics? Two

positions have to be noted which are almost diametrically opposed. Bornkamm finds in Jesus a comparative neglect of all political problems. "Not a word does (Jesus) say", he writes, "either to confirm or renew the national hopes of his people." Jesus directed his attention to one thing only - the Rule of God, which sets a man free from all political problems. This was the position taken by Klausner who found an a-political stance in the ministry of Jesus. To Klausner the attitude of Jesus to the Law and ipso facto to the State threatened the national existence: it was anarchistic. The Law, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized, was inextricably bound up with the land and with the 'culture' of the Jewish people: it was the means of national as well as religious integration. Rightly or wrongly the Pharisees sensed that Jesus's attitude to the Law involved the destruction of the people as a people. The extremism of Jesus was beyond politics - the art of which is compromise - and therefore invited anarchy. Thus although Klausner and Bornkamm draw different conclusions from this - the former finding in it a threat to the very existence of the nation and the latter the mark of being free to God - they both discover in Jesus an indifference to political considerations

and, therefore, by implication to the land.

On the other hand, the ministry of Jesus has been understood by G. B. Caird, and others as concerned throughout with presenting a political challenge to the nation of Israel: according to this view the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. vindicated the cause of Jesus and demonstrated that the nation was wrong in rejecting Him: Jesus had appealed for a restored nation but his appeal fell on deaf ears.

Bornkamm, Klausner and Caird write with clarity and give clear answers. To the former two, Jesus more or less shelved the politics of his day: to Caird he issued a direct national, political challenge. But such clarity in dealing with the actualities of life is always suspect: it cloakes the perplexities of life. Bornkamm has sacrificed the communal dimension of the Kingdom of God to an exaggerated individualism; Klausner has too much minimized the moral, didactic element in Jesus's ministry; Caird has neglected the personal and transcendent dimensions of the Kingdom of God for an exaggerated politico-national concern. Is there a means of interpreting the pertinent data without endorsing the polar positions of Bornkamm, Klausner and Caird?

On one thing most interpreters are agreed: Jesus was concerned to gather a community of people to share in His ministry. It is in assessing the nature of this community that differences arise. Perhaps the chief difficulty arises from the use of the word 'nation'. It was not to the 'nation' of Israel that Jesus sent His disciples, but 'to the lost sheep of the house of Israel', that is, of the people of Israel. It is impossible to rule out Jesus's concern with His own people, but it is a concern with His own people, not as constituting a national entity - a Chosen Nation, as Caird designates it - over whose political destiny as such He agonized, but with His own people as intended to be the 'Israel' of God and therefore as the matrix within which He could hope to reconstitute the Chosen People, 'Israel', that is, to create the community of the People of God. This was the meaning of His call of the Twelve, of His friendship with the lost. The rejection of the 'kingship' of a political kind in John 6 is significant: such a political office was not for Jesus, just as he shunned the title Messiah. On His entry into Jerusalem it was the temple that He cleansed: His challenge was a religious one. The prediction of the fall of the temple points

to the need to replace it not by a new political policy but by a new way of religion and a new community to embody it. Similarly Jesus went to Jerusalem not - as Caird holds - to issue a challenge to a political decision - although this might be ultimately implied - on the part of the "nation" (there would be a certain unreality in such a challenge when we recall that it was the Romans who had political control), but to offer a chance in Jerusalem for his challenge (to be heard) for the creation of a community of God. As he did not address Himself to Roman leaders (it is no accident that the Gospels nowhere mention the capital and residence of Herod, that is, Tiberias, called after the Roman Emperor Tiberius, and that Jesus's reference to Herod as that 'fox' suggests distance from him not anxiety to appeal to him), so Jesus did not confront the religious leaders or the authorities among His own people. The aim of Jesus was neither non-political or political: rather it was focussed on the creation of a community worthy of the name of the people of God within Israel. This community was to be governed by self-less service alone: it stands in sharp contrast to those existing political entities national or imperial in which the ignoble ambition to exercise

authority prevailed.

The activity of Jesus, then, was not aimed directly at changing any national policy directly, but, by teaching and preaching and healing, at creating a community - not a nation - "aware of the presence of God as an urgent reality" and at inducing "them to give the appropriate response, so that they might become effectively members of the new people of God which was coming into being." This it is that explains two other frequently discussed aspects of His ministry. First, his intense concern with individuals. The disciples whom He called were challenged to a personal decision: in so far as they committed themselves personally to Him and accepted His demands, the People of God was being formed. And, secondly, Jesus's assertions that after the new people of God had emerged in Israel there would also be an incursion of Gentiles into it. Jesus confined His mission to the people of Israel: His dealings with Gentiles were peripheral. Even when He left the borders of 'Israel' he only visited outposts of Israelite population. But at the same time He rejected any idea of a divine vengeance on the enemies of Israel and included Gentiles in salvation and contemplated that the distinction between Jew

and Gentile would finally disappear. Not political organization and policy were His concern but human community, loving and serving and ultimately inclusive.

In the complex scene of first century Palestine it was easy even for Jesus's own followers to confuse such a concern with community, expressed in terms of the Kingdom of God, with that of the Zealots. But we have seen that Jesus differed in purpose and method from them. The Gospels record no direct confrontation between Jesus and Zealots. Clearly even if the contemporaries of Jesus mistook Him for a Zealot early Christians generally did not and had no interest in preserving any traditions of encounters between Jesus and Zealots: it is difficult to imagine that no such encounters did in fact take place.

It is otherwise with the Pharisees, the encounters of whom with Jesus are frequently mentioned in the Gospels. It should be recognized that there were Pharisees who had a not wholly dissimilar aim to that of Jesus. Hillel, for example, stands over against the Zealots and the contemporary rulers of Jerusalem. He rejected Herod's state and strove to build a community of people devoted to the Torah and to peace. The community of the Pharisees differed radically from that gather-

ed by Jesus: it was centered in the Law and lacked the eschatological dimension of the latter; it issued in a 'holy remnant', separated groups who had nothing to do with the 'people of the land', whereas, Jesus's community welcomed sinners and taxpayers. But in its orientation away from the State and its powers and its concentration on community rather than politics, Pharisaism offers an illuminating parallel to the concern of Jesus. This is not to be pressed, because the Law with which Pharisaism occupied itself was, as we saw, the Law of the land: the community which it ideally contemplated was inseverable from the land. His concern with a loving universal community suggests, the land itself would have played little if any part in the mind of Jesus. What is the evidence?

Only in two passages does the question of the land directly emerge in the Synoptics. The first is the Beatitude in Matthew 5:5, usually translated as: "Blessed are the meek, (praeis) for they shall inherit the earth' (ten gen). If Jesus uttered such words, then the term ten gen here wrongly translated 'the earth' would refer to the land of Israel, as it does in Ps. 37:11. But there are formidable obstacles to

ascribing this beatitude to Jesus. First, as suggested, it shows clear dependence on the verse Ps. 37:11 in its LXX form. Secondly, the beatitude is variously located in the manuscripts - a sure sign, according to Wellhausen, of interpolation: in several manuscripts the beatitude is the second not the third. Thirdly, Matthew elsewhere favours sevenfold groupings, for example, he has seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer, seven parables in chapter 13, seven woes against the Pharisees in chapter 23. To remove our beatitude in 5:5 and that in 5:10 or 11 (these have a different form) would give a sevenfold character to the beatitudes congenial to Matthew. And, fourthly, the Ptochoi (poor) of 5:3, the first beatitude, are identical with the praeis (meek) of 5:5. The two terms - distinct in Greek - translate a common Hebrew word anawim. Is it likely that there should be two beatitudes dealing with the same group? In view of such objections many have regarded 5:5 as a gloss inserted variously into the text.

But Spicq is even more persuasive. He rightly points out that the variation in the location of the verse is best accounted for, if, originally, the third beatitude followed the first when the connection between anawim (poor) and both ptochoi

(poor) praeis (meek) was clear. Later when the underlying Semitic was forgotten the connection between the first and third beatitude was overlooked and their separation became possible since praeis (meek) seemed to have more in common with "those who hunger and thirst after righteousness" of 5:6 than with the ptochoi (poor) of 5:3. But what was the original connection between 5:3 and 5:5? In the source on which Matthew and Luke drew in this section, 5:5 was absent because Luke does not have it. Whence, then did Matthew get it? Spicq notes that in the very first beatitude Matthew's concern is evident. To interpret anawim (the poor) properly he added to pneumati (in the spirit) after ptochoi, (the poor). But even so this was not enough. To do justice to anawim he needed praeis (meek) as well as ptochoi to pneumati (poor in spirit). And so, drawing on the LXX of Ps. 37:11, he created the interpretative beatitude we now have in 5:5. There can, therefore, be no question of its going back to Jesus. What is striking for our purpose is that Matthew uses the phrase "for they shall inherit the earth" as a parallel to "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven". Nowhere else in the New Testament does this equation occur and it is Matthew's not that of

Jesus.

The third beatitude, then, points to a strain in the Early Church which connected possession of the land with the Kingdom. It is customary either to spiritualize this conception so that 'to inherit the land' becomes a symbol for inheriting conditions prevailing under the Rule of God in a spiritual sense or to universalize the land so as to refer it to all the earth. The N E B translates 5:5 by: "How blest are those of a gentle spirit, they shall have the earth for their possession?" But that Matthew may have had the land of Israel in mind as did the author of Ps. 37:11 is suggested as a possibility by the next passage with which we shall deal.

The next passage is Matt. 19:28. There is a parallel with variations in Luke 22:30. In the Lukan passage Jesus looks forward to a kingdom in which those who have remained with him in his trials, who in the context are 'the twelve', are, on his authority, to share his table and to judge the twelve tribes in Israel. The verses Luke 22:28-30 are a corrective comment. The disciples, Lk. 22:24-27, have argued as to who was greater. They are told that the one criterion of greatness is service. They, as servants, are set over against the world's rulers. But they are to have their reward: they will sit

judging the twelve tribes of Israel. The context makes it clear that the kingdom in which they are to do so cannot be compared with the kingdoms of this world. They are to rule in a new kind of kingdom - in another dimension of existence. For Luke the verse is symbolic: he does not even bother to note that there would be twelve thrones. The broad symbol alone suffices.

In Matthew the context is different. There the disciples ask what they who had left all and followed Jesus were to expect. Jesus replies that there is to be a palingenesia, a rebirth, not a wholly new order, but a renewing of the existing order: there would be a restored Israel with twelve tribes and twelve thrones: on these the twelve were to share his authority with the Son of Man. They would receive back more than they had abandoned and inherit 'eternal life'. The clear distinction drawn by Luke between This Age and The Age to Come is blurred by Matthew: his palingenesia ushers in this world, in a renewed form, in which 'eternal life' is to be enjoyed. These verses point to a perspective which looked forward to a temporal restoration in which the Messiah or Son of Man should govern his people after the manner portrayed in

the Psalms of Solomon, for example, in 17:28.

And he shall gather together a holy people,

whom he shall lead in righteousness,

And he shall judge the tribes of the

people that has been sanctified by

the Lord his God.

But is the saying from Jesus? There is no reason to question that the Twelve existed before Easter and represent the eschatological Israel. But on the ground that the term palingenesia has no Aramaic equivalent and that the phrase my Kingdom is unlikely on the lips of Jesus, Bornkamm ascribes both the Matthaean and Lukan verses to the Risen Christ: they reflect the expectation of the Early Church: such was the view even of Lagrange: the Lukan verse proves that such expectations were not confined to Jewish-Christians. Mc Neile thinks that Matthew's verse is later whereas Schniewind sees in it the preservation of an old tradition reflecting strata which looked forward to the literal fulfilment of the Jewish hope for restoration.

But not all have rejected Matt. 19:28 and its parallel as deriving in substance from Jesus. Schlatter has suggested that palingenesia is the Greek equivalent of hiddush ha'olam ~~העולם~~ (the renewal of the world). That there is no exact Aramaic equivalent for it does not demand that it should be referred to Hellenistic notions of rebirth and renewal: its connotation must be found in Jewish eschatology: Compare Dan. 7:9ff; 1 Enoch. 62:5 etc.. The term palingenesia itself cannot be decisive. We must further ask whether it is likely that the Church of itself formulated such an embarrassing saying, because the role assigned to the disciples or apostles here is not that found to be theirs in the rest of the New Testament. In Acts they are 'witnesses'. The passages usually cited in connection with and as parallel to Matt. 19:28 are unsatisfactory. In 1 Cor. 6:2f the reference is to the judgmental role of the saints as a whole not of the twelve. In Rev. 21:21,14, the apostles are not ~~(so much)~~ judges in The New Jerusalem so much as eyewitnesses and guarantors of the tradition of the revelation of God on which it is built: they are its foundations. So, too, in Rev. 3:21 those who are to sit on the throne with the Conqueror are not the twelve only

but those who have shared in the victory of Christ. Rev. 20: 6 belongs, Caird suggests, to the same tradition as Matt. 19: 28, but it does not refer specifically to the apostles but generally to the martyrs.

It cannot, then, be ruled out that Matt. 19:28 with its parallel does go back to Jesus, although on the whole this is unlikely in view of Mark 10:35ff. But even if it be regarded as stemming from Jesus Himself what it asserts of the future is bare. There is no specific reference to the land on which the restored Israel is to dwell, although such is assumed. Josephus uses palingenesia of the restoration of the land of Israel and it may have a geographic connotation in 19:28, but most frequently palingenesia evokes a cosmic renewal so that in 19:28 also probably the restoration of the twelve tribes is understood not so much in terms of a restored land of Israel as of a renewed cosmos. This lack of concentration on the land as such coincides with the evidence of those passages appealed to by Jeremias to prove that Jesus looked forward to an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentiles to the Mountain of God at Zion to celebrate the great feast at the redemption of Israel when the Gentiles would be guaranteed a share in the revelation

vouchsafed to Israel and inclusion in God's redeemed community at the time of the last judgement. When Jeremias speaks of the restoration of Israel as beginning at this point he lacks clarity, because the sources to which he appeals lack clarity.

One thing only emerges from all the above. Jesus, as far as we can gather, paid little attention to the relation between Yahweh, and Israel and 'the land'. But we have seen indications that the Early Church was so concerned. This concern was part of the process, often traced, whereby Jesus was increasingly draped in an apocalyptic mantle and specifically Jewish expectations emerged in the Church in a form highly enhanced from that which they had assumed in Jesus' own teaching. Where were these expectations to be fulfilled? Judaism had given its answer in terms of the centrality of the land and the indestructible connection between it and Yahweh and Israel. The Church came both to reject and to transmute this answer in various ways.

## II

### Paul and the land

What makes the works of Paul so important for our purpose is not only that they are early but that their author, before he joined the Christian community, was a Jew who was immensely

proud of his Jewishness throughout his life. As a Jew Paul would have felt the full force of the doctrine of the land, Jerusalem and the Temple cherished by Judaism. His epistles might be expected to reveal how he came to terms with it. The measure of the seriousness with which he took the doctrine might well be safely taken as a fair indication of the reaction of Christians to it, because few would be likely to deal with it more emphatically, even passionately, than he. Paul was nothing if not passionate. What do his epistles reveal?

1

The absence of reference to the land

There is, at first glance, a remarkable absence of any references to the land in Paul. In his presentation of the content of his message which he shared with other Christians in 1 Cor. 15:3-8 there is no interest at all in geography. Paul is unconcerned with the location of the various appearances of the Risen Lord. They were a series of occurrences, unique in character, unrepeatable and confined to a limited period, but not geographically located. No mention is made of Galilee, Jerusalem or, in the case of Paul himself, of Damascus.

Similarly in his list of the advantages enjoyed by the

the people of Israel in Rom. 9:4, the Apostle does not mention the land as one of them. The general term "promises" contains no explicit reference to the promise to Abraham. That Paul here casts no side glance at the land is made certain from other considerations.

2

Paul and Abraham

We begin with Paul's treatment of the figure of Abraham where the Apostle deals with the promise to Abraham. But how? Paul certainly shared in the deep veneration of the Jewish people for Abraham (Gal. 3:4:2; 2 Cor. 9:22; Rom. 4;9:7;11:28), but apart from 2 Cor. 9:22 it is only in Rom. and Gal. that Abraham appears. In these two epistles Paul confronts the question of the terms of salvation or of inclusion in the people of God, truly descended from Abraham - a question raised by his Jewish and Jewish Christian opponents - especially, but also by Gentile Christians. Without entering into detail we note that Paul concentrates on one aspect only of Abraham's story - on the patriarch's role in history as the one who had received the divine promise, had responded to it by faith and had thereby been justified to become the father of many nations.

Only one text in the Old Testament, Gen. 15:6, concerns him.

"And he (Abraham) believed in the Lord and He (God) reckoned it to him as righteousness." The justification of Abraham is apart from any achieved righteousness and denotes his free acceptance by God on the basis of his faith, that is, his self surrender. But if such a man was the father of the people of God then certain consequences followed:

1. Salvation is apart from circumcision and the Law
2. Salvation is grounded in the promise and in faith.
3. Salvation is pan-ethnic.

Now in the Old Testament the promise to Abraham had an unmistakable territorial reference which was variously interpreted at different periods; usually the territorial dimension of the promise was emphasized at the expense of its universal range. To this inviolate promise and to the 'national' territorial reference within it many Jews had come to appeal especially in times of crisis as a ground of security. The universal dimension of the promise was often neglected or transformed.

Paul's treatment of Abraham runs counter to all this. He rejected the appeal to the promise to Abraham in order to establish the inviolable status of the people of Israel. For

Paul the promise did not so much confirm status as require faith, a faith that provided not security in privileges of birth but trust in what seemed to offer no security. But what especially concerns us is that Paul ignores completely the territorial aspect of the promise. His interpretation of the promise is a-territorial. The promise had been fulfilled 'in Christ', and the logic of Paul's understanding of Abraham and his personalization of the fulfillment of the promise 'in Christ' demanded the de-territorializing of the promise. Salvation was not now bound to the Jewish people centered in the land and living according to the Law: it was located, not in a place, but in a person and in persons in whom grace and faith had their writ. For Paul, Christ had gathered up the promise in the singularity of his own Person. In this way the territory promised was transformed into and fulfilled by the life 'in Christ'. All this is not made explicit, because Paul did not directly apply himself to the land, but it is implied. In the Christological logic of Paul, the land, like the law, had been particular and provisional, and now had become irrelevant. And as his missionary practice no less than his Christology shows, Pauline ecclesiology is a-territorial.

For Paul the people of Israel living in the land now coexists with another "Israel", the Church, the people of God, a universal community which had no territorial attachment.

But the Israel after the flesh still has significance for Paul: he appeals to the doctrine of the remnant and to the infinite wisdom of God to justify his view that the old Israel (he himself never uses such a phrase) has still a role to play even in the Christian dispensation. He looks forward to the day when the old and the new Israel will become one - in the unfathomable wisdom of God. God had not revoked his covenant with Israel after the flesh. But the question that concerns us is this. Does this apply to the connection between Israel and the land? In affirming that God had not revoked His covenant with the Jewish people does Paul also assume that He had not revoked the territorial aspect of the promise to them? One thing is clear. He avoids any direct discussion of this question: he speaks no unambiguous word about the land. Explicitly he does not include the Jewish land in the covenant. Does he do so implicitly?

3

The Temple and the Church

To answer this question we have to look again at two

other aspects, of Paul's thought. We know that the Temple and Jerusalem had become the quintessence of the land in Paul's world. How does the Apostle deal with these: The Temple and Jerusalem?

At first sight, the a-territoriality of Paul's treatment of the Jewish people seems to re-emerge in his interpretation of the Church as the Temple of God: holy space seems to have been "transubstantiated" into a community of persons, the Body of Christ. I need only refer first to 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1. Here Paul emphasizes that God no longer dwells with his people in a tent or temple, but actually dwells in them; secondly, to 1 Cor. 3:16-17 where the Church as a corporate entity is a new temple, constituted by the indwelling of the spirit; and, thirdly, in 1 Cor. 6:12-19 where the individual dimensions of the New Temple are emphasized.

On the basis of the above texts some have claimed that Paul was the earliest Christian to develop the view that the Jerusalem Temple had 'in Christ' been replaced as the dwelling place of God by the Christian community. He radically rejected the Temple: the hopes of Judaism for the Temple are fulfilled for Paul in the Church: the presence of the Lord has been

moved from the Temple to the Christian community which now bears the dangerous holiness once associated with the Temple in Jerusalem: the life of the Church replaces the Temple cult through its own spiritual sacrifice. The eben shetiyah of the old Temple is replaced by Christ the foundation of the New Temple (Eph.2:20).

But such a radical rejection by Paul of the Temple is not probable. There is no parallel in his life to the cleansing of the Temple by Jesus: he did not frown upon the actual practice of the Temple, but drew upon this for models for Christian forms: there is no hint of any criticism of the priesthood or the Temple system. In Acts 22:17ff Paul prays in the Temple and experiences a vision. In Acts 21:1ff he undertook to pay for the discharge of Nazirite vows in the Temple. According to Acts, therefore, he recognized the Temple and its observances in the land. Paul does regard the Church as the eschatological Temple, but he does not expressly oppose it to the Jerusalem Temple of which it is the fulfilment. Like the sectarians at Qumran and the Pharisees themselves, Paul was able to recognize the Temple in Jerusalem even while he substituted for it a human community. And, indeed, there is one passage where the

Temple in Jerusalem does seem to remain for Paul a centre of eschatological significance: that is, 2 Thess. 2:3-4. What is significant here is that for Paul the desecration of the Temple is the penultimate act of impiety leading on to the claim to replace God Himself which is the ultimate impiety. This - if genuinely a Pauline passage - speaks eloquently of Paul's attitude to the Temple. If the evidence of Acts 21: 17ff, 2 Thess. 2:3-4 be admitted, Paul retained for the Temple the reverence he had had for it as a Jew, although this reverence came to be overshadowed by his overwhelming conviction that the Church was the Temple of the Living God; the holy space having given way to the holy community.

4

Jerusalem

The full significance of the 'personalization' of the Temple 'in Christ' cannot be assessed without consideration of the place of Jerusalem in the Apostle's thought, because, let me repeat, the Temple and the City are inextricable in Judaism and serve as the quintessence of the land.

In two passages in Paul - in Rom. 11:26 and 9:25-26 it is possible that Paul thought that at the Parousia, the centre

of the world, Jerusalem, would be the scene of salvation, the focal point of the messianic age. The likelihood is that for Paul, the Christian, at first at least the city enjoyed the same significance as it did for Jews. But is there more evidence of his attitude towards Jerusalem?

In Gal. 1:16f Paul seems anxious to emphasize his independence of Jerusalem Christians, but some scholars here found in Gal. 2:1ff a juridical relationship between Paul and Jerusalem. The visit of Paul there described was an act of submission to the Jerusalem Church, his Canossa. This submission found expression in the imposition of a tax, in its own interest, by the Jerusalem on the Gentile Churches after the manner of the Temple tax levied by Judaism on all Jews.

Such a view of Paul's relation to the Jerusalem Church is untenable. The collection was not a tax, but a gift, and Paul had gone up to Jerusalem, not at the command of the leaders there, but by revelation. The tone of Gal. 2:1ff is ambiguous. It suggests both respect for and independence from the Jerusalem Church on the part of Paul. Independent as he presumed his work to be, Paul was glad to have the right hand of fellowship extended by the pillars of the Jerusalem Church and he

fervently agreed to arrange a collection on behalf of the poor in Jerusalem.

Can we understand why? He wanted his Churches to be united with the Church at Jerusalem; he aimed at a true ecumenicity; he felt a genuine compassion for the needy at Jerusalem. Further, he recognized that the Gentile Churches owed a debt to the Jerusalem Church: that Church was the beginning whence the blessings of the Gospel had come: the collection for the poor in Jerusalem was a symbol of Paul's recognition of the continuity of Gentile Christianity with Jewish-Christianity and, through it, located as it was in Jerusalem, with Judaism as its matrix. The collection for the 'poor' of Jerusalem served as an important indication of a theological truth.

Can we go further in ascribing significance to Jerusalem? Johannes Munck found in Paul's collection for the Church at Jerusalem an eschatological significance. The large representation from the Gentile Church to Jerusalem, covering major areas of the Pauline mission freed, travelling at considerable and surely unreasonable expense, the readiness of Paul to devote immense energy and time and even to risk death at Jerusalem

(Rom. 15:31) in taking the collection there - all this is only comprehensible if the collection be connected with Rom. 9-11. Paul was governed by an eschatological schema. Jerusalem as the eschatological centrum mundi governed Paul's mind: it is to be for him the scene of the End of all things. Despite his imprisonment in Rome the hope for the End in Jerusalem did not forsake Paul. The geographic centre of Jewish eschatology remained significant for him: he never severed his tie with the land. If we follow Munck Paul was governed by an eschatological dogma with a geographic centre - Jerusalem and the land.

But Munck's position is untenable. I cannot here examine his position in detail. Bultmann and Bornkamm refuse to take the chronology and geography of Paul's eschatology seriously; Caird spiritualizes and politicizes it. What is really important on evidence which I must omit here - is to recognize that in his later epistles Paul is not essentially concerned with Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Church, but with what was for him the wonder of the grace that he found in the Gentile Churches. Not an "End" in Jerusalem, but the growing body of Christ throughout the world was his interest. Despite Paul's concentration

on the collection for the 'poor' in Jerusalem, by the time he came to write Romans his tie with the land does not appear to have been as compulsive as Munck's apocalyptic rigidity in the treatment of the Apostle demands.

In any case, there is little doubt that there was a change in Paul's eschatology as a Christian, a development from the apocalyptic concentration in 1 and 2 Thess. to a more restrained treatment of the End in 1 Cor. and later epistles. Apart from his very early ones, Paul's epistles are less concerned with apocalyptic imagery as with such concepts as "in Christ" , 'dying and rising with Christ', 'in the Spirit'. Despite its early traditional apocalyptic framework, with its geographic structure centered in Jerusalem, the centre of gravity of Paul's thinking ~~was~~ under the impact of his personal, intellectual and ecclesiastical experience - shifted away from such traditional geographic eschatology. The real center of his interest moved to certain realities encountered "in Christ." This is what the Pauline epistles as a whole attest. Those passages which deal concentratedly with eschatology are early and few. The Church became for Paul the sphere of the life of the eschatological people of God, and it transcended the connection with the land.

And at this point two considerations are pertinent. In the above pages we have stretched every possible point which might indicate a geographic dimension in Paul's eschatology: we have sought to do justice to the role of the temple and of Jerusalem and the land within it. But it must now be emphatically stated that it is exceedingly difficult to claim that Paul at any point looked forward to an earthly Messianic Kingdom having its centre in the land and particularly in Jerusalem. The two passages which have been claimed to support such a view (1 Thessalonians 4:13-18 and 1 Cor. 15:22ff) do not demand such an expectation. The former passage suggests a supra-terrestrial mode of existence for the redeemed, and the latter implies that the Parousia will be followed immediately, or at any rate with only a very short interval, by the Resurrection and the judgement which will usher in the final consummation. Paul does not contemplate a terrestrial kingdom. This is confirmed by the rarity of references to a kingdom of Christ, that is, to a Messianic Kingdom, in his epistles; the phrase 'the kingdom of Christ' only occurs in Col. 1:12, 13. When Paul speaks of a kingdom that is to come he thinks of the kingdom of God (1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:4, 5; Gal. 5:21; 1 Cor. 6:9-10; 15:50; Col. 4:11), and connects the Parousia with the judgement

of the whole world (1 Cor. 1:7-8; 2 Cor. 1:14; Phil. 1:6, 10; 2:16). For Paul the resurrection was not the beginning of the Messianic Age of traditional Jewish expectation but of the End: already in that resurrection the powers of the Age to Come were at work. True in 2 Thess. 2:3-4 and Rom. 9:26; 11:26 he concentrates on Zion and the Temple as the places where they are to be finally manifested. But these passages are not sufficient to offset the weight of the evidence that those powers transcended geography and that Paul was concerned not with an old land, even though renewed, but with a new creation. As we have seen, the two passages indicated are notoriously difficult to interpret and the first belongs to an epistle often regarded as non-Pauline. One noteworthy thing they have in common: they both emerge in correspondence with churches where the Jewish problem was acute. The Church at Thessalonica was afflicted by severe Jewish opposition (1 Thess. 2:14ff) and in Romans 9-11 Paul deals specifically with the destiny of his people. And only in these passages does he ascribe to the 'holy spaces' of Judaism - the Temple and Zion - any salvific significance as the scene of the End.

This does not mean that Paul considered the Temple and the city significant only for Jews, because he deals with it in Rom. 9:26 and 11:26 in a total context which includes Gentiles. But it does mean that in Romans he is provoked to speak of the role

of Jerusalem at the End only when he is considering the destiny of his own people. Although it may have been written earlier, the references in Romans occur in a late document in Paul's ministry in response to a specific problem: they are isolated in the Jewish-Christian dialogue. And we have seen that as an aspect of traditional geographic-eschatology Jerusalem came to have little significance for the Apostle.

All in all, therefore, it is exceedingly easy to exaggerate the geographic dimension in Paul's eschatology at any period, and to exaggerate the degree of change in his understanding of the End as a consequence.

But the second consideration to be noticed cannot be overestimated. In the Church among the Gentiles - a Church the quality of whose life was symbolized by the collection for the 'poor' in Jerusalem - in which Jew and Gentile were reconciled Paul saw the fulfilment of prophecy; the End community had emerged, although life was going on. The Sons of God for whom the whole creation had groaned and was still groaning were coming into being or being revealed. It was this community for which Paul toiled and hoped. It had emerged and lived in hope that all would be reconciled to it. Those who were 'in Christ' came to constitute for Paul his centre of gravity, his Jerusalem.

He was led not away from the land of his fathers, but beyond it to discover his inheritance 'in Christ', the land of Christians - if such a phrase be permissible. Community not country became central for him.

But was such a position a revolutionary one? Not in itself: it was only the nature of the community that was revolutionary. ~~I have elsewhere~~ ~~traced~~ traced the emphasis on the land in first-century Judaism. But Judaism has seldom been monolithic. As we saw previously among the Pharisees to whom Paul had belonged there were those who had placed community above the State and the land. Most prominent among these was Hillel a pupil of whose school Paul may have been. In Hillel - and there were doubtless many who shared his views - the life of obedience to the Torah was primary: the land itself, the State, were secondary considerations. Paul, the Hillelite, when he became a Christian carried with him the quest for community and discovered it in the Church. To exaggerate the newness of the emphasis on community would, therefore, be false.

But whatever the sources of Paul's concentration on community, the Gospel which he embraced itself demanded such an emphasis. Let us recall that the Torah was inseparable from the land, and that the connection with Eretz Israel for much

of Judaism always has been and still is inseverable. For the Torah the Gospel substituted a Person as the way to salvation, Jesus, the Christ. He had indeed, been born and bred in 'the land', but had become the Living Lord, the Spirit. 'The wind blows where it wills, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know whence it comes or whither it goes; so it is with everyone who is born of the Spirit.' So wrote the author of the Fourth Gospel. Paul and John are here at one. For Paul the Lord and the Spirit are almost exchangeable. And once Paul had made the Living Lord the centre in life and in death, rather than the Torah, once he had seen in Jesus his Torah, and walking 'in the Spirit' his true life, he had in principle broken with the land. 'In Christ' Paul was free from the Law, and therefore, from the land. He never completely and consciously abandoned the geography of eschatology: it continued alongside his new awareness of a Christified eschatology. Possibly, like many of the great figures of Christian history - from Augustine to Luther - Paul often wrote as if he were a split-personality: emotionally, and perhaps intellectually, he apparently felt no absolute incongruity between retaining his apocalyptic geography even while being 'in Christ'. But theologically it was no longer central for him.

### III

#### The Synoptics

So far we have examined two New Testament figures who seemed to relegate 'holy space' in the form of the Temple, Jerusalem and the land (in so far as it was dealt with at all) to a secondary place. When we turn to the Gospels as indicators of the beliefs of early Christian communities the case is more complicate.

#### 1.

#### Galilee or Jerusalem: terra Christiana?

Three scholars in particular have urged that in the Gospels we encounter locality used in the interests of doctrine. Lohmeyer and R. H. Lightfoot discovered this connection in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel - an emphasis on Galilee, in Mark and Matthew, as the sphere of revelation and redemption, so that Galilee becomes a terra Christiana, and (though to a lesser degree in Matthew) an emphasis on Jerusalem as the place of rejection. Luke, on the other hand, regarded Galilee as the place of the beginning of the Gospel, where the witnesses to the Lord were initially gathered, and elevated Jerusalem to the place of revelation. With variations their views have been continued in recent years by Marxsen.

It would take us too far afield to present the arguments of these various scholars. The essential point is that either in reference to Galilee or Jerusalem they implicitly find the beginnings of a geographic dimension to Christianity which we have seen Jesus and Paul would have rejected: that is, the beginnings of the notion of a 'Holy Land'. The explanation which they gave for these different emphases was that there were two centers of primitive Christianity, one in Galilee and one in Jerusalem. These imposed their respective interests upon the tradition. But the difficulty with their work has been twofold.

First, there has been no convincing evidence for the existence of a distinct Galilean Christianity such as could have imposed itself on the tradition. It is particularly significant that attempts to prove that there developed a Galilean dynasty in the family of Jesus in early Christianity have failed.

Secondly, according to Strack-Billerbeck there is no connection between the Messiah and Galilee in ancient sources, so that the extreme eschatological significance ascribed to Galilee by a primitive Christian community as postulated by Lohmeyer, Lightfoot and Marxsen <sup>is exceedingly difficult to understand</sup> True there are passages where Galilee

may be referred to in messianic contexts as the scene of the fulfilment of the promises. But Wieder's attempt to establish that Galilee had a place of importance in the messianic expectations of Judaism must be deemed, in my judgement, a failure. It was no eschatological concentration on Galilee in Judaism that led Jesus of Nazareth to begin his ministry there but human need. Any attempt to picture a Galilean idyll in that ministry is to be rejected. There is, in the last resort, no likelihood that locality had theological significance in the Synoptics in the manner supposed by Lohmeyer and Lightfoot.

2.

The Geographical Root of Christianity

But although this is true the comfort of the preservation of the memory of the ministry of Jesus in Galilee and Jerusalem in the Gospels must be given full recognition. This is not the place to discuss the reasons for the emergence of the Gospels in detail. But three things have to be recalled: the eye-witnesses of the ministry of Jesus inevitably began to pass away; the End which had been expected soon did not eventuate and Christians found it necessary to continue to live in a cold old world in the light of a common day, and, as time went on, needed to preserve the memory of the glory that had appeared;

and, finally as the Church spread further and further into the Graeco-Roman world; it became more and more necessary for it to secure its base. The primitive Church could have jeopardized its existence by removing itself too far from that life death and resurrection which was its foundation. For these and other reasons Christianity had to become consciously historical. In the Graeco-Roman world the Palestinian Gospel came into contact with all sorts of religious and philosophic movements. Men challenged it and could have perverted it by turning it into a metaphysical system or a mystery or a Gnostic cult, without connection with that historic figure who gave it birth: that is, they could have cut it from its root. To prevent this the Gospels came into being: they kept the Church attached to its base - in the actualities of the ministry of Jesus; they preserved Christianity from degenerating into a theology of the Word or of an idea and preserved the community rooted in the Word made flesh, that is, in the historically real Jesus.

But this demanded placing that Jesus in his own world, on his own native heath. And so the land of Israel - its towns and villages, Galilee and Jerusalem where the Lord had trod, became important and their names <sup>were</sup> preserved. It is not

necessary to follow the rigid schematization of Lohmeyer and Lightfoot: but it is necessary to recognize that for Christian devotion in the New Testament itself the events of the life of Jesus in their history<sup>ical</sup> and geographic setting are of supreme and indispensable concern and in time the occasion of extreme reverence and devotion. This is part and parcel of the historical character and root of the Christian Gospel.

3.  
Luke - Acts: Jerusalem and Rome.

Before we leave the Synoptics special attention must be paid to Luke and with it Acts. There can be no question that for Luke Jerusalem, as the place where all the ministry of Jesus came to a head and where the witnessing Church which arose from the Resurrection came into being, is of supreme significance. It was necessary to preserve the memory of what happened there both to Jesus and to the early Church in order to protect and preserve the continuity of Christianity with its own past and with its own past as it emerged in Jerusalem the city of David, centrum mundi.

But it is Luke also who reveals most clearly, perhaps, that the Gospel, although sprung from a place, is tied to no

place. This comes out clearest in Acts 7 - dealing with Stephen, whose speech and martyrdom is given as the last preaching of the early apostles and evangelists in Jerusalem. Henceforward the preaching moved to Samaria - from the land. From which the Church is now set loose. At this point the emphases in Stephen's speech are important. The divine call came to Abraham outside the land; the patriarchs had been buried in Shechem, revered of the Samaritans; Joseph and Moses had heard the Lord in Egypt and in Midian. In particular, Acts makes much of the moveable tent as over against the solid, stationary Temple as the symbol of God's assignments which are not static but dynamic and moving. The repetition of the term land in Acts 7:1-6 is significant. The Christian community is the heir of a pilgrim people and pilgrim heroes for whom geographic limitations had been secondary: it too has to be pilgrim.

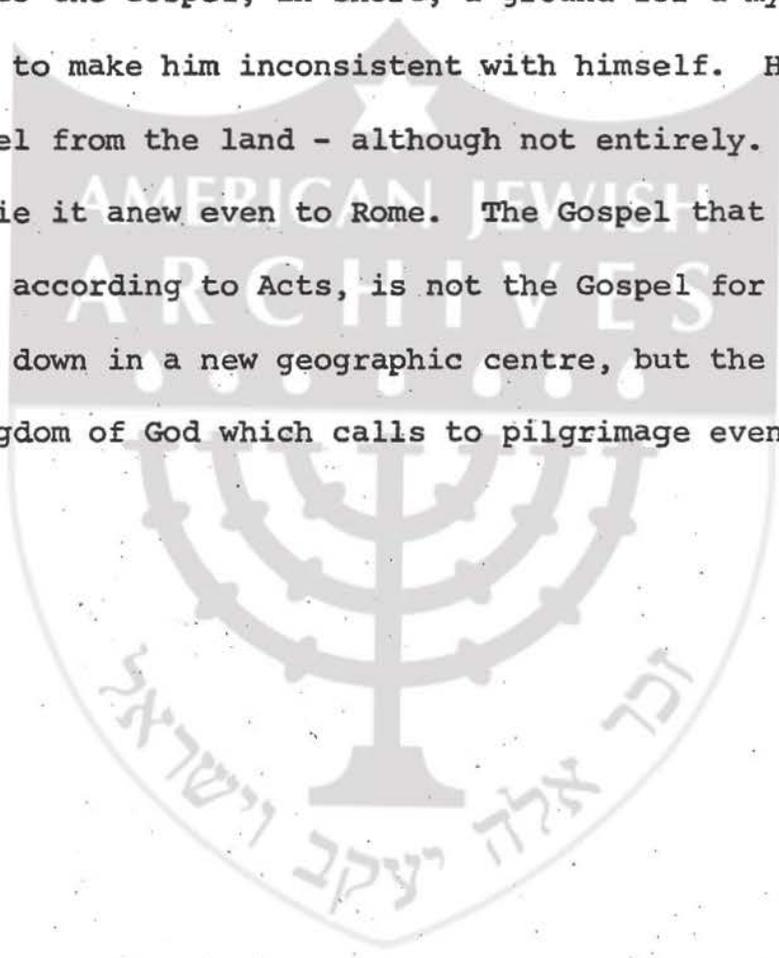
It is impossible to rule out from Acts 7 a conscious break with the land, subsidiary as this theme may be to the theme of worship. The shadow of Jerusalem persists after Acts 7 but some have held that for Luke, after Stephen, Jerusalem has ceased to be the centrum mundi and has become a point de

depart, preserving the continuity of the Gospel with its historical origins, but also leading on to Rome. O'Neill has gone so far as to claim - surely with much exaggeration in view of the data presented by Munck - that after the martyrdom of Stephen the mission of the Church in Jerusalem really did not concern Luke, although it did continue.

This brings us to a second emphasis that Acts has been urged to present. What is the significance of Rome for Luke? O'Neill argues that although Jerusalem remains for Luke the centre of the Faith its goal is Rome, the city chosen by God as the place where the Church was to exercise its role in the wide world. Acts begins in Jerusalem: it ends in Rome. Chadwick and others have pointed out how the last eight chapters of Acts lead on to the triumphal note of Acts 28:14: *καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν* : "and so we came to Rome." Luke has taken part in the inauguration of the Christian mystique of Rome which was to play such a large part in later history.

I have elsewhere subjected this view to criticism. Here let me simply say that Luke does not present a march from Jerusalem to Rome as the governing motif of his work. There is, it is true, a change from the concentration on Jerusalem to

that on Rome as the book of Acts proceeds: for Luke Paul does become freed from the land. But to suggest that Luke meant more by Rome than a crucial geographic centre for witnessing to the Gospel, in short, a ground for a mystique, would be to make him inconsistent with himself. He loosed the Gospel from the land - although not entirely. He would hardly tie it anew even to Rome. The Gospel that Paul preached in Rome, according to Acts, is not the Gospel for a Church settling down in a new geographic centre, but the Gospel of that Kingdom of God which calls to pilgrimage even from there.



IV

The Fourth Gospel

Before we examine the text of the next document with which we shall deal, certain preliminary remarks are in order.

First, ever since Clement of Alexandria used the phrase, the Fourth Gospel has often been understood, over against the "carnal" Synoptic Gospels, as "the spiritual Gospel." This has usually been taken to imply that, whereas the Synoptics were primarily concerned with the recording of data about the Lord's life, death and resurrection, the Fourth Gospel was designed to set forth the spiritual dimensions of those data: it is no chronicle but a theological interpretation. Were John thus peculiarly 'spiritual' in its intent, two contradictory conclusions might be drawn in connection with our attempt to trace the part played by the land of Israel in the New Testament. It might be urged that such a Gospel would hardly be concerned with any geographic motifs, so that any interest in the land would be unlikely to appear in it. On the other hand, it might be expected that precisely in such a spiritual Gospel would a theological significance be given to geographic realities. As it turns out, the choice between these two contradictory conclusions has become unreal, because the understanding of John as a 'theological' Gospel to be

sharply distinguished from the Synoptics has been abandoned. The Synoptics are now recognized to be no less governed by 'theological' concerns than John, so that if geographic-theological concerns may have governed the former they may equally well have governed the latter.

Secondly, another preliminary remark is in order. The Fourth Gospel has often been understood as an essentially Hellenistic document, to be connected particularly with Ephesus in Asia Minor. The question is inevitable whether such a comparatively late document, emanating from such a quarter is likely to have preserved a concern with Palestinian geographic considerations of any other than the strictest historical or traditional kind. Would not the remove in time and space indicated by the Fourth Gospel have blurred any Palestinian, geographic-theological considerations-if ever such existed-and rendered them irrelevant?

The answer to such a question is not difficult. The approach to the Fourth Gospel which emphasized its Hellenistic affinities almost exclusively has been largely abandoned. Few would not now concede that the Fourth Gospel is rooted both in Judaism and in Hellenism, and that to deny it an interest in the land of Israel on the ground of the Hellenistic mould of its thought would be unjustifiable. Recent study has revealed

that however Hellenistic its spread, the Fourth Gospel has drawn upon sources of a Palestinian origin which might be expected to preserve primitive tendencies, traces of which at least it would be reasonable to expect in the Gospel in its present form.

A third, even more positive preliminary note is necessary. The Fourth Gospel reveals a well-marked practice of ascribing two meanings or even more to certain phenomena. Sometimes an event is treated on two levels: it may refer to an incident in the life of Jesus himself or in that of the believer. At other times, a temporal notation is clearly designed to suggest a 'spiritual' dimension: the 'night' when Judas departed from the Last Supper was a spiritual 'night' for mankind and the cosmos, or as St. Augustine thought, stood for Judas himself as 'night.' Again, by a play on the word 'lifted up' (=elevated), the crucifixion signifies both humiliation and glorification. The point is that in a Gospel where such double meanings occur it is not unnatural to ask whether spatial or geographic terms, like others, might have a double significance.

This leads to the fourth preliminary consideration. There is evidence that the Fourth Gospel was concerned with the question of 'holy space' and did impose a double connotation on certain spatial realities.

1.

The following data are pertinent. Let us begin with the 'holy space' par excellence, the Temple in Jerusalem. John placed the Cleansing of the Temple very early in his Gospel in 2:1ff: to signify that a New Order had arrived. The 'Holy Place' is to be displaced by a new reality, a rebuilt 'temple,' which John refers to as 'the temple of his body' (2:21). This phrase refers either to the Resurrection, that is, to the Living Reality of Christ in the midst or to the Church, which, elsewhere in the New Testament, is called 'the body of Christ.' 'The temple of his body' designates either a person or a community or both that is to replace the 'holy space' of the physical temple. The Gospel is destined to personalize or Christify that space, or, rather, holiness is no longer to be attached to space at all.

This attitude to the Temple may be carried further in another passage. Chapters 7 and 8 describe the manifestation of the Messianic presence at the Temple in Jerusalem during the feast of Tabernacles. At the end of the eighth chapter the claims of Jesus to be the Messiah, the Light of the World, are carried even further. He designates himself as 'I am' (8:58). And immediately following this, in escaping from the

Jews, he departs from the Temple.

Most commentators either ignore or pay scant attention to the reference to this departure from the Temple: it merely signifies, it is implied, that the activity of Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles is over. Jesus had gone up to the Temple in 7:14, and now, naturally, leaves it. No profound intent should be read into the reference to the departure. This is consonant with the view that the sequence of time and space in Chapters 7 and 8 are insignificant. But it is possible to give to the narrative setting of these two chapters a special significance. It reveals the characteristic irony of the Fourth Gospel. Outwardly, in these chapters, a rustic prophet makes his appeal to the centre of the nation, Jerusalem. But on a deeper level, the Logos manifests itself to the world. C. H. Dodd has expressed the matter as follows.

"The narrative setting of the series of dialogues is itself a *synecdoche* in the sense which that word bears in the Fourth Gospel. It might have been given as a simple narrative of an occurrence during the ministry of Jesus. After a period of retirement in Galilee, He went up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles, and there made a

public appeal in the temple. The result was that the crowd threatened to stone Him, and the authorities ordered His arrest. He therefore left the temple, and went into retirement again. But every stage of this narrative has symbolic meaning. The Logos was in the world unknown.

He came to His own place (Jerusalem is the <sup>πατρίς</sup> of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, iv.44), and those who were His own received Him not. As

a result, the manifestation of the Word is withdrawn from Israel: ἐκρύβη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ἑβραίου.

The whole episode, from this point of view, might be taken as a large-scale illustration of the way in which this evangelist understands the primitive Christian doctrine of the blinding or ~~σπαραγμῶν~~ <sup>πῶρωσις</sup> of Israel, to which he has given a prominent position in the epilogue to the Book of Signs, xii. 37-41."

The point which particularly concerns us is the departure from the Temple, which Dodd does not emphasize: Is any symbolic significance to be attached to this explicit reference to a departure from the Temple as such? Can we claim that this

departure particularly connotes the turning away of Jesus from Judaism, and that the departure from the Temple-'the holy space'- has become the symbol of that rejection. There are obvious objections to such a view. The verse in 8:59 may be taken as by Dodd, for example, as a closure for the whole section beginning at 7:1, the words "not publicly but in private" of 7:10 being recalled by the words "but Jesus hid himself" in 8:59: the departure from the Temple may be taken simply as a natural geographic note, as we have previously noted: he went up to the Temple in 7:14 and he left it in 8:59. Again, if the departure from the Temple in 8:59 were symbolic of the definitive rejection of Judaism and its 'holy space' it is likely that Jesus should have gone back again into the Temple, as is stated in 10:22ff? This would seem to rule out, at first sight, any final significance for 8:59 in the relationships between Jesus and the Temple.

But the matter is not so simple. The visit of Jesus to the Temple is described in 7:14 as follows:

About the middle of the feast (of Tabernacles)

Jesus went up into the temple and taught.

Here Jesus takes the initiative: he taught. Similarly in 7:37 we read:

On the last day of the feast, the great day,  
Jesus stood up and proclaimed, "If any  
one thirst.....(the words translated pro-  
claimed are strong: the Greek is  $\epsilon\kappa\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon\nu \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu$

In both passages Jesus deliberately issues a challenge to the  
Jews: he invites a confrontation.

Contrast with these passages the description of Jesus  
in 10:22f which reads:

It was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem;  
it was winter, and Jesus was walking in the  
temple in the portico of Solomon. So the Jews  
gathered round him and said to him, "How long  
will you keep us in suspense?" If you are the  
Christ, tell us plainly." Jesus answered them,  
"I told you, and you do not believe.....

Here Jesus issues no challenge; he provokes no confrontation.  
Rather the Jews confront him: He refers to a challenge that  
he has already issued ("I told you"), and which has been  
rejected. Moreover, whereas in 7:14ff and 7:37ff Jesus seems  
engaged in or involved with the Feast of Tabernacles, having  
gone up to it, with great deliberateness, at its middle, in  
10:22f it is merely stated that he was walking about in the

temple: he seems disengaged; he is at best a kind of onlooker. The reference to the portico of Solomon is significant here. As is made clear in the Western variant in Acts 3:11 ("As Peter and John came out (of the Temple).....the people stood astonished in the portico which is known as Solomon's"), this portico was outside the Temple proper, constituting the boundary of the latter. Jesus cannot, therefore, be said to be "in the temple" in 10:22, as he was in 7:14 and 7:37. And it agrees with this that at the conclusion of the section 10:22-39 there is no reference to a departure from the Temple, but only to Jesus's escape from the hands of the hostile Jews. Contrast the explicit reference to such a departure at 8:59. Throughout 10:22-39, the movement is on the fringe of the Temple.

Can we find a reason why Jesus should be found thus 'walking in the portico of Solomon,' if already in 8:59 John has suggested a final rejection of 'the holy place' and the departure of the Shekinah from it? Perhaps the answer lies in the nature of the Feast of Dedication. Hanukkah, Tabernacles, of the month of Chisler (December) (2 Macc.1:9) celebrated the Maccabean victories from 167-164 B.C.. The Syrians had profaned the Temple: they had erected the idol of Baal Shamem (the

oriental version of the Olympian Zeus) on the altar of holocausts (1 Macc. 1:54; ii Macc. 6:1-7). The 'holy place' was cleansed of this pollution when Judas Maccabeus drove out the Syrians, built a new altar and rededicated the Temple on the 25th of the month of Chisler (1 Macc. iv:41-61). It was this event that the Feast of Dedication annually commemorated, the reconsecration of the altar and Temple. The Feast, called Hanukkah in Hebrew, is designated by the Greek term Enkainia, literally Renewal, in John 10:22. The Greek term, in its substantive and verbal forms, was used in the Septuagint to describe the dedication of the altar in the original tabernacle (Num. 7:10, 11), of the Temple of Solomon (i Kings 8:63, 2 Chron. 7:5), and of the new Temple which was built after the return from the Babylonian captivity (Ezra 6:16). The Festival evoked the history of the reconsecration and renewal of 'the holy place' in Jewish history. But Jesus walking on the fringes of the Temple knows that the hour of true renewal has passed; the ego eimi has departed from the Temple and the real dedication is the dedication of Himself by God to fulfill the role of the Temple, i.e., to mediate the presence of God to men. This is made explicit in 10:37, which speaks of the sanctification of Christ. Jesus counters

the Jews' claim thtt he is blaspheming when he claims that: 'I and the Father are one,' by referring to the Scriptures. The passage reads.

The Jews answered him, "We stone you for no good work but for blasphemy; because you, being a man, make yourself God." Jesus answered them, "Is it not written in your law, 'I said, you are gods'? If he called them gods to whom the word of God came (and scripture cannot be broken), do you say of him whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world, 'You are blaspheming,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'? If I am not doing the works of my Father, then do not believe me;

The Father has consecrated Christ (ὁὐὸς πατὴρ

ἀγιάσεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ..... ).

The Greek term translated 'consecrated' is not that used of the Festival itself (ἐγκαινίζειν), but it is used of Moses' consecration of the Tabernacle in the LXX of Num. vii:1, enkainizein being used in Num. vii:10-11 of the dedication of the altar. Both terms *hagiazin* and *enkainizein*, therefore, occurred in a passage read at the Feast of Dedication in the Synagogue

and appear to be synonymous. The implication is that for John, Christ has taken the place previously occupied by the Tabernacle and the altar and the Temple. He has become the place for the Divine Presence and reconciliation: the future tense of 2:19 <sup>2</sup>εἶπεν has become a past tense: the separation from the old 'holy space' symbolized by the departure from the Temple in 8:59 has been "consummated:" may we say that Christ has replaced the Holy of Holies by Himself? After the walking in the portico of Solomon there is no further reference to Jesus in the Temple. At Passover in 11:56 the Pharisees are in the Temple wondering whether Jesus would come to the Feast. He did come to the city; but by that time his attitude to the Temple in John had been determined and made clear. Any cleansing of the Temple in John's Passion narrative for this reason would be otiose or anachronistic.

The purpose of this long excursion of 10:22ff has been to show that the visit to the portico of Solomon in 10:22 does not of itself deny finality to the departure recorded in 8:59: here also John has been concerned to utilize a geographic note-'departure from the Temple'-to signify a spiritual dimension.

But is there any intrinsic reason why 8:59 should be given such finality as we have suggested for it? Does John

intend to indicate that Jesus there deliberately and finally broke with 'Holy Space.' One factor might suggest this. The discussion between Jesus and the Jews ends with the following words in 8:56-9:

Your father Abraham rejoiced that he was to see my day; he saw it and was glad. The Jews then said to him, "you are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?" Jesus said to them, "Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am." So they took up stones to throw at him; but Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple.

Jesus makes here the affirmation that as 'I am' he was before Abraham. Into the history of the phrase 'I am' we cannot enter here: suffice that 'I am' signifies the Divine Presence. The recognition of himself as 'I am' by Jesus is the clearest implication in the New Testament of the Divinity of Christ. The Jews recognize this: they proceed to stone Jesus, because in the light of Lev. 24:16 (He who blasphemes the name of the Lord shall be put to death; all the congregation shall stone him; the sojourner as well as the native, when he blasphemes the Name, shall be put to death) he is guilty of blasphemy.

The point to be emphasized, for our purposes, in this context is that the divine Name 'I am' occupied a prominent rôle in the liturgy of the Feast of Tabernacles. The pertinent section of it is described as follows in the Mishnah, Sukkah

4:5

How was the rite of the Willow-branch fulfilled?

There was a place below Jerusalem called Motza.

Thither they went and cut themselves young willow branches. They came and set these up at the sides

of the Altar so that their tops were bent over the

Altar. They then blew (on the shofar) a sustained, a quavering and another sustained blast.

Each day they went in procession a single time around the Altar, saying, 'Save now, we beseech

thee, O Lord! We beseech thee, O Lord, send

now prosperity! R. Judah says: 'Ani waho! save

us we pray! Ani waho! save us we pray! But

on that day they went in procession seven times

around the Altar. When they departed what did

they say? 'Homage to thee, O Altar! Homage to

thee, O Altar! R. Eliezer says: 'To the Lord

and to thee, O Altar! To the Lord and to thee, O Altar!

The use of the phrase or formula 'I am' by Jesus, therefore, in 8:58 is eminently fitting: the Feast of Tabernacles itself evoked it. And, if what we have written above be anywhere near the intent of the Evangelist, in 8:59 we find the implication that 'I am' has departed from the Temple, that 'holy space' is no longer the abode of the Divine Presence. The Shekinah is no longer there but is now found wherever Christ is, because later, 10:37 makes probable, if not unmistakably clear, Christ himself is the Sanctified one, the altar and Temple, the locus of the Shekinah. The consecration of Jesus referred to in 10:37 is to be associated with the theme of the New Tabernacle (1:14) and the new Temple (2:21). On this view 10:37 is the culmination of a series of replacements associated with the feasts of Judaism. In chapter v the Sabbath feast is subordinated to the activity of Jesus in doing the work of life and judgement entrusted to him by the Father. In chapter vi the manna of the Passover story is replaced by the multiplying of bread as a sign that Jesus was the bread come down from heaven. At Tabernacles in 7-8 the water and light ceremonies are replaced by Jesus the true source of living waters and the Light of the world. And finally, at the Feast of Dedication the old tabernacle and temple are

replaced by the consecrated Christ. And we have suggested that within this sequence belongs another step, indicated in the geographic reference to the departure of Jesus from the Temple, which symbolizes the departure of the Divine Presence from the old 'Holy Space.'



Not only is the central place for Jewish worship to be replaced 'in Christ', but John shows an interest in other 'holy places' which are also replaced or rather transcended. Two passages reveal this, one in 1:51 and the other in 4.

In the very first chapter of the Gospel the question of 'holy places' is at least one motif among others that emerge. We are concerned with the dealings of Jesus with Nathanael. The latter was sceptical of the Messiahship of Jesus on geographic grounds. 'Can anything good come out of Nazareth', he asked (1:46). Nevertheless he is called "an Israelite indeed in whom is no ~~guilt~~<sup>guilt</sup>." This should not be watered down simply to mean that "he was a Jew without ~~guilt~~<sup>guilt</sup>." The last verse in Chapter 1, verse 1:51 implies clearly that John is thinking of Nathanael in terms of Jacob and his vision at Bethel. "And (Jesus) said to him, "Truly, truly, I say to you, you will see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man." These words are recognized generally to refer to Gen. 28:10-17, the story of Jacob at Bethel. But beyond this general agreement there is a wide diversity of interpretations.

It would be arbitrary to fix on any single interpretation of 1:51 as the right one: the verse is kaleidoscopic. But at

least among its possibly many annotations we may legitimately find a contrast drawn between the holy place of Jacob's vision which was for him 'the house of God and the gate of heaven' and in person of Nathanael's vision, the Son of Man. The passage in Gen. 28:10-17 reads as follows:

Jacob left Beersheba, and went toward Haran. And when he came to a certain place, and stayed there that night, because the sun had set. Taking one of the stones of the place, he put it under his head and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it! And behold, the Lord stood above it and said, "I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and your descendants; and your descendants shall be like dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and by you and your descendants shall all the families of the earth bless themselves. Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to to this

land; for I will not leave you until I have done that of which I have spoken to you." Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Sure the Lord is in this place; and I did not know it." And he was afraid, and said, "How awesome in this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

The point of John 1:51, in part at least, is that it is no longer the place, Bethel, that is important, but the Person of the Son of Man. It is in His Person that 'the house of God and the gate of heaven' are now found. Where the Son of Man is the 'heaven will be opened' and the angels will ascend and descend to connect that heaven with earth, that is, Jesus is to be equated in 1:51 not with Jacob or with the ladder of his dream but with the sanctuary at Bethel itself which is the link between heaven and earth and the place of God's habitation on earth. This interpretation has the advantage over many others proposed of relying simply on the Biblical text at Gen. 28. Furthermore, it comports well with the idea of the humanity of Christ as the dwelling place of God with men and as the new temple with which we have already dealt, and especially with the concept of the Logos becoming flesh in 1:14.

There are two other 'holy places' that are displaced in the Fourth Gospel. To examine its treatment of them in detail would prolong this discussion inordinately: the evidence for the position presented here must be given elsewhere. The two places are Mount Gerizim, the holy place of the Samaritans and Bethesda.

In the fourth chapter Jesus encounters the woman of Samaria. In the course of the chapter the following is recorded:

The women said to him, "Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped on this mountain; and you say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." Jesus said to her, "Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father. You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth." The woman said to him, "I know that Messiah

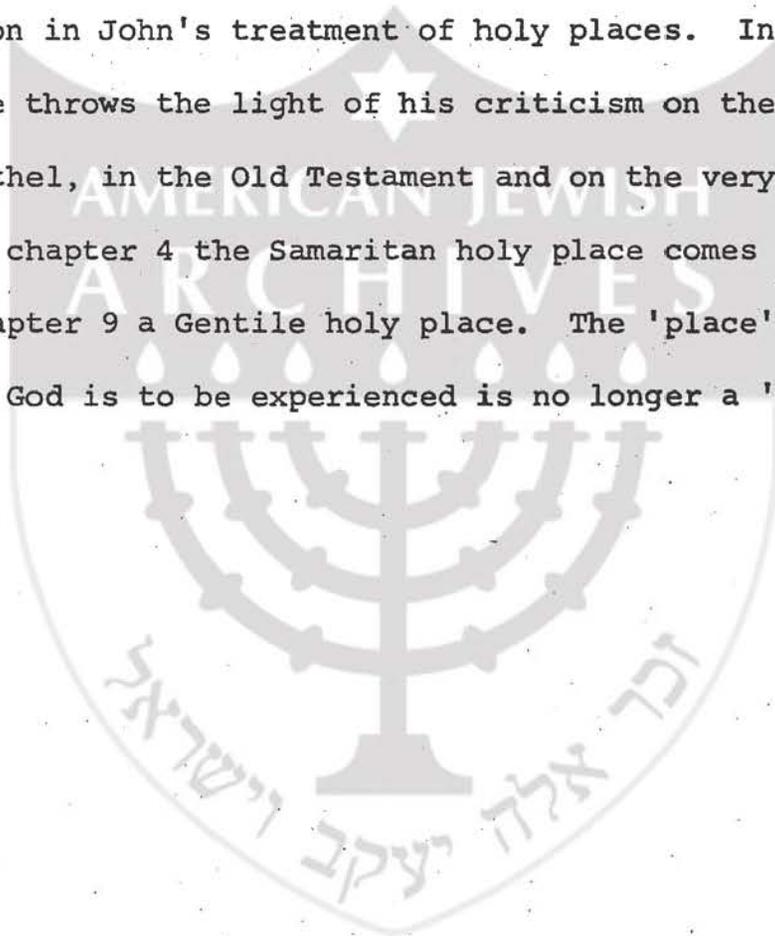
is coming (he who is called Christ); when he comes, he will show us all things." Jesus said to her, "I who speak to you am he."

It is impossible not to recognize here the displacement of both Gerizim and Jerusalem as 'holy place' having a unique significance for worship: what matters is the Spirit and presence of Jesus.

The case of Bethesda is more difficult. The waters of Siloah were famous and significant, being associated with divine Messianic and cultic power, so that we can regard Bethesda as a 'holy place'. The main point of John 9:1ff is that the waters of Siloah are only truly enlightening if they can be equated with 'The One Sent'. We encounter here again the notion that a place of healing water has been replaced by Christ Himself. The baptism of the One Sent has replaced the baptism of a holy place, Siloah. That Siloah had messianic connections in Judaism made it doubly appropriate for John's purpose. The King of Israel had to go to the waters of Gihon and the Midrash on Lev. Rabbah X:8 states, on the basis of 1 Kings 1:33 that "Kings are anointed only at a well". For John, Jesus Himself is Siloah.

But there is an added significance. I would like to

suggest, to the healing at Bethesda. Recent archaeological research has revealed evidence that Bethesda was not only a 'holy place' for Jews but also for Gentiles. Again the evidence must be reserved. But, if so, then we have a remarkable progression in John's treatment of holy places. In chapters 1 and 2 he throws the light of his criticism on the holy place, Bethel, in the Old Testament and on the very Temple itself; in chapter 4 the Samaritan holy place comes under attack; and in chapter 9 a Gentile holy place. The 'place' where the Spirit of God is to be experienced is no longer a 'place' but a person.



But what of the land itself in John? It does seem as if the area where John the Baptist practised his ministry had a theological significance for the Fourth Gospel, and it is natural to ask whether he ascribed such significance to Galilee or Jerusalem.

Let us look at John the Baptist first. In 1:28, although this could be easily deduced from the context, it is redundantly noted that the Baptist's ministry "took place in Bethany beyond the Jordan, where John was baptizing." Again in 3:22ff the place of the Baptist's activity is carefully defined: "John also was baptizing at Aenon near Salim, because there was much water there; and people came and were baptized." The various spheres of the Baptist's ministry are noteworthy. The reason is clear. Although the Baptist was destined to decrease and Jesus to increase ( ), yet he is designated as "a lamp, burning brightly" (5:35), as a witness to Christ (1:6ff, 26; 5:33). That the sphere, "Bethany beyond Jordan," where John first baptized was peculiarly significant appears from 10:40ff, where we read: "He went away again across the Jordan to the place where John at first baptized, and there he remained. And many came to him; and they said, "John did no sign, but everything that John said about this man was true." And many

believed in him there. The incidence of this reference to the place where John first witnessed to Christ is to be carefully noted.

As we have seen, in 10:22-39, there is a kind of climax: Jesus has claimed to be the Son of God, just as in a section which 10:22-39 strongly recalls, that is, 7-8, he had designated himself 'I am'. The enmity of the Jews had become intense (8:59; 10:39). The break with Judaism was clear. But was there any continuity to which Jesus could appeal? There was—in the ministry and witness of John the Baptist. And at this point of great disjuncture between Jesus and Judaism, John turns to the Baptist and the place where his witness had been given. In the passage cited from 10:40-42 it is implied that Jesus exercised a ministry in this region, but no description of it is given: the interest in the pericope does not lie in what Jesus did, but in the place where he did it—which was the place where witness to Him had been given as the Lamb of God. The ministry of Jesus is attached geographically in this way to that of the Baptist not solely because historically such may have been the case, but because there is obvious anxiety to preserve the relationship between the Baptist and Jesus theologically. Topography subserves theology.

So much might be gleaned from the pericope in 10:40-42 by itself even apart from the interpretation we have suggested for its context. And other interpretations of this context than the one suggested above are possible. Bultmann takes 10:40-42 to be an introduction to a new section, 10:40-12:33 (along with the misplaced 8:30-40; 6:60-71), and with 11:54, they constitute a framework for the story of the raising of Lazarus which Bultmann understands as a theophany. On this view no other geographic--theological significance is to be given to 10:40-42 other than the one we have indicated above, that is, that which finds in them an anxiety to connect Jesus with the witness of the Baptist. Bultmann does not emphasize the geographic connection but only the theological. Nearer to the position indicated above is that of R. E. Brown. He takes 10:40-42 to be a closure for the whole public ministry of Jesus and this geographic closure subserves two theological interests. First, Brown suggests--because chapters 11 and 12 present indications that they are editorial additions--then in the original outline of the Gospel which John prepared 10:42 was followed by 13:1. The pericope 10:40-2 looks back to 1:11 (He came to his own and his own received him not) which Brown interprets as referring to "the heritage of Israel, the Promised Land and Jerusalem." At 10:40-2 the ministry of Jesus among his own,

that is, in his own land, came to an end. When Jesus is in Jerusalem in 13:1 he has crossed the Jordan a second time and his going to his 'own land' in another sense, that is, to be with the Father. The departure from Judaea in 10:40-2, on this view, signifies the fulfillment of 1:11: it is a judgment on 'his own land' which has rejected the Christ. Geography again subserves theology. This is not essentially modified when John later inserts 11 and 12 between 10:40-4 and 13:1 in the interests of providing a more dramatic conclusion to the public ministry in the raising of Lazarus. Without staying longer with the 'land of John the Baptist' we merely note that in 10:42 it is no accident that many are said to have believed in Jesus there, in the place where witness had been borne to the Lamb of God. That place is on the way to becoming terra Christiana, and is to be contrasted with Jerusalem where Jesus had been rejected and was to be crucified. Jesus had come to his 'own land', but had to escape from it. On the other side of Jordan he found a faith which his 'own land' had denied him. The term ἐκεῖ 'there' in 10:40 and 42 is emphatic.

Here, we seem to be confronted with John's use of a geographic entity--the place of the Baptist's witness--for a theological purpose: here it is that of providing a degree of

continuity with 'the past' which the unbelief of Jerusalem was breaking in the ministry of Jesus, and of illustrating possibly the rejection of Jesus in his 'own land' by providing a contrasting place 'where John had borne witness'.

But how precisely is the phrase "his own" to be understood in the Fourth Gospel. We have implied that it refers to Jerusalem and it has been argued that the 'native land' of Jews in John is Judaea and Jerusalem not Galilee: Judaea is the scene where the glory was most manifested. Others have refused this view and find it impossible to find a clear theological significance attached either to Galilee or Jerusalem in the Gospel. But even if Jerusalem is the scene of the glorification of Christ for John, the Cross being for him the supreme manifestation of God's glory, it is also necessarily the scene of the divine judgement and here is also a shadow cast over it. Despite the manifestation of the glory in them, neither Galilee nor Jerusalem are 'holy lands' for John.

The Fourth Gospel, therefore, presents us with something of a paradox. If our approach to it be correct, it presents a critique of holy places. For John as for the other authors of the New Testament the glory resides in the flesh of Jesus Christ. But paradoxically although a person has replaced all holy places as the seat of the Logos, the doctrine of the incarnation of the Word in

the flesh later was to sanctify all flesh and to provide a gateway to the revering of many a holy place.



The Heavenly Jerusalem

One other aspect of our theme remains. There are passages where the name Jerusalem signifies not an earthly city but a heavenly, and becomes a symbol of the final or ultimate community where God dwells with his own. Only the briefest reference to these passages is possible here.

The earliest occurs in Gal. 4:21-27. Here, using an allegory, Paul thinks of those who adhere to the law represented by Hagar, as the children of servitude and of those who are in Christ as the children of Sarah. In the course of his allegory Paul contrasts the homes to which these two groups belong. His argument may be tabulated as follows:

Hagar

(=the Covenant of Law)  
corresponds to  
the present Jerusalem

Sarah

(=the Covenant of Promise)  
corresponds to  
the Jerusalem on high

The children of Hagar have their home in the earthly city where God dwells in the Temple made with hands. But the children of Sarah, Christians, who acknowledge a risen and exalted Lord, know that their home is not on earth, but in heaven. Their mother is the Jerusalem on high. Paul shares in the apocalyptic

view that the heavenly Jerusalem already exists in heaven. But those who live by faith in Christ already live the life of the new Jerusalem; they are already citizens of heaven. Gal. 2:19-21, Phil. 3:20ff. On this view, the Church belongs to an already existing heavenly city. Notice that Paul does not say that this heavenly city will be established as a visible city on earth. But Christians on earth already do share in its glories: it belongs to that realm "where eye hath not seen nor ear heard", that is, it is transcendental.

The same symbolism appears in Hebrews at 12:18 - 24. Here the earthly Mt. Zion - traditionally the hill of Moriah where Abraham sacrificed Isaac, where David was victorious over the Jebusites, where Solomon's temple, the second Temple and Herod's temple were sited - becomes a symbol of the society of the New Covenant, the sphere of the spiritual fulfilment of the eschatological hope, the city of the living God, whence He exercises His rule. It is because God has his seat there that Zion is the city with foundations. But God's habitat is not on earth: He is in heaven and Zion therefore must be a heavenly reality. It is not so clearly implied as in Galatians that the Church is part of the heavenly Zion. Rather Christians 'stand before' or have drawn near to the heavenly city. Com-

pare chapters 3-4 where the rest of God, not achieved for Jews through the conquest of the land by Joshua, still remains a possibility for Christians. In fact, for the author of Hebrews it was to this heavenly city that even the heroes of faith in the Old Testament had looked (11:13-16). Christians similarly have no permanent home on earth but are seekers for a city to come (13-14), a city that cannot be touched, eternal in the heavens.

And there remains further, the last book of the New Testament where the new Jerusalem plays a climactic role. We cannot here assess the extent to which Revelation, like Paul, thinks of Christians as already participating in the heavenly Jerusalem or to what degree that heavenly city is constituted by the Church. It is, however, difficult not to ascribe to it a transcendental dimension. It comes down. Yes. But it is from heaven that it comes and that to a new earth. Surely the earthly Jerusalem has here lent its name to a spiritual, transcendental reality.

Our survey of the evidence of the New Testament is over. Before we leave it and point out its significance, one thing must be emphasized, although it cannot be enlarged upon here.

It is this: in all the strata of the New Testament the context within which all that we have written above, about Galilee, Jerusalem, the temple, the land, <sup>is to be understood</sup> is that of a cosmic eschatology. This must be emphasized because it sets our treatment in true perspective. The cosmic awareness of primitive Christianity - its doctrine of the new creation, the new age, the cosmic Christ and the cosmic Church and the cosmic salvation through these - this could not but place all Christian speculation on geographic entities that were central to Judaism in a minor key. (Judaism had this cosmic dimension also and it too, to that extent, depresses the doctrine of Jerusalem and the land. But that dimension is more immediate and ubiquitous in its intensity in primitive Christianity and the consequent depression greater).

Our survey of the data is over. Can we draw any broad conclusions? The data can be divided into two groups although these cannot be regarded as watertight.

First, there are strata in the tradition where the dogma of the land, Jerusalem and the Temple emerges in a critical or negative light. In one stratum (Acts 7) it was rejected outright. In other strata the land, Jerusalem and the Temple were taken up into a non-geographic, spiritual, transcendent dimension, even though in their transcendence they also impinged upon or invaded this world through the community of God and His Christ. They became symbols especially of eternal life, of the eschatological society in time and eternity, beyond space and sense. In such strata the physical entities as such--land, Jerusalem, Temple--cease to be significant, except as types of realities which are not in essence physical. It is justifiable to speak of the realia of Judaism as being 'spiritualized' in the Christian dispensation.

But, secondly, there are other strata in which the land, the Temple and Jerusalem, in their physical actuality are regarded positively; that is, they retain their significance in Christianity, that is, in a positive light. This arises from two factors--History and Theology. The emergence of the Gospels--Kerygmatic as they may be--witnesses to a historical and, therefore, geographic concern in the tradition which retains for the realia

their full physical significance. The need to remember the Jesus of History entailed the need to remember the Jesus of a particular land. Jesus belonged not only to time, but to space; and the space and spaces which He occupied took on significance, so that the realia of Judaism continued as realia in Christianity. History in the tradition demanded geography.

But a theological factor also helped to ensure this.

Especially in the Fourth Gospel the doctrine that the Word became flesh, although it resulted in a critique of distinct, traditional, holy spaces, demanded the recognition that where the Glory had appeared among men all physical forms became suffused with it. "We beheld His glory" had the corollary that where this happened became significant. If we allow a Platonic as well as apocalyptic dimension to Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel then their authors believe in a sacramental process, that is, the process of reaching the truth by the frank acceptance of the actual conditions of life and making these a "gate to heaven." Physical phenomena for them are the means whereby the Infinite God and spiritual realities are made imaginable and a present challenge. Such "Sacramentalism" could find holy space everywhere, but especially where He had been: this sacramentalism has informed the devotion to the Holy Places among many Christians throughout the ages.

The witness of the New Testament is, therefore, twofold: it sits loose to the land, Jerusalem, the Temple. Yes: but its history and theology demanded a concern with these realities also. Is there a reconciling principle between these apparently contradictory attitudes? There is. It has already been, by implication, suggested. The New Testament finds holy space wherever Christ is or has been: it personalizes 'Holy Space' in Christ, who, as a figure of History, is rooted in the land, cleansed the Temple and died in Jerusalem and also lends His glory to these and to the places where He was; but, as Living Lord, is also free to move wherever He wills. To do justice to the personalism of the New Testament, that is, to its Christo-centricity, is to find the clue to the various strata of tradition that we have traced and to the attitudes they reveal: to their freedom from space and their attachment to spaces.

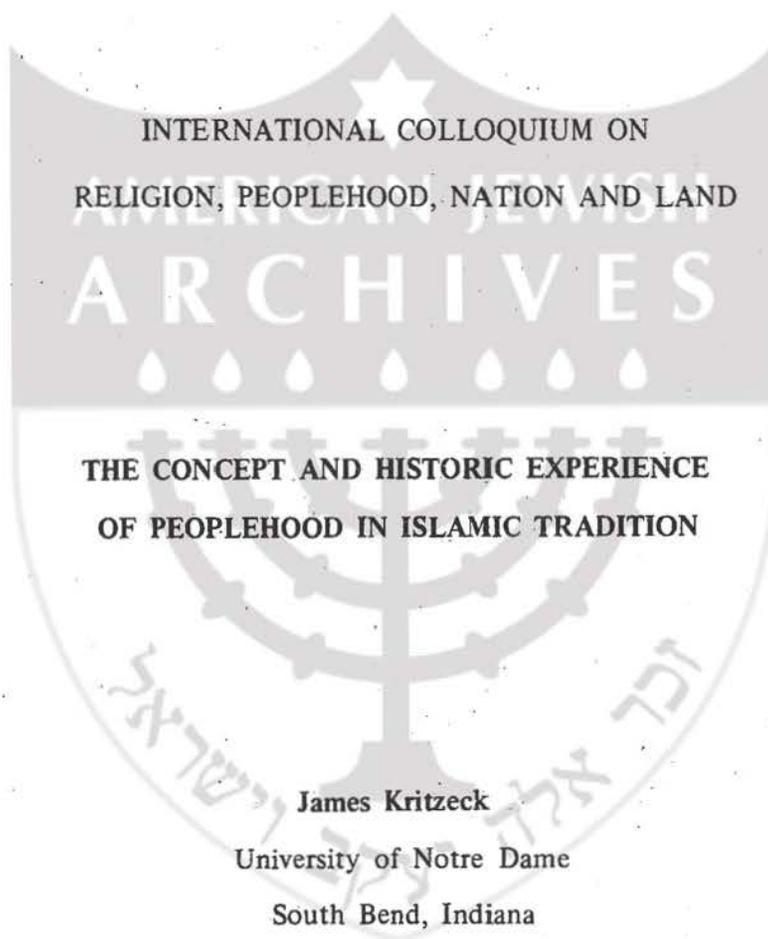
It is these attitudes--negatively and positively--that have informed the history of Christianity. Rejection, spiritualization, historical concern, sacramental concentration--all have emerged in that history. To illustrate in a brevity that is distorting--much modern theology, concentrating on demythologizing, rejects these realia of which we speak as anachronistic; ~~the~~ Mediaeval and much Puritan thought witness to their spiritualization; the archaeological intensity of much modern scholarship points

to a historical concern centering in the quest of the historical Jesus; and in Greek Orthodoxy and in Mediaeval Theology, expressed, in the history of pilgrimages to Palestine and in the Crusades, the sacramentalism of which I spoke is a striking motif. To illustrate all this in depth is beyond the range of this. But one thing in the history of Christianity--I do not say Christendom--needs no illustration, so ubiquitous is it: its Christocentricity. In the end, where Christianity has reacted seriously to the realia of Judaism, whether negatively or positively, it has done so in terms of Christ, to whom all places and all space, like all things else, are subordinated. In sum, for the holiness of place it has fundamentally, though not consistently, substituted the holiness of the Person: it has Christified holy space. Professor Urbach has recently suggested that Jerusalem as 'place' (maqom) lent its name to God Himself in Judaism: this is a penetrating significance for our purpose. Such a transference is unthinkable in Christianity where the Name that is above every other Name is that of a Person.

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Jerusalem, October 30 - November 7, 1970

THE CONCEPT AND HISTORIC EXPERIENCE  
OF PEOPLEHOOD IN ISLAMIC TRADITION

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Islamic tradition contains a plethora of concepts of peoplehood. Each of them has been employed, over centuries and continents, to denote and connote meanings which are often far removed from their original meanings, but seldom totally rinsed of them. It is therefore incumbent upon us, at the outset, to utilize philology, the indispensable companion of all of our studies, in order to recognize the avenues of distinction which these concepts have followed.

All of the basic concepts of peoplehood in the Islamic tradition have been expressed in Arabic or Arabic loan-words. That is hardly surprising, inasmuch as Islam's early and spectacular expansion was

the achievement of Arab tribesmen, and what they had to offer essentially was the Arabic Koran. Believed by Muslims to have been dictated as the final Word of God, the Koran was naturally the fundamental source of knowledge, and spoke particularly poignantly on the subject of peoplehood. Reflecting as it did the direction and progression of the Islamic faith, its sacred words were repeated and pondered over and over again, as they are today.

Letting aside the name of the religion itself, Islām (submission, surrender), the most radical term which the Koran gave the Islamic "people" by which to name and describe itself was ummah. That seems to mean a group of persons, a community (usually within a larger community) to whom God has sent a prophet and, even more specifically, those who, believing in this prophet, make a pact with God through him.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, that is already a very sophisticated concept, and one which underwent considerable development even within its koranic

<sup>2</sup>  
usage. "Mankind were only one ummah, then they fell into variance.

But for a word that preceded from thy Lord, it had been decided between them already touching their differences (X, 20)," whatever that means.

At any rate, various umam (the plural) there were, which Islam's ummah was divinely intended to reunite or to replace. Not precisely in chronological, but certainly in logical order the ummah Muhammadiyyah (an extremely rare authorized usage of the prophet's own name) was the Quraysh tribe, the Meccans, the Medinans, including significantly Jews and Christians until they received different designations, then all the Arabs, and finally all of mankind.

In terms of the Arabian society into which it was introduced in this fresh, native form, the concept of ummah was a highly revolutionary one. It attempted to demote and indeed to subvert several purely tribal and millenia-honored concepts (while sanctioning others) of great force. Even more essentially and dangerously, it attempted to transcend

and supplant an extensive socio-economic structure (by conjoining agnate and cognate kinship, in particular), with a brotherhood of mankind under the fatherhood of a single God, Allah. It was, in short, unpagan; unwelcome; and long unsuccessful.

3

Whether or not one can properly connect ummah with umm (mother), or the tent of the chieftain's wife (the "motherhouse"), or just conveniently leave it as a curious Aramaic loan-word, one must go on directly to the word ahl. The verb ahala, meaning "to take a wife, live in the same tent with her and propagate," yields its noun ahl, "kinsfolk, inhabitants, domestic family." That was the word, really, which ummah found it easiest to accommodate, so to speak, as a vanquished rival. Thus everyone within or without the ummah was a member of several sorts of ahl. One very prominently interested by Islam, as it developed, was the ahl al-kitāb, the "people of the Book," mainly Jews and Christians before they became ahl al-dhimmah,

the "people of the Pact" formed between them and the nascent Islamic state. It is ahlan which means "welcome."<sup>4</sup>

I should say right now that I intend to proceed in a zig-zag fashion with these words, Islamic and "pagan" counterposed, for a reason. Side by side with the concept of ummah was jamā'ah, the group which was the collectivity or catholicity of believers in Islam, in a distinctly proto-legal sense. One might say, with the dictionary, "gathering." For there is, with a bow to the English witan, ijmā', or "consensus of the community," which was to become, without much ado, a cardinal principal of Islamic law. The jamā'ah is the group not only expressing itself but also institutionalizing itself. It is the sometimes benign and sometimes brutal "democracy" of the pre-Islamic Arabs. But, nota bene, the major "consensus" of the Islamic community was the giblah, the orientation of prayer in the direction of the Ka'bah<sup>5</sup> in Mecca.

Perhaps the crassest word for "people" in Arabic is the one ingrained in our minds from the haunting sūrah "of the People," number 114, the last in the Koran, namely nās. It is also one of the most endearing. From anisa a and anusa u, it means "to be companionable, sociable, nice, friendly." Uns is "sociability, intimacy, familiarity, friendly atmosphere." Ins is man, mankind, human race, " and nās "people, humanity."

Nearer to our North Star ummah is millah, used fifteen times in the Koran, five times with pronominal suffixes, which is perhaps best translated as "confessional, credal, or religious community." It comes from the eighth derived form of malla, "to embrace a religion," whose fourth form, it might be salutary to notice, means "to be tiresome, boring, tedious, and contentious." It connotes anxiety, and its particular and concentrated usage by the Ottoman Turks in their millet system no doubt contributed to its modern meaning "nation."

Even more interesting are the words watan and qawm. The word watan itself is not koranic. The plural of mawtin, is used once in the Koran, in IX, 25, "Allah has already helped you on many battlefields." But the root meaning of watana is strong and, despite its absence in the Koran, a very important one. It means "to dwell, live, reside, stay, settle down, choose for residence, take root, and live permanently." Qawm is probably the most native Islamic term of the lot. It is used three hundred and eighty times in the Koran, always with more or less the same meaning, "tribe" or "nation of tribes." Being at the same time so koranic and so secular, it has always been very useful to express the concept of "peoplehood."

Even with watan and qawm, the end of our philological journey is not even in sight. Words for family and group relationships, like words for camels and date-palms, cluster in abundance in our lexicography. There is another, inescapable word with which we shall

temporarily conclude, namely sha'b. Sha'aba means "to gather, assemble, and rally," as well as, with the admirable perversity of all the Semitic tongues, "to disperse and scatter." This word has essentially to do with branches, ramifications, sub-divisions, "branching off" within some life-giving unity. Sha'bi, too, means "people's, national, popular, and folksy." One can be a far-off branch, or even a leaf of a branch, and still be attached to the sha'b.

A Tunisian aristocrat named 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn-Khaldūn, after a stormy career in politics, retired to a castle in Algeria in 1375 and began to write a history of the world. Before embarking on his narrative, however, he gave unhurried thought to the nature of human history.

That thought, set down in a lengthy Muqaddimah (introduction) to his history, has won him a peerage among mankind's great thinkers.

Arnold J. Toynbee has pronounced it "the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place."

Ibn-Khaldūn was especially concerned with the relationship between races and religions. It was he who drew the distinctions most sharply between umma and sha'b on the one hand, and jamā'ah and qawm on the other. Like Isaiah Berlin's Tolstoy, he was by nature a fox, but believed in being a hedgehog. He immortalized the term 'asabiyyah (group feeling or solidarity), which was the keystone of his philosophy. In a famous passage he wrote: "Because of their savagery, the Arabs are the least willing of nations to subordinate themselves to each other, as they are rude, proud, ambitious, and eager to be the leader. Their individual aspirations rarely coincide. But when there is religion among them, through prophecy and sainthood, then they have some restraining influence in themselves. The qualities of haughtiness and jealousy leave them. It is, then, easy for them to subordinate themselves and to unite as a social organization. This is achieved by (Islam) the common religion they now have."

Comparatively recently, Louis Massignon forced us back to the same

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dichotomy, with even more persuasive evidence.

If this paper were to have a thesis, it would probably be this:

that in the course of centuries such purely Islamic (religious) and purely Arab (secular) concepts of "peoplehood" as I have barely outlined above, by Islam's very nature, have intermingled astoundingly, for advantage and confusion, throughout the Islamic "world," which encircles the globe.

One could wish to take refuge in a specimen far removed from here, for example the creation of the Islamic state of Pakistan, or, safer still, the modernization of Islamic law in northern Nigeria, to illustrate the contemporary results of Islam's historic experience of "peoplehood." Instead, I propose to look straight in the eye of the obvious best example, modern Arab nationalism.

Modern Arab nationalism, in my view, began as the creation of some Lebanese Christians who belonged to literary societies sponsored by American Presbyterians and French Jesuits in the middle

12  
of the last century. For three centuries before, most of the Arab world had been part of the Ottoman Turkish empire -- numbed, exploited, and made to feel inferior. Foreign missionaries, working principally among Arab Christians, strove to revive interest in Arabic literature as a means of developing a sense of pride in "being Arab."

Just as European nationalisms were made possible by the simultaneous loss of the ideals of the one imperium and of the visible unity of the Christian Church, so the successful transplantation and fertility of nationalism in the Arab world was made possible by the similar loss in and beyond that world of the ideal of a unified Dār al-Islām (abode of Islam). But there was an immediate and obvious

difference in the situation of Islam as it confronted its first nationalistic stirrings. That difference derived from Islam's singular character as a religious polity whose dual nature was not intended to be distinguished, let alone disengaged. Although the actual political unity of early Islam under an ecumenical caliphate had disintegrated within a few centuries after its establishment, the problems resulting from that disintegration could not be called problems of "church and state."

Early Arab nationalists found themselves, therefore, facing a peculiarly unaccommodating set of contradictions. Their new and alien notions appeared to offer a choice, where one had not existed before or naturally, between the religious and the political. Except insofar as it was willing to be regarded as an apology for the East against the West (which was not far), Arab nationalism was accounted subversive by the Turkish government in Istanbul and many of its leaders were forced to seek refuge in Egypt. At the same time it was caught up in a Pan-Islamic

movement initiated by Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Afghāni, which the Ottoman sultan, for a reason to be mentioned later, warmly approved. The tenets and fundamental impulses of the two movements were distinct, it is true, but they were related.

The vast majority of Arabs instinctively view themselves as a segment, even the most important segment, of Islam. Wilfred Cantwell Smith expressed the matter about as well as it can be expressed: "No other religion in the world has been so successful as Islam in eliciting a confessional pride in its adherents. However, in the Arab's case this pride in Islam is not separate from his national enthusiasm, but infuses it and gives it added point. On the personal level, it is Islam that has undergirded and given cosmic context to the individual human dignity that is the Arab's honor. It was the Arabic language which God chose for His supreme revelation to mankind; and which anyone must study who would closely know God's will. It was the Islamic impetus

that carried the Arabs from their obscure home into historic greatness, in conquest and creativity. Islam gave the Arabs earthly greatness; and vice versa, it was the Arabs who gave Islam its earthly success.

"The synthesis is close: an identification, at times unconscious, of Islam and Arabism. On the one hand, an Arab need not be pious or spiritually concerned in order to be proud of Islam's historic achievements. Indeed, he need not even be a Muslim; Christian Arabs have taken a share in that pride. On the other hand Muslim Arabs have never quite acknowledged, have never fully incorporated into their thinking and especially their feeling, either that a non-Muslim is really a complete Arab, or that a non-Arab is really a complete Muslim. Arab Islam has never given much serious thought to either group. It is uninterested in and virtually unaware of Islamic greatness after the Arab downfall. The Arab sense of bygone splendor is superb."

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There was much in Al-Afghāni's Pan-Islamism which appealed to Arab nationalists. Like themselves, the Pan-Islamists sought to

unify and strengthen the Arab nations, though they envisioned a much larger unification of the entire Islamic world and the re-establishment of the caliphate (hence the approval of the Ottoman sultan, who curiously saw himself as the likeliest candidate for caliph). Muslim Arabs found no irreconcilable conflict here. 'Abd al-Rahmān Al-Kawākibi and Muhammad 'Abduh brought the two programs into formal harmony. The Arabs, they contended, were meant to be pre-eminent among the Islamic peoples.

According to traditional Islamic law only an Arab of the Quraysh tribe (the tribe of the prophet) could become caliph. The conclusion was quite obvious: Arab unity would lead eventually to Pan-Islam under the rule of an Arab caliph.

Meanwhile Christian Arab nationalists, taking careful note of these developments advanced a theory of secular nationalism and emphasized the anti-Turkish implication of the movement. But some of them had gone a long way toward accepting the Muslim goals. The Ligue

de la Patrie Arabe in Paris, under a Christian leader, advocated the replacement of the Ottoman sultanate in Istanbul by an Arab caliphate in Medina. "Let every one of us say, 'I am Arab'" another Christian wrote, "and if being Arab is only possible by being Muslim, let him say, 'I am Arab and Muslim.'"

The uncertain state of Arab nationalism at the outbreak of the First World War and the commencement of the Arab Revolt is well illustrated in the contrasting views of the nominal leader of that Revolt, Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, and those of his son Amīr 'Abdullāh. Sharīf Ḥusayn was exactly the type of candidate for the caliphate that the Pan-Islamic movement, Al-Kawākibi, and the Ligue de la Patrie Arabe had in mind. Yet Ḥusayn espoused no theory of Arab nationalism; he was pledged to a traditional Islamic theory of the state as modified by Turkish practice. His son 'Abdullāh, on the other hand, was an ardent Arab nationalist who looked forward to a "free, independent, and leading Arab nation." 'Abdullāh

went on to say: "The Arabs are nothing without Islam, and it is one of their duties to strive to restore their greatness, their right, and their caliphate."

The prospects for any spacious Pan-Islamic or even Arab unity were substantially dimmer after the First World War than they had been just before it. The Ottoman empire had been defeated and dismembered, but the settlements at Versailles dashed the high hopes of Arab nationalists and reinforced their aggressions against the "Great Powers." Sharif Husayn assumed the title of caliph in 1924, but he received so little allegiance or support that before the year was out he was no longer even king of Arabia. I should prefer, for the purpose of this enquiry, to stop history right there.

I do not recall having seen it pointed out that the word 'arab' (Arab or Arabs) is never used in the Koran. The related word al-a'rab, however, which is usually translated something like "wandering,

unsettled, uncivilized tribesmen," is used ten times, six of them in the same sūrah (IX), and always with a rather bad connotation, for example "Among those around you of the wandering 'Arabs' there are hypocrites (IX, 101)." The words 'arabiyy<sup>un</sup> and 'arabiyy<sup>an</sup>, "Arabic" in the nominative and accusative cases, are used eleven times, seven times as an adjective with the word Qur'ān, indicating of course the language in which the Koran was "revealed;" three times with the word lisān (tongue or language), and once with hikmah (wisdom), obviously with the same linguistic meaning.

In 1881 a Muslim Arab nationalist ventured the following definition of watan: "In general watan means the land in which the ummah lives, but specifically watan means a habitation: the soul is a watan because it is the habitation of perceptions, the body is a watan because it is the habitation of the soul, clothes are a watan because they are the habitation of the body, the house, the street, the town, the country,

the earth, the world, are all watans because they are habitations."

Muhammad 'Abduh defined watan in a similarly guarded way:

"Linguistically, watan means, without exception, the place where the person lives; it is synonymous with the word sakan... The word as used by those who study politics (ahl al-siyāṣah) means the place after which you are called, where your right is safeguarded, and the claim of which on you is known, where you are secure in yourself, your kin and your possessions... Watan was defined by the ancient Romans (sic!) as the place where the person has rights and political duties... There are three things in a watan which compel love, solicitude and vigilance for it. They are as follows: First, watan is the abode where there is food, protection, kin and children; Second, it is the place of rights and duties, which are the focal points of political life and the importance of which is obvious; Third, it is the place with which one is associated and through which man is exalted and honoured, or cast

as rooted in the will of God. National feeling was given an out-an-out religious colouring..." (2)

The second quotation is from Vol. II. In an important chapter on the place of Man in Creation Dr. Eichrodt writes,

"...in his confrontation with autonomous Nature Man sees himself as having a divine vocation. This shaping of the Man-Nature relationship into a matter of personal conduct acquires its focal point in the bestowal on Israel of Canaan as the God-given land of her inheritance. By making possession of the land dependant upon faithfulness to the covenant God includes Man's relation to Nature within the sphere of responsible human behaviour, and impresses upon him his distinctive position in the world of creatures." (3)

That second quotation has a universal significance in the history of mankind. It points back to the very roots of man's primaeval religious consciousness, as it also points forward to this World Conservation Year.

The first quotation speaks directly into the historic experience of religious nationalism, or, if you will, of all national religion. In this colloquium we must keep our perspectives wide. And it goes without saying that part of our perspective must embrace the world of Islam, and the Muslim focus upon this particular land. The relevance of

this to my subject you will soon discover.

If it be true that there is no Jewish prayer which does not refer to Jerusalem and the Land: that Jews all pray towards the same centre, and are in spirit in that centre: that the fulness of the Jewish people can only be expressed in the land: then at least we must be prepared to see a kindred relationship in the experience of Muslims.

It is an indisputable fact that in the fullest sense of the word a Muslim can only be a Muslim if he lives in a Muslim state under a Muslim government which fully observes the Shari'ah. As a distinguished Arabic scholar reminds us

"The tribes of men, as the Qur'ān sees them, are 'installed in their habitations'- 'caused to colonize' is the phrase in Sūra XI.61 - for the same purposes of 'magnifying the Lord' that belong with the Hebrew sense of vocation to a God-fearing husbandry and a God-confessing society" (4)

We are all tenant-farmers of God's good earth, a truth deeply written into the religious heritage of the Jew, the Christian and the Muslim. The same writer can add by way of comment,

"There is about Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Middle East, a common if admittedly diversified stake in the territorial concept. Each in their different ways involves a trinity of people, book and land: and this measure of identity is no small part of their discord and antagonism, both actual and abstract." (5)

In the setting of our contemporary world we dare not forget for one moment that the names in Arabic by which Jerusalem is known to Arabs and Muslims, are Al-Quds, Beit al-Maqdis, and Beit al-Muqaddas, - all of which derive from the same root to signify holy, sacred and hallowed. There is a deeply cherished tradition that the Prophet Muhammad said of Jerusalem

"it is the land of the ingathering and of aggregation; go to it and worship in it, for one act of worship there is like a thousand acts of worship elsewhere" (6)

And we ought not to forget another Muslim conviction expressed by Al-Muqaddasi, a tenth-century citizen of Jerusalem who could write

"Verily Mecca and Medina have claims to superiority on account of the Ka'ba and the Prophet, but in fact, on the Day of Judgement these two cities will come to Jerusalem and the perfection of all three will be united together." (7)

In the fullest understanding of the significance of Jerusalem for all three Faiths, Jew, Christian and Muslim, all three together should be able to say 'Amen' to that vision of the culmination of human history.

With this, for me, indispensable introduction I turn to my main theme. My attention has been drawn to a quotation from Herbert Weiner's book The wild goats of Engedi, a quotation I have not been able to verify, in which he says

"Christianity has never taken in the Holy Land"

There is, of course, a very real sense in which what he says is quite true. Christianity in its foundation document, the New Testament, is not territorialized. When in the first of the letters attributed to St. Peter he addresses "those scattered abroad" as the "elect people of God" (8) he is not thinking of them as potential immigrants to some still-to-be-recovered homeland. When St. Paul writes to the Christians in Galatia about Jerusalem he is at pains to distinguish between the Jerusalem, the earthly city, and the 'Jerusalem which is above ... which is the Mother of us all'. (9) Both, as Christians, are echoing the words of Jesus Christ in his talk with the woman of Samaria, as the Fourth Gospel records it, as insisting that the hour is coming when the true worshippers will be those who worship "in spirit and in truth", uncommitted to any earthly sanctuary.

As touching the foundation documents of the Christian Faith there is no imperative about Jerusalem, nor is there any fixation about the Holy Land, the mainly sordid record of the Crusades notwithstanding. That, however, is not to say that there is not a powerful sentiment well-expressed by the lines

".....those holy fields  
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet  
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nail'd  
For our advantage on the bitter cross" (10)

Down the centuries saints and scholars and countless multitudes of ordinary men and women have made pilgrimage there in fact or in imagination. Two other references from English poets may suffice to indicate the mystical significance of Jerusalem for Christians. The first I also take from Shakespeare .

But a word of explanation is called for before the quotation. As part of Westminster Abbey, England's national shrine, which I have the privilege to serve, there is a very glorious chamber known as 'Jerusalem'. That word of explanation is necessary if you would get the meaning of what follows taken from Shakespeare's play Henry the Fourth, Part II. In Act IV the dying king is lying in that Jerusalem Chamber. Addressing his son and heir the dying king says "I...had a purpose now to lead out many to the Holy Land." Unconsciousness supervened. Recovering for a moment before he dies he asks

"Doth any name particular belong  
unto the lodging where I first did swound?"  
" 'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble Lord"

"Laud be to God!" (the king replied)" even  
there my life must end.  
It hath been prophesied to me many years  
I should not die but in Jerusalem,  
which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.  
But bear me to that Chamber; there I'll lie  
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die" (11)

Two centuries later William Blake picks up the thought of the older poet

"And did those feet in ancient time  
Walk upon England's mountains green  
and was the holy Lamb of God  
On England's pleasant pastures seen

"And did the Countenance Divine  
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?  
And was Jerusalem builded here  
Among these dark Satanic mills?

"I will not cease from Mental Fight  
Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand  
Till we have built Jerusalem  
In England's green and pleasant land" (12)

I have prefaced my more historical treatment by these references to two poets because I would not have you think I underestimate sentiment or imagination. These two qualities of the human spirit have profoundly influenced Judaism and Islam, as in a rather different way they have influenced Christianity and, in particular, the major Western religious traditions in regard both to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

An early Christian Apologist could give vivid expression to the New Testament insights already quoted when he wrote towards the end of the second century of the Christian era -

"Christians are distinguished from the rest of men neither by country nor by language nor by customs ... They live in fatherlands of their own but as aliens. They share all things as citizens and suffer all things as strangers. Every foreign land is their fatherland and every fatherland a foreign land" ~~(13)~~

That has remained an authentic strain in historic Christianity, it has been reflected in the missionary expansion of the Christian

Faith, but it cannot be said to have been characteristic of ordinary Christian thinking down the centuries. He has been much more land conscious.

His thinking has been ambivalent. And here let me state explicitly that as touching the theme I am trying to unfold Christian tradition has been remarkably uniform for all the diversity of organisations. Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, to mention the four main 'Western' expressions of Christianity, have, as I will show, much in common. (I am not overlooking the great Greek tradition of Orthodoxy, or the other Christian communions of the Middle East, but these are not contained within my brief).

This common heritage of all the four major Western traditions has at its very heart an ambivalence which has to be understood. On the one hand there is a fundamental insistence, demanded by loyalty to the New Testament, on what we may call ex-territorialization, a refusal to think in terms of any kind of geographical limitation.

It was during the death-throes of the Roman Empire that Augustine wrote his City of God, with its bold distinction between the Civitas Dei and the Civitas Terrena. As Christopher Dawson has well summed up this view of history, which has influenced all subsequent Christian thinking, and, in particular, has determined the shape of Europe's Middle Ages,

"Two loves built two cities. The love of Self builds up Babylon to the contempt of God, and the love of God builds up Jerusalem to the contempt of Self. All history consists of the evolution of these principles embodied

in two societies, 'blended one with another  
and moving on in all changes of times  
from the beginning of the human race to  
the end of the world.' (14)

That understanding on the one hand. But on the other hand  
and at the same time there was the deep historical 'experience'  
of Christendom - and Christendom was essentially a territorial  
concept. And it expressed the ideal unity of people, Faith and  
land.

True as it is that mediaeval Europe was a loose federation  
of very diverse races and cultures yet it had a unity imposed  
upon it by a common religious and ecclesiastical tradition. The  
key concept of mediaeval thinking was of one indivisible divine  
institution presided over by God's vice-regent in Rome. This  
meant that in every particular kingdom in that mediaeval world  
the papacy exercised an imperium whose subjects, that is all  
the inhabitants of Christendom, stood in an immediate relation  
of subjection to the occupant of St. Peter's Chair. As it has  
been well expressed

"the fundamental idea of the Middle Ages  
had been that of the co-ordination of  
church and state as the co-operating organs  
of the corpus Christianum" (15)

The Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire were the composite  
ideal which haunted the minds of men from the moment when the  
'dark ages' felt the lightening of the dawn of a new age, whose  
symbol was the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III. Ideals  
that haunt men are no less ideals because they are not realized.  
This ideal of Christendom is still alive, most commonly in the

form of words 'Christian civilization', which afford some of the most unlikely politicians with rich scope for rhetoric. The trinity of people, Faith and land still holds its mediaeval sway over the imagination of modern white men in Southern Africa. But that is by the way.

The mediaeval synthesis had its moments but they were brief. The Renaissance eroded faith in the spiritual basis of the mediaeval idea. The Reformation broke its organisational unity. The Nation State became the legatee of the Corpus Christianum.

What is important for our subject is to realize that the upheavals of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries did not destroy the unity of people, Faith and Land. What these upheavals did was to give to this trinity a new understanding. As a Lutheran historian has put it

"The founders of the mediaeval European National states followed the example of the ancients. They adopted Christianity as the official religion of their realms with the expectation of securing political unity." (16)

Elsewhere the same historian writes of the Reformers that

"They maintained the tradition that had prevailed throughout the Middle Ages and had shaped all institutions, namely, that peace, concord, and unity could not prevail in a socio-political community unless all its members were bound together by the same religious confession." (17)

In the sequel we find the principle of cujus regio ejus religio established everywhere in the old territorial unity of Christendom.

People, Faith and Land are, if possible more completely conjoined than ever, at least in theory. And how powerfully and painfully that theory was practised is written large in the history of religious dissent in Western Europe, right down to the 19th century.

The State-Churches of Scandinavia and Britain, of Spain and Portugal, the Landeskirchen of Germany, the Papal States, still reflected in the diplomatic office of the Papal Nuncio, all these are expressions of the religious compromise cujus regio ejus religio.

Nor is the great Calvinist tradition a genuine exception. True enough Calvin himself would have nothing to do with the principle cujus regio ejus religio. The very idea of a national church is, in Calvin's own thought a contradiction in terms for the church by its very nature is universal. Yet, be that so, it remains a fact that Calvin's Geneva

"proclaimed that the Church establishment was coterminous with its boundaries. Geneva indeed was a Church as much as it was a State". (18)

In Calvin's Geneva the Reformed type of Christianity was accepted after public debate and by deliberate resolution. The decision was enforceable by law. Any who asserted other principles were deemed to be enemies of the commonwealth, and were liable to be treated as criminals. Indeed it became impossible to distinguish between trial by the Consistory and trial by the Magistrate.

"Calvin...endeavoured to build a city of God in the civil community because he was persuaded that the whole individual and common life of men should be

3. One might well consider, for instance, how and why Islam was in Abyssinia even before it was in Medina; and then consider how and why it was in northern France precisely on the centenary of the prophet's death.

4. "You have come to your people," approximately.

5. Massignon, op. cit., p. 98.

6. Bernard Lewis, A Handbook of Diplomatic Arabic (London, 1947),

p. 59. I suppose the most convenient account of the millet system is

to be found in Islamic Society and the West, ed. H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen

Vol. I, Part 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 207-61.

7. The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, tr. Franz Rosenthal,

3 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1958).

8. A Study of History, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press,

1935), p. 322.

9. Isaiah Berlin, The Hedgehog and the Fox (London: Weidenfeld and

Nicholson, 1953), p. 4.

10. The Muqaddimah, vol. I, p. 305.
11. Massignon, op. cit., p. 98, n. 4.
12. The classic study is George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (New York, Putnam, 1938); see also Hazem Nuseibeh, The Ideas of Arab Nationalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), and Arab Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. Sylvia G. Haim (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964).
13. Cf. Malcolm Kerr, Islamic Reform (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1966); on the Turkish experience, Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey (Montreal, 1964).
14. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 94-5.
15. Harold W. Glidden, "Arab Unity: Ideal and Reality," in The World of Islam, ed. James Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder (London: Macmillan, 1959), p. 251. The texts may be found in Ettore Rossi, Documenti sull'origine e gli sviluppi della questione araba 1875-1944 (Rome, 1944).

16. C. Ernest Dawn, "Ideological Influences in the Arab Revolt,"

in ibid., pp. 233-48.

17. Al-Kilam al-thaman (Cairo, 1881), p. 16.

18. Cf. my "Islam y nacionalismo árabe," Estudios Orientales

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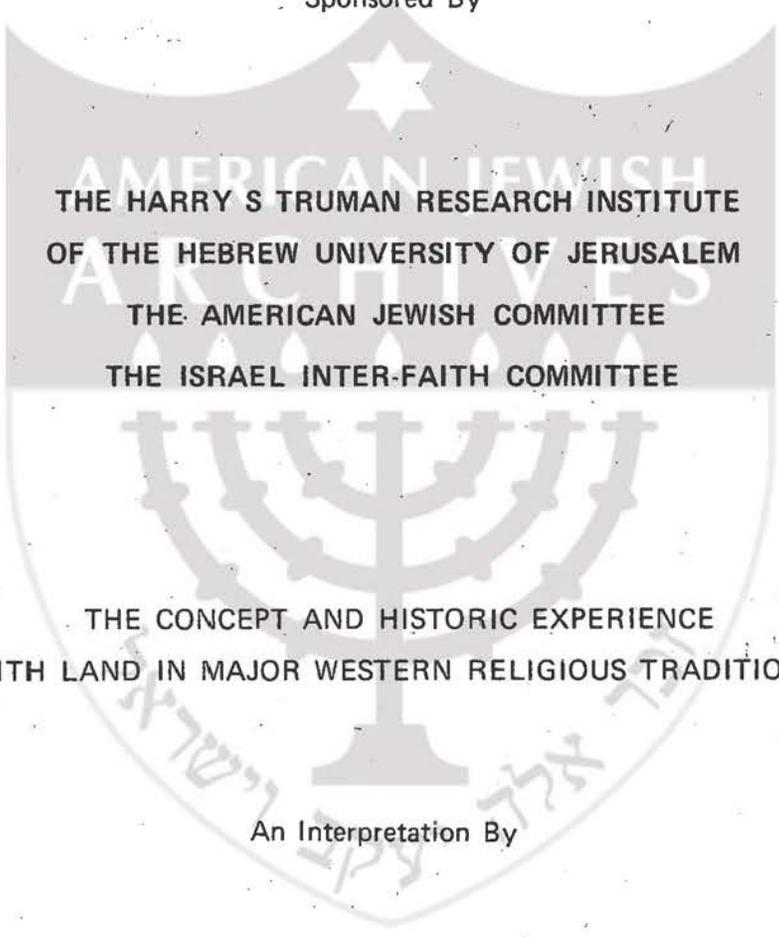
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**INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON  
RELIGION, PEOPLEHOOD, NATION AND LAND**

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**THE HARRY S TRUMAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
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**THE CONCEPT AND HISTORIC EXPERIENCE  
WITH LAND IN MAJOR WESTERN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS**

An Interpretation By

**Max Warren**  
Westminster, London

Jerusalem, October 30 - November 8, 1970

The Concept and Historic Experience with Land  
in Major Western Religious Traditions

- an Interpretation

by

Max Warren

A very distinguished citizen of the State of Israel was recently quoted in the London Times as saying

"Our roots in the land of Israel are deep but our young branches are still tender. We have just begun to build our land. Every village, vineyard and school are the fruits of our efforts to transform a people dispersed in exile into a nation welded to the land." (1)

If I am at all to discharge the task committed to me in this Paper I must begin by indicating a sympathetic understanding of the statement which I have just quoted. Furthermore I must relate it to the history, the long history which lies behind it. And to that end I would give you two short quotations from a distinguished German theologian, Dr. Walther Eichrodt, in his two volume work -

Theology of the Old Testament. I quote from Vol. I.

"Because the divine covenant did not embrace simply the Israelites as individuals or the tribes as separate entities, but the people as a whole, it was possible to recognise the existence of the nation

one of obedience to the divine commandments". (19)

By way of a comment on that I received, while preparing this Paper, a letter from one of the most eminent of our British theologians who would certainly claim to be an enthusiastic disciple of Calvin. He wrote as follows,

"For Calvin...God rules over Church and State by one and the same Ruler, the Mediator, the ascended and enthroned High Priest. Hence God rules over the State through the proclamation of Christ and his Kingdom to the State. But Calvinism tended often not to follow Calvin here." (20)

The letter goes on to show how Calvinism developed the view of "a covenant as a contract that included the whole people, believers and unbelievers, but within which the Church existed as a visible manifestation of the Covenant of grace" (20). This in turn led to that Church-State relationship which emerged in Scotland and Holland.

I have left to the end any consideration of my own tradition which is that of Anglicanism. I do not pretend to anything very distinctive. For at least thirteen centuries the Ecclesia Anglicana subsisted within the great Christian tradition of the Western World. It had its own insular idiosyncrasies then as it has now. Perhaps its most important characteristic was its own form of the parish system. This was at one and the same time the expression of a spiritual, political and economic <sup>u</sup>nity and, in this respect, was rather differently composed than it was on the continent.

"To the mind of the ordinary Englishman in the Middle Ages there was little distinction between church and state. At the parish meeting held in the church under the guidance of the priest, all matters affecting the well-being of the parishoners were considered.....so well did the parish regulate its affairs, that in the middle of the sixteenth century, when some definite area had to be made responsible for the repair of the highways, it was not the lay area of the manor nor of the township which was selected, but the ecclesiastical area of the parish.

Since the parish had always been the focus of the social life of the people it was natural that, when the strong central government of the Tudors attacked existing abuses and endeavoured to remove them by passing laws which regulated trade and labour, in accordance with the economic thought of the age, the administration of these statutes also should be delegated to it. (21)

How intimately the whole life of the community, people Faith and land were thus integrated may be seen in another passage from the same source

"Other duties devolving on the Churchwardens, as the representatives of the parish, were the repair of the Schoolhouse, the supervision of hawkers and pedlars, who were not allowed to trade without a licence, the extinction of vermin, the arrangement for the

burial of the unknown corpses, the care of the armour, provision of muskets, powder and match, the equipment and payment of the soldiers, who served for the parish in the trained bands. (22)

Is this, after all, so very remote from the Kibbutzim? In this close integration of the whole of life in the earlier days of the English parish we see how profoundly the countryman's faith was related to a particular piece of land. He faithfully fulfilled what we have already seen to be the piety of the Muslim who likewise saw his responsibility as that of a colonizer. E.H. Palmer's Translation of the Qur'ān gives us in Sura XI a picture of simple piety

"O my people! worship God; ye have no god but him. He it is that produced you from the earth, and made you live therein! Then ask pardon of Him; then turn again to Him: verily my Lord is nigh and answers." (23)

Whether in Parish Church or Synagogue or Mosque we all, like the Psalmist of old, have cause often to repeat,

"I cry to thee, O Lord, and say 'Thou art my refuge; thou art all I have in the land of the living " (24)

What I have said about the all-embracing nature of the parish in the English countryside, for at the very least a thousand years, is a faithful reflection at grass-roots level of the whole major Western religious tradition in regard to the concept and historic experience with land.

I give you here two quotations. The first may be said to reflect the broad tradition of Protestantism, the second the broad tradition of Western Catholicism. In the first I quote from Professor Dickens book Martin Luther and the Reformation

"He (Luther) proposed an inclusive territorial Church to seek the salvation of all men, not a string of cells consisting of self-styled saints or perfecti."

Then he illustrates from Luther's own words written at a moment when radical sectarians were preaching a Gospel fitted only for the athletes of God,

"You have gone too fast", he wrote. "for there are brothers and sisters on the other side who belong to us and must still be won..... There are some who can run; others must walk, and still others who can only creep. Therefore you must not look on our own but on our brother's powers ....we must first win the hearts of our people....if you win the heart, you win the whole man" (25)

With that I match this passage from a Memoir written about a greatly beloved Anglican priest who lived at the end of the 19th century. The author of the Memoir writes -

"He was one of the few amongst our contemporary priests who seemed quite clear in the perception of what a Parish is according to the belief and practice of the Church. He knew that the Parish was the sole 'congregation' recognized by the Church. He knew how it differed from

any aggregation gathered round a preacher and parted by his own individual effort; he knew also how it differed from any segregation gathered out of sundry parishes upon the sectarian and sandy foundation of like-mindedness in culture, opinions and tastes. He knew that the Parish was a congregation of unlike-minded men which the Word of God Himself had gathered into oneness and community by His ordering of history, and by His rule over the personal and domestic life of each man, woman and child. He knew that the Will of God has congregated into each parish as He has done unto each family and each national Commonwealth, such diversities of persons as would never have dreamed of constituting themselves into one body, and whose natural dream is that they cannot properly be what He has made them, in spite of their own wills and their own opinions, to be, really the members one of another in the same body. It is not in a self-imagined inward unity of the like-minded and like-conditioned (which is the creation of our own wills and tastes), but it is in the outward conformity of the unlike-minded and unlike-conditioned (which is the social creation of the common Father) that we discern the valid mark of the Catholic Church." (26)

That is a very high ideal. But is there anyone here who doubts that, as an ideal, it is implicit in the teaching of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, to mention no others.

I end on a more prosaic note with two short references which, I think, are relevant to our theme. The first comes as a closing paragraph in an article by a Scots theologian, the title of which is "On Being the Church Catholic". What he says is relevant beyond the borders of Scotland, and beyond the adherents of any branch of the Christian Faith -

"Is there a danger", he asks, "of a national Church being so caught up in the emerging self-consciousness of the Scottish nation that she could lose sight of her catholicity, that the very Gospel of Jesus Christ in our day summons to recognise that we belong to the one body which transcends every national loyalty?" (27)

The second quotation, I interpret as being addressed to all for whom people and land and faith are precious, that is to all of every faith and race and nation and to some who are at best agnostic as to the Faith of their Fathers. The passage runs

"Is the land now no more than the territorial location of a secular nationality apostate from itself? Is the sacred soil still a sacrament of a divine purpose that embraces the world? Or has it become a religious asset, convenient to a statehood that has lost its hidden mystery?" (28.)

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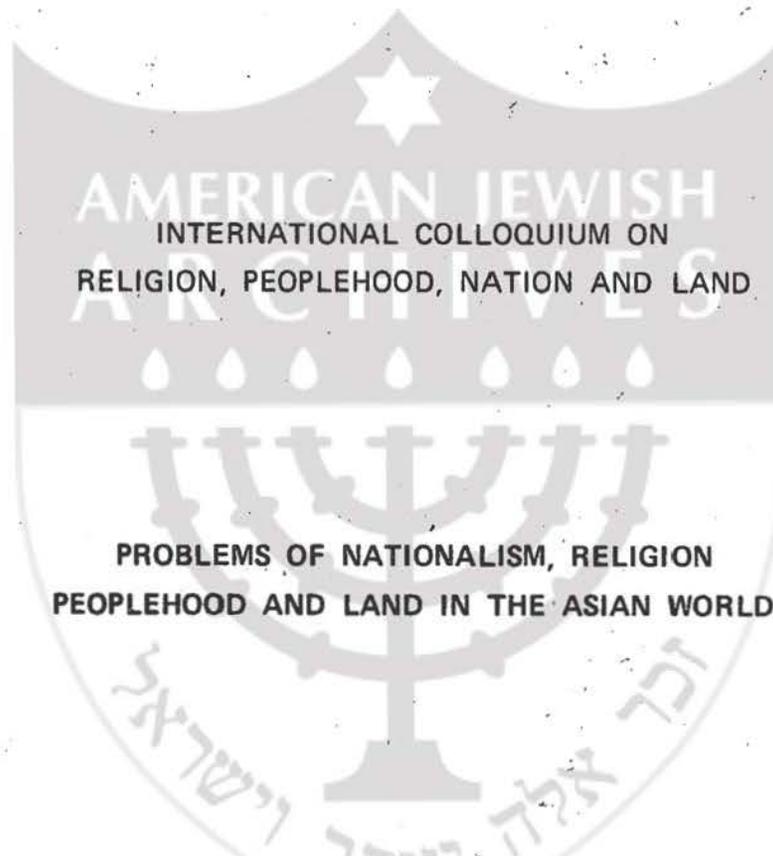
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**The Venerable V. Dharmawara**

Asoka Institute  
New Delhi, India

Jerusalem, Nov. 1 - 7, 1970

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

November 3, 1970

TITLE: PROBLEMS OF NATIONALISM, RELIGION, PEOPLEHOOD AND  
LAND IN THE ASIAN WORLD.

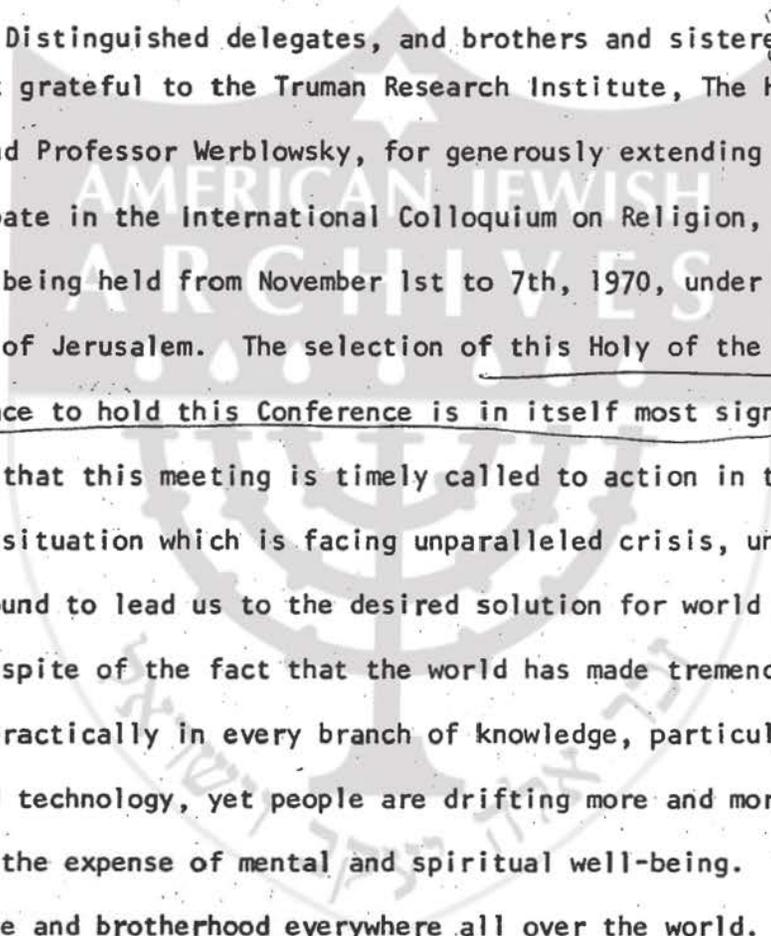
DELIVERED BY: THE VENERABLE V. DHARMAWARA  
Asoka Institute  
New Delhi, India

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished delegates, and brothers and sisters;

I am most grateful to the Truman Research Institute, The Hebrew University authorities and Professor Werblowsky, for generously extending the invitation to me to participate in the International Colloquium on Religion, Peoplehood, Nation and the Land, being held from November 1st to 7th, 1970, under its auspices, in the Holy Land of Jerusalem. The selection of this Holy of the Holies in the world as a place to hold this Conference is in itself most significant. I feel quite certain that this meeting is timely called to action in the context of the present world situation which is facing unparalleled crisis, unheard of in its history, is bound to lead us to the desired solution for world peace and understanding. In spite of the fact that the world has made tremendous advancement and progress practically in every branch of knowledge, particularly in the fields of science and technology, yet people are drifting more and more towards material conquests, at the expense of mental and spiritual well-being. They talk of peace, happiness, love and brotherhood everywhere all over the world. Organizations working for promoting peace and understanding spring up in various parts of the world. But their conception of peace, happiness, love and brotherhood, is more or less based on the results of man's mastery over matter and space, which does not constitute peace for one and all, but for the few at the expenses of the many.

There is no denying that science and technology have made wonderful discoveries and inventions which lure man's mind away from the main issue of human suffering,

*which I accept and gratefully accept.*



unknown and unheard of by our ancestors. It has made this world so rich with material wealth, and has enabled man to land on the moon and other planets. It is indeed a wonder of wonders beyond man's imagination. But if we look at the other side of the world situation as it is today, we shall not fail to see that in the midst of all the glittering achievements sciences and technology have made, there are poverty, sickness, ignorance, illiteracy and hunger in various parts of the world. <sup>Let's</sup> ~~If we~~ honestly scrutinize the world's condition as it is today and ask ourselves, are we happier than before? - we cannot but honestly admit that the world is not as happy as we expect it to be. For there are conflicts involving bloodshed and killing and destruction in various parts of the world. This has led thinkers all over the world to come to the conclusion that peace is not to be found on the moon or Mars, but on this very earth in man's mind and heart. If it isn't to be found here, it can't be found anywhere. It is on this earth that all of us should put our heads together and work cooperatively with heart and soul to establish peace. The conquests of outer space and the discovery of nuclear energy has brought more fear in man's mind than the joy he derived from it. Fear gives rise to mistrust, mistrust gives rise to defense, defense gives rise to offense. This is the whole chain of dependency.

We are all born, brought up, and living together under the same huge roof - the world, as brothers and sisters who actually share together the happiness and the unhappiness of life on this earth. If this idea of brotherhood of man is implanted in man's mind and heart instead of hatred, there will be no place or room for quarrel, war, conflict and hatred. This we can imagine for ourselves as to how the world without hatred, <sup>Heaven on earth</sup> quarreling and conflict will be. Then why not put our heads together to build such a world for ourselves to live together? Will it not be a wonderful place to live in?

All beings, big and small yearn for peace. Peace is a part and parcel of

*Religion of mankind is greatest religion - we are human relatives*

life without which life's existence has no meaning. It is the birthright of every man to live in peace in this world. Every man is a rightful shareholder of this world. Therefore it is his unalienable right to share everything provided by this world with his brothers and sisters and live together in peace and harmony, with complete freedom of thought, speech and action.

Of course I do recognize certain circumstances under which we are compelled to lose sight of the facts mentioned above.

Being a Buddhist, I would like to present before you a story of the life and work of a Buddhist king who was a most successful warrior and conqueror who conquered almost the whole of the sub-continent of India. He subdued one state after another like Napoleon did in Europe. And after successful conquests he turned Buddhist and threw away his sword and renounced war once and for all. He was King Asoka the Great. He was known to be a bloodthirsty king who took pleasure in hunting, killing, fighting and conquering. In spite of the fact that he had almost the whole sub-continent under his feet, yet his thirst for conquest was still unquenched, and he craved for more and more conquests. At last he met with stiff resistance at the Battle of Kalinga where hundreds of thousands of people were killed and hundreds of thousands more were captured and taken as prisoners and slaves. Villages and towns were devastated, deserted and razed to the ground, resulting in making hundreds of thousands of others homeless and destitute.

Witnessing the untold sufferings which his war lords inflicted on the innocent people, Asoka's cruel heart ached and melted. He became so miserable at the sight of such suffering. He sought the Buddha's guidance and protection and took refuge in him to save himself from his agonizing guilty conscience. When he came under the influence of Lord Buddha's teaching of universal kindness and compassion for one and all, he came to realize for the first time in his life that the conquests

by force of arms and violence involving bloodshed and killing was not at all the true conquest. The true conquest was the conquest of man's heart and mind through non-violence, loving kindness, and compassion. When this vision dawned in his mind, he threw away his sword and renounced war once and for all and installed in his heart the virtue of loving kindness and compassion. "A man may be able to conquer thousands of his enemies in thousands of battlefields, but the greatest conqueror is the man who has conquered <sup>one enemy -</sup> (himself)." Buddha.

It was during his just and virtuous rule based on the universal loving kindness and compassion as preached by Buddha, that India's prosperity, social, cultural and economic life reached its pinnacle as never before. It was he who ordered the building of roads, planting of trees on both sides of the road to give shade to the weary traveler, building of rest houses along the road sides all over the country, and digging of water wells wherever water was scarce. To guide you to better understanding of the turn of heart and mind of this soldier-king, I would like to quote a few inscriptions found in various rock edicts and stone pillars which are still in existence for everyone to see.

From Asoka, Rock Edict XV: "All men are my children. Just as I desire that all my children be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and the next, so I also desire the same for all men."

From Asoka, Rock Edict XVI: "The people of the unconquered territories lying beyond the border of my dominions, should expect from me only happiness and no misery."

Also on the Asoka, Rock Edict VII, it says: "All religious sects should live harmoniously in all parts of my dominions."

And on Asoka, Rock Edict VI: "I am never complacent in regard to my efforts or the expeditions of the people's business by me. And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge my debt, I owe to all living beings."

How lofty and subtle the idea and ideal Asoka had been teaching us through these inscriptions.

May peace be to all beings  
I am not a Hindu  
in Buddha

With all these teachings and precepts, why are the Buddhists fighting against Buddhists, Muslim against Muslim, Christian against Christian, and so on. And yet all claim to be civilized and superior to all other forms of animals.

I believe that all religions big and small, without exception, teach man to be good, to love one another as brothers and sisters. No religion teaches man to hate one another, cut the throat of one another and destroy each other. Then from where did such unparalleled cruelty, barbarism and hatred come to dwell in man's heart and mind which put to shame even the savages and lower forms of ferocious wild animals.

I agree that love, kindness, compassion, non-violence and pacifism are the highest and sublimest virtues to be cultivated, but there are difficulties on its part. Can any nation practicing loving kindness and compassion and pacifism survive when the rest of the world are practicing violence and hatred and arming themselves from toes to teeth with deadly weapons that can annihilate the entire world in minutes? This is indeed a difficult question to answer. Although I myself believe in non-violence and learn to live up to the teaching of love and compassion, I do not want to impose my belief on others. I only place before you what Lord Buddha has preached and what I believe to be good and necessary for creating peace and harmony among men.

Anyway let us stop to ponder for a while and suppose that the whole world turns to violence and hatred, what kind of world will it be? On the other hand, if the world is full of loving kindness and compassion, what kind of a world would it be? Another question is, which of the two would you like to have?

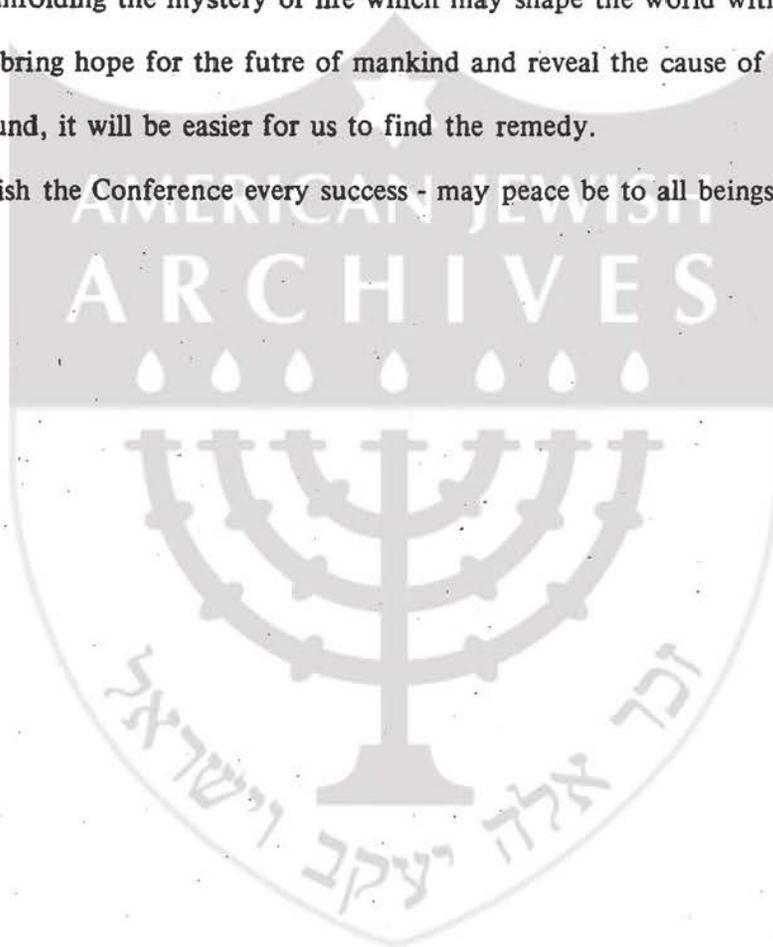
According to my humble experience I have observed with dismay that in the past religious men used to stress in their speeches the superiority of one religion over another. As a matter of fact no religion is inferior or superior. All are equal. For each and every one of them teaches man to be good and to love one another as brothers and sisters. No religion teaches man to cut the throat

of one another and to hate each other. But it is a sad experience that religious men used to look at each other with suspicious eyes, though there has been great improvement in their relationship in recent time. It is time now for religions to forget the past and instead put their heads together, work together with the spirit of cooperation and understanding for the promotion of world peace; for peace must have its first place in religion. Religion should give good example by leading the world to establish better understanding, loving kindness and compassion in their heart and mind instead of hatred and ill will for one another.

The majority of world population are following ~~any~~ one religion or ~~another~~ religious faith. Therefore it is quite reasonable and logical to believe that religions still have their hold on the people. But the difficulty is that religions ~~themselves~~ are not united among themselves yet try to preach to the peoples to unite. They used to tell people to do things which they themselves did not practice. They stood looking at the suffering world as unconcerned spectators forgetting all about the important role they can play in bringing about world peace. Now it's time they learn to feel the suffering of the world as their own. Of course, I must admit that it's easy to say, but it's difficult to practice. But if all religions and religious denominations forget the past, put their hearts together with the spirit of "give and take; live and let live", understanding and cooperation, I have no doubt that they can achieve anything which was impossible for a single individual religion to do and the goal of world peace is within their reach. They have a most important role to play in promoting world peace. They have in the past made enough of preaching. Now it is time to act.

Science and technology has up to now devoted its time and energy to the probing into the outer world of space with tremendous success ever known to mankind. Once it turns its attention to another phase of life and tries to probe into the inner world and explore into the deep recesses of man's conscious and sub-conscious mind where lies the fountainhead of all ill-will, hatred, war, killing and destruction, it will certainly succeed in discovering new dimensions and unfolding the mystery of life which may shape the world with its astonishing result which will bring hope for the future of mankind and reveal the cause of conflict. Once the cause is found, it will be easier for us to find the remedy.

I wish the Conference every success - may peace be to all beings!



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**THE CONCEPT AND HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE  
OF PEOPLE IN JUDAISM AND IN CHRISTIANITY**

**K. Hruby**

**Jerusalem, October 30 - November 7, 1970**

## SUMMARY

### INTRODUCTION

- 
- I. **The vetero-testamentary perspective**
    - Israel and its land
    - The function of the Covenant
    - Israel and the nations
  - II. **The perspective of the ancient Jewish tradition**
    - Israel and the nations
  - III. **The impact of the idea of people in Jewish life**
    - Recent evolution
    - The Zionist movement
    - Genocide and the State of Israel
    - Jewish identity
  - IV. **The old and the new people of God: The Judeo-Christian debate**
  - V. **The perspective of primitive Christian tradition**
  - VI. **The evolution and the concrete experience of the idea of people in Christianity**
    - The evolution of the life of the Church

THE CONCEPT AND THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF  
THE IDEA OF PEOPLE IN JUDAISM AND IN CHRISTIANITY

Introduction

A quick review of the most current theological literature plainly shows that the idea of ethnic and cultural community, as a concrete fact, is only rarely entered upon (peoplehood\*) and "Volkstum" if, at least, this latter word may still be used. This is the more astonishing as it is a question dealing with a primary human reality the impact of which is felt throughout life. Only a few "völkische Theologien" of sinister memory have attempted in the recent past to enter upon this problem.

Nevertheless, the modern theological currents react to this abstract presentation, too often cut off from reality, from the spiritual realities: the attempt is made from now on to start from man, and to understand the spiritual in the human context and no longer outside or above this reality. From that moment one can attempt to distinguish the importance given this human reality in contemporary theological and religious thought, more particularly in Judaism and in Christianity. From that moment the plan of our essay is outlined.

Christianity having sprung, historically, from Judaism, one must try to comprise the identical phenomenon in a single study, showing the convergences of vision as well as the differences. The fact that the concrete Jewish filiation of Christianity is often obliterated by the contributions of a line of thought resting on non-Jewish categories does not represent a contra-indication to the method we are proposing.

In some respects historical considerations govern our course of action. But in conformity with the method indicated in the very title of this study, this is much

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\* In English in the original.

less a more or less faithful description of a historical evolution than an attempt endeavouring to place a mass of phenomena on the level of lived experience. This is an important aspect which must be ever present to the mind. It also explains how the idea of historicity must be understood in this context: to perceive from the inside the web of a constant experience we must necessarily rely on the indications supplied by documents. In the case in point these documents are mainly the Bible, what is generally called with a far from appropriate term, the Old and the New Testament, as well as several writings belonging to the Jewish and Christian religious traditions. Now, although relating experiences concretely realized in history, these documents are evidently not "historical" in the scientific sense of the word. This is a religious literature which, as such, describes a certain number of phenomena and experiences issuing from ideological considerations which in themselves are foreign to the facts: this perspective which is not properly speaking historical is closely dependent upon the movement of history and, in part, originates it.

This established, it is certainly easier to realize why, in the study of the different phases of evolution of reality which is the central point of our investigation, we have essentially taken into account the concrete experience which the documents stand for. On the basis of these documents our point of view remains "theological" indeed, although we have constantly refused to penetrate deeper into the mechanism of theological reasoning. We have consequently rigorously refrained from any value judgement in this sphere.

Besides, it would have been difficult to proceed otherwise, our essay bearing precisely on the attitude of the great religions within a determined sphere. And this essay, considered also from the point of view of concrete actuality, remains evidently tributary to an entire evolution the roots of which can be situated in the past and consequently in history. It is conditioned by this evolution but tries to disengage itself in as far as this does not amount to disavow its own basis.

If our course had been governed by the exigences of historical and textual criticism, the presentation would certainly have been different. We acknowledge

this criticism as necessary and valid on a level proper to it, but it does not take precedence over an experience. It must restrict itself to delimiting and carefully situating the frame within which the experience could have been lived. Considered in such a way criticism most certainly provides a precious asset, constantly referring matters back to a precise reality.

However, religious reality is conveyed also through other channels, equally subject to the laws of evolution but which are nevertheless situated on another level. There the physical experience become spiritual, religious experience and can be interpreted as such. And it is on the level of this interpretation, such as it is evident from the documents, that we place ourselves. This method will allow us to perceive a certain number of constant factors in this interpretation itself. We shall have to take them into account in our view on the present situation, as well as in the interpretation of the signs foreboding future evolution.

We thus reach the point at which we place ourselves within tradition in the widest sense of the word: a vital or dynamic element of any religious vision. From the entire "historical" aspect of our analysis the imperious necessity of a permanent reinterpretation of what we have just called "the constants" of this tradition will become evident. The religious traditions have to dedicate themselves to this effort so as to be significant today as they were yesterday, to be true and to conform to their reason for existing.

Our perspective wants and has to remain religious in the widest and least conventional sense, true to a profound inspiration with which we declare ourselves solidary. Resolutely open, it must renounce any fixity to go forward in accordance with its fundamental inspiration.

I

THE VETERO-TESTAMENTARY PERSPECTIVE

In the vision of the Old Testament theology one can almost set aside an analysis of the terms which are used to express the reality of "people" in the Hebrew text of the Bible. It is in effect evident that in the Jewish perspective the people "par excellence" can only be Israel as cornerstone of God's action within the framework of human history. Therefore "people", in the vision of a biblical theology, is equal with "chosen people". The idea of choice in this context must moreover not be conceived in the sense of a superiority of whatsoever sort: it is a particular way of living which makes of Israel a privileged instrument in the designs of God. This fact imposes a hard servitude on the people: unconditional and absolute faith in the will of God as expressed in the Torah, uncomfortable situation of being different as compared to the other nations, permanent function of bearing witness in favour of a divine plan the final aim of which remains the recognition by the entire humanity of

והביאותים אל הר קדשי ושמחתים בבית  
תפילתי עולותיהם וזבחייהם לרצון על מזבחי כי בית תפלה יקרא לכל העמים  
(Is. 56:7) , God's sovereign dominion: מלכות שמים  
יהיה ה' למלך על כל הארץ ביום ההוא יהיה ה' אחד ושמו אחד (Zach. 14:9)

It is a fact that the biblical idea of people, just as all the other ideas of the revealed patrimony, has undergone a long evolution from the starting point of the ancient common semitic foundation. Vestiges of this evolution are still visible in the various biblical documents and one notices a distinct progression, very logical in fact, from particularism to universalism, without nevertheless having to insist too strongly in this domain. It is important to stress this already at this point, because a certain Christian interpretation of the function of Israel has strongly relied on this element, attributing to Judaism a particularistic vision which would be in opposition with the universalistic conception of Christianity.

A good example of the evolution undergone by the idea of people is the version of the LXX, where the term  $\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  shows a net tendency towards substituting

itself to an entire gamut of Hebrew terms, particularly (very rarely עם), but also אנשים, "multitude" (Job 31:34), המון, "troops" (Jos. 10:5), מחנה, לאום (Judges 18:22), עבד, צאן, קהל etc. This unification is neither general nor systematic, and the גוי קדוש in Ex. 19:6 for instance, remains ἔθνος ἄγιον, but it is nevertheless very perceivable.

In the usage of LXX, ἔθνος does not signify so much "people" in the general meaning of the term, but rather "ethnic group", as for instance in Gen. 34:22: the inhabitants of Sichem and Jacob's family are called upon to unite and thus become a לעם אחד ἕνα ἔθνος, as the text says, consequently to constitute an ethnic unit.

Still, the people "par excellence" is in the whole of vetero-testamentary literature Israel as עם ה', ἔθνος, the community of Israel considered from the point of view of its religious mission within the designs of God. All through its history, Israel constantly experiences this mission and this function, inherent in its existence, so that it can be said that it is this experience which allows it to become conscious of its progressively. The element proper to Israel's specificity is its very special relation with God, who has reserved Israel for Himself as סגולה מכל העמים (Ex. 19:5, cf. Deut. 14:2, 7:6). Thus Israel becomes עם נחלה (Deut. 4:20), נחלה ה'. It is for this reason and not for any cultic sanctification in particular that Israel is also עם קדוש כי עם קדוש אתה לה' אלהיך בן בחר ה' אלהיך להיות (Deut. 7:6). As long as Israel lives in strict conformity with the will of God as expressed in the Torah, it is עם קרבו (Ps. 148:14), the people to which the Lord is close and to whom he harkens: whenever it calls upon Him with confidence: (Ps. 20:10) ה' הושיעה המלך יעננו ביום ישראל נושא but also the people that enjoys God's permanent protection: (Is. 45:17) בה' השועות עולמים לא תרשו ולא חכלמו עד עולמי עד

This unique and absolutely sui generis relationship is the result of a free choice on the side of God, not at all motivated by any special particularities of Israel's. On the contrary: Israel is מעט מכל העמים (Deut. 7:7) the most insignificant among the peoples, and God alone has taken the initiative in making of it a unique

locus where the unfolding of history and the historical experience become at the same time sacred History and the history of the action of God among men and in their favour. This is how Israel has become the prototype of humanity. Its own history is evidently only a stage within a whole and what God is aiming at is the entire creation. God is acting throughout with sovereign freedom. Nevertheless there is nothing abstract, disincarnate in his action. On the contrary: it always takes its place in a concrete historical development (cf. Duet. 4:37-40).

ותחת כי אהב את אבותיך ויבחר בזרעו אחריו ויוציאך בפניו בכחו הגדול ממצרים: להוריש  
לגוים גדולים ועצומים ממך מפניך להביאך לחת לך את ארצם נחלה כיום הזה.  
The ultimate motive of His action is His love and His unshaken loyalty to the  
promise He has freely given:  
כי מאהבת ה' אתכם ומשמרו את השבע אשר נשבע לאבותיכם הוציא ה' אתכם ביד חזקה ויפדך  
מביה עבדים מיד פרעה מלך מצרים (Deut. 7:8)

It is the concrete, historical experience of this divine epic, with which the people is intimately associated, which also furnishes the explanation of the importance that the biblical tradition already attributes to the event which, in a way, conditions and makes possible everything else, namely the Exodus, יציאת מצרים  
This God, who made Israel His instrument and His witness, is also the God who  
פדה את יעקב מיד חזקה ממנו (Jer. 31:11), by leading his people out of Egypt,  
מביה עבדים (Ex. 20:2), out of the "iron melting-pot" (Deut. 4:20),  
במשפטים גדולים (Ex. 7:5), by means of an extraordinary intervention,  
במסת באתת ובמופתים ובמלחמה וביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה ובמוראים גדלים ככל אשר עשה  
לכם ה' אלהיכם במצרים לעיניך

It is through the event of the exodus that Israel becomes a people in the strong sense of the word and that God can make it into His people. It is around the Torah and based on it that the ethnic life of Israel will organize and structure itself.

Israel and its land.

It is also at this level that another constitutive and inseparable element of Israel's historical experience arises: the close link between the people and a particular land, that of Canaan, which, as a consequence of this link becomes ארץ ישראל the land of Israel. Here too, that which interests us particularly within our precise perspective is not so much the historical stages which have allowed the people to become aware of the intrinsic link existing between itself and its land, as the vision which at the end of this evolution becomes evident from the whole of the biblical documents.

In a vision of biblical theology the land of Israel is an integral part of the vocation and the mission of God's people: God has chosen this people from among the nations and, in the Torah, has designed a rule of life for it which should be put in practice in a determined framework, which is the land of Israel. It is not by chance that so very many מצוות of the Torah are חליות בארץ, as the rabbinical tradition calls them and that their practice supposes the people to live effectively in its land. This is also why any other mode of existence of Israel, such as life in גלות, exile, seem basically abnormal in the vision of the Torah and that one of the major aspirations of the people in exile is the return to the Promised Land.

The function of the Covenant.

The ברית ה' establishes very precise conditions of living for Israel. Free and sovereign choice on the part of God, acceptance and ratification on the part of God, the Covenant establishes very precise links of dependence, duties and responsibilities between God and the people, all based essentially on love and fidelity. God has freed Israel from Egypt to become its God:

(Numb. 15:41) אני ה' אלהיכם אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים  
and it is again He who has set the people aside for His service (Lev. 20:26). On its side Israel must wholly assume this condition and prove its love and attachment to God through its faithfulness to the מצוות

וידעת כי ה' אליהך הוא האהלים האל הנאמן שמר הברית והחסד לאהביו ולשמרי מצותו לאלף דור  
(Deut. 7:9)

God, indeed, has sanctified Israel once and for all by His choice, but the people must constantly ratify this state of things by its behaviour, and be holy:

(Lev. 19:2) קדשים חהיו כי קדוש אני ה' אלהיכם

as the biblical text so often says.

The prophets' intervention becomes necessary precisely because in its conduct Israel does not conform to this fundamental demand of the Covenant. God then intervenes directly once more and harshly punishes His people, submitting it to the four corners of the world. However in all of this God's aim is not the destruction of His people, but its return towards Him: in spite of everything Israel remains the people of God. By means of the successive ordeals which befall His people God will finally transform it internally in such a way as to create entirely new relations between Himself and His people:

(Jer. 31:31)

כי זאת הברית אשר אכרת את בני ישראל אחרי הימים ההם נאם ה' נתתי את תורתך בקרבם ועל לבם אכתבנה והיותי להם לאגלהים והמה יהיו לי לעם

The manner will indeed change but the underlying reality will nevertheless remain identically the same, namely the Lord's Torah. This is how, biblically speaking, one must interpret the phrase בריח חדשה (Jer. 31:31).

This is the starting point of what would become the eschatological expectations. Not least because of the result they have had in the Christian perspective, they have a great importance for the idea of people, but they nevertheless remain outside the frame of our subject. Concerning more particularly their evolution within Judaism itself, it must be specified that they always remain very concrete and deeply rooted in earthly reality. Jewish eschatology is inconceivable without the Jewish people being in the centre, in the unfolding of the different phases, as a precise reality in the biblical sense.

Israel and the nations.

The evolution of the idea of people in Judaism cannot be treated without entering upon the matter of the relations between Israel and the other nations. However, this is such a complex problem, demanding such an amount of historical details, that it is impossible for us to deal with it. To reach a just and well-balanced vision, allowing one to free oneself from a large number of clichés which are still in current use, one would evidently have to study the problem as a whole, in its historical context, and to take into account the different evolution levels it has known.

It is true that, historically speaking, the vision of other peoples which is revealed by the books of the Bible as well as by the documents of rabbinical literature is often strongly pessimistic. There is nothing surprising in this if one takes into account the condition of life of the Jewish people and the behaviour of other nations towards it. But theologically speaking Judaism has never lost sight of the fact that God's plan concerns the entire humanity and that the real aim of Israel's progress across history, including all the vicissitudes, always remains - as we have already stressed - the spiritual promotion of humanity in its entirety. Even more, the biblical doctrine of creation implies the idea of the fundamental solidarity of all men who all share the claim to a common ancestor. The first revelation of God addresses man as such, the prototype of whom is Adam. The representative in the second revelation, through which God enters upon a Covenant with the whole of humanity, is Noah and the rabbinical tradition particularly insists on this point through the idea of the שבע מצות בני נח. And the appeal addressed by God to Abraham and with which begins the epic of Israel concludes with the prophecy: ונברכו בך כל "in thee all the families on earth will be blessed" (Gen. 12:2). Although Abraham, by divine summons, became the ancestor of a particular people that was to have to fulfil a particular mission in history, the Scriptures insist at the same time on the final aim of this victory which comprises humanity as a whole.

The very real antagonism between Israel and the nations is, we have just said, the result of a concrete situation. In reality, the biblical as well as the post-biblical one, there is on the one side Israel and its mission and on the other, "the nations of the earth" אמות העולם, as rabbinical tradition will preferably say, an entity fundamentally different from Israel by its vision of the world. What distinguishes Israel from the other nations is the fact that Israel is the people of God, dedicated to the cult of an only God, while the other nations are עובדי כוכבים ומזלות "worshippers of the stars and the signs of the zodiac" and therefore pagans who do not recognize the sovereignty of the only God: כי כל העמים ילכו איש בשם אלהיו ואנחנו בשם ה' אלהינו לעולם ועד (Mich. 4:5)

One of the sources of this antagonism often so strongly brought out by the biblical and rabbinical documents must be sought for in the fact that before the perspective imposed itself generally, - and this was only to be after the Babylonian exile - Israel whom God has chosen "among the nations" גוי מקרב גוי (Deut. 4:34), permanently continues to suffer the influence of the environment from which it has sprung, in spite of the solemn and repeated warnings that were given it in all kinds of manner: אחרי אלהים אחרים לא תלכו (Deut. 13:6) and אלהיכם תלכו (Jer. 7:6).

II

THE PERSPECTIVE OF ANCIENT JEWISH TRADITION

Jewish tradition has in turn and in its own manner developed the great biblical themes of the function and mission of Israel. For it, as for the Bible, Israel is above all עם קדוש the holy people. The root of Israel's holiness, is the heritage of the Torah; the holiness is expressed concretely by the fact that the people is set apart and has no relationship with idolaters. The designation of עם קדוש is actually strictly reserved for Israel and the people does not share it with any other nation (cf. Sifré de Deut. ed. Friedmann, par. 97, 94a, commentary on Deut 14:2).

It is again the rabbinical tradition which will develop more particularly an aspect of great importance for the "Selbstverständnis" of the Jewish people, that of the solidarity of some of them for the others. This solidarity is based on the fact that divine election bears precisely on the people as such and as a collectivity, and that the individuals participate only in so far as they are part of this whole. To stress the unique character of the election by God of a certain people the Midrash relates that before revealing the Torah to Israel God offered it to the "seventy nations", in other words, to all the other peoples, being prepared to make that nation which would have accepted it His people. But all the nations seem to have refused this gift of God which, for various reasons struck them as a burden too weighty or too cumbersome to bear. And the fact is also insisted upon that despite the actual acceptance of the Torah by Israel, it was proclaimed דימוס פרהסיא במקום הפקר (Mekhilta, ed. Friedmann, pericope מסכתא בדחודש - יתרו, chap. 1st, 92a, commentary on Ex. 19:2): in a public place, the property of nobody, so that the other nations could still have come to accept it and that it was even proclaimed in the four main languages - or even in seventy languages - so as to be understood by all the nations (Sifré de Deut., par. 342, 142a).

The fact remains that as the result of a whole providential preparation the Torah was actually granted to Israel and that the revelation took place with all the people present:

(Ex. 19:17) ויוצא משה את העם לקראת האלהים מן המחנה ויחיצבו בתחתית ההר  
In the perspective of the rabbinical tradition the solidarity and co-responsibility of all the members of the people thus are deeply rooted in the מעמד הר סיני, in the presence of all at the moment of revelation which from that moment on will govern Israel's existence.

For the rabbinical tradition the freedom of the divine choice is indisputable. But it nevertheless tries also to bring out the merit of the people which in its view consists in the confidence it showed in God even before the precise obligations which were to spring from the acceptance of the Torah were promulgated:

(Ex. 24:7) ויקח ספר הברית ויקרא באזני העם ויאמרו כל אשר דבר ה' נעשה ונשמע  
As far as the freedom of the individual to decide for or against the Law of God is concerned this evidently remains entire even after the revelation on mount Sinai. Nevertheless, for the people considered as a whole such a freedom no longer exists.

The Midrash, of course expresses matters its own way and in conformity with its own spirit, but what it expresses nevertheless profoundly corresponds once more to a life experience. At no level in its evolution can Judaism set aside the collectivity, the people, as a primary reference in its existence. This implies also the solidarity of the individual with all the foregoing phased in the life of the people, as it is so well expressed in the האגדה של פסח in connection with the exodus:

בכל דור ודור חייב אדם לראות את עצמו כאלו הוא יצא ממצרים שנאמר והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא לאמור בעבור זה עשה ה' לי בצאתי ממצרים. לא את אבותינו בלבד גאל הקב"ה אלא אף אותנו  
גאל עמהם  
(Deut. 13:8)

This state of things is moreover confirmed by the life of prayer, the expression of the people's soul: this prayer is always formulated in the plural, in the name of the whole nation and individual prayer must necessarily pass by way of the collec-

tivity. It does not however have an official character and is not pronounced in the name of the community unless it takes place with at least ten adults being present.

The consciousness of this solidarity begets another very important idea for the comprehension of Jewish life which is connected with it: that of the responsibility of the ones for the others, in an almost juridical sense: כל ישראל ערבים זה לזה "All Israelis are responsible for each other" (cf. Sifra de Lev. 26:37, ed. Weiss, בחוקותי , par. 7, 112a) a maxim which the Haggadah also links with the

The idea of כלל ישראל has had a strong influence on the notion of ערבות more particularly on the one hand because of the diaspora situation which was that of the Jewish people for centuries and on the other hand because of the absence of major criteria which, in other peoples, contribute towards assuring national cohesion: possession of a national territory, of a common language, etc. In the case of the Jewish people this element of cohesion was mainly assured by the consciousness of a spiritual patrimony and of a common destiny.

The exalted idea of the election and of the mission of Israel naturally induces the rabbinical tradition to place the people in the centre of events and to say, for instance, that the world was created because of Israel. Here again one must well understand the problem and abstain from repeating commonplaces such as the one about the "universal domination" to which Israel is supposed to aspire (as a publication as serious as the Neues Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N. T., vol. 4, p. 43 is still doing). Whatever the means of expression which are functions of the concrete situations following one another throughout the centuries, one must always insist on the fact that Israel's domination is only desired as far as the domination of the Law of God entrusted to Israel goes, which amounts to the realization of the

Another idea in the same category is that of Israel's eternity. Given the fact that God has concluded a ברית עולם an "eternal Covenant" with Israel and

that all God's promises for the world will become reality by way of this people, it necessarily follows that this people, as a distinct entity, should be able to cross the centuries without ever disappearing. Thus the sufferings the people must endure will one day end. For the Jewish tradition, just as for the Bible, they are the consequences of the people's sins; their value and their meaning is to bring Israel to and reinstate it in its previous dignity.

This eternality transcends history; it extends to the world to come, עולם הבא, a complex notion which we do not pretend to analyze here: כל ישראל יש צדיקים באומות יש להם : says the Mishna (Sanh. XI, 1), a vision which the Tosefta (ib. XIII, 2) stretches to include the just of all the nations: בעולם הבא

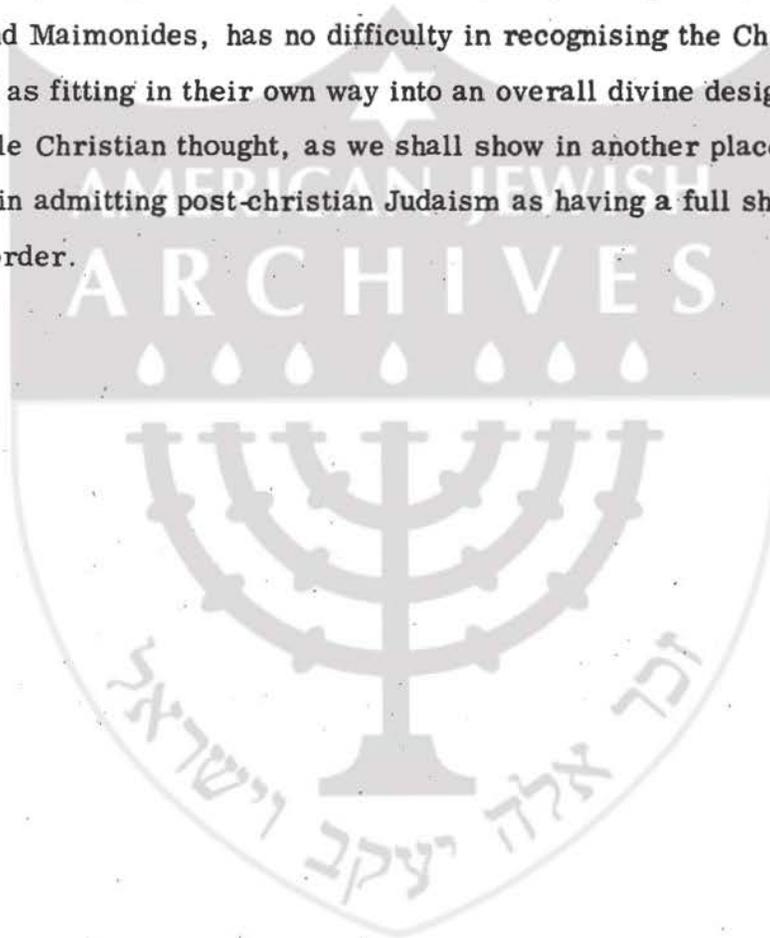
#### Israel and the nations.

The ancient rabbinical tradition, just like the biblical tradition, passes a judgment that is often pessimistic on the other nations. The peoples are far from God. They have set themselves outside the order established for them by the שבע מצוות בני נח which they did not respect (cf. Sifré de Deut. 32:28, par. 322, 138a). And they have also, we have already mentioned it, refused the Torah.

In spite of all it is these peoples that apparently prosper, while Israel is humiliated and oppressed. The extreme tension between Israel and "the nations", a characteristic proper to apocalypses, grows dimmer and dimmer in the rabbinical tradition; but the latter insists nevertheless on the ephemeral and infirm character of this prosperity. As to the final fate of the nations, the tradition is not unanimous and its judgment varies according to times and circumstances.

We have restricted ourselves to a few short recollections of an extremely rich but also very diffuse tradition. Lastly, as far as the relations between Israel and the nations are concerned, these are so strongly conditioned by the historical context that no other value than that of witness for precise situations can be attributed them. The same remark could certainly be made concerning the subsequent

stages of this tradition: in Judaism what causes the difficulty is not the existence of the other nations and their role in history, but their behaviour towards the Jewish people and thence towards the designs of God. This is why the medieval Jewish tradition, represented in the case in point more particularly by Yehuda ha-Levy and Maimonides, has no difficulty in recognising the Christian and Moslem phenomena as fitting in their own way into an overall divine design concerning the world, while Christian thought, as we shall show in another place, has never succeeded in admitting post-Christian Judaism as having a full share in the Christian order.



III

IMPACT OF THE "PEOPLE" CONCEPT IN JEWISH LIFE

A summary analysis of the "people" concept in the two traditions, Jewish and Christian, seems necessary for setting things in an actual perspective. From the religious angle, that actuality can only be envisioned against a background of precise experience — an ever-present background that should be recognized and gradually overcome with the unfolding of history.

For the sake of accuracy, of avoiding accumulation of the commonplace as well as emotional attitudes born of hasty judgment, one should, in the context of this entire development, bear in mind the various stages of the history of the Jewish people and of the Church.

As regards Judaism and its approach, the problem is in one sense less difficult. Its vision, as affecting anything in relation with our field of investigation, has not changed in either content or expression. Conversely, a change in depth has occurred in certain pre-suppositions, in function of which one should rethink the problem and try to re-formulate it.

Jewish history in the last two millenia is known; the causes of its oft-distressing stages are also known. We do not propose to draw up a balance sheet or an indictment. We merely record the phenomenon and its consequences because of their impact on the Jewish people's conscience.

Ceaseless humiliation and persecution have had one positive aspect: they have kept alive and strengthened Jewish conscience down the centuries, often in highly critical circumstances, when the people's actual physical existence was gravely threatened. The Jewish people has been able to survive it all, not for purely biological reasons or by force of circumstances, but because at every stage of its existence, even the darkest, it has continued to believe in its mission in the world

and to the world, in its essential place in God's eternal scheme of things that requires its presence and its continued existence, a scheme laid down in the Torah and guaranteed by the word of the living God. It is this certainty, indelibly engraved in the whole people's conscience of כלל ישראל, that has enabled the Jews not to abandon all hope even in its most tragic periods of exile. To the Jewish people, at the level of its collective conscience, this conscience has never been just another mythology, a world of legend, a "gilded legend", but existential reality. If this were otherwise, its survival would be contrary to all the laws of the history of mankind.

The traditional כלל ישראל concept was not subject to important change until the end of the 18th century, the eve of emancipation. A main feature of the way of life that the Middle Ages had imposed on the Jewish people was almost total cultural isolation, and this was practically perpetuated until the French Revolution. In a world where everything, including existence itself, was constantly in doubt, one fundamental element was never lacking: that of belonging to a distinct entity, the Jewish people itself, as defined and guaranteed by an essentially religious mission, carried out through individuals identifying themselves with that entity. Throughout its history Judaism has certainly experienced grave losses in substance, not only through persecutions, but through Jews going over to other ethnii, a movement which according to medieval structures took the form of accepting other religions, i. e. Christianity and Islam. By that very fact, however, those who chose that path had given up their Jewish identity and sooner or later merged with the non-Jewish masses.

The problem of identification of the Jewish people with its environment - when the latter became its cultural environment - was sharply posed, in the full sense of the term, when the centuries-old, forced isolation came to an end. Judaism had of course met with similar situations during its history, and in this respect it is particularly Jewish-Moslem cultural symbiosis in Spain that we have in mind. In this last instance, however, in view of the leading importance of the religious element

in medieval life as a whole, the problem was posed differently.

In modern times, when culture is the same for all, only the religious element remains as a differentiating factor; but religion is giving ground everywhere, and being further weakened by growing fragmentation.

Henceforth the history of West European Judaism records a new phenomenon: no more Jews live in Strasbourg or Vienna, but Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, Englishmen, etc. who belong to the Jewish faith. Thus appeared the great assimilation trend that gained ground in almost all the countries where this possibility was provided. We do not propose to consider here to what extent that evolution was effectively accepted in the conscience and the reactions of the non-Jewish environment. The way matters evolved, with Nazi Germany the driving force that led to the frightful genocide of the second world war, certainly seems to indicate that such acceptance was never really deep-seated. In certain Jewish communities, and in some countries, particularly Germany, this identification with the cultural environment had led to a mood of disaffection toward Judaism. Religious identity was no longer strong enough to prevent general abandonment, the more so since the whole of society was subject to an overall secularization process. All this led to a generalization of mixed marriages, within which no Jewish conscience could endure; the descendents were frequently absorbed by another religious community or even, if this was possible, brought up without any religious identification of their own.

This assimilationist trend could not reach communities still subject to medieval-type legislation as in the Moslem countries, which anyway offered no identification other than the religious. This also applied to communities living under Tsarist rule, where only a thin privileged stratum had access to environmental culture; before the 1914 war this Tsarist regime ruled the whole of Eastern Europe and thus almost the whole of Jewry in those areas. The impact of the traditional structures remained much stronger there than elsewhere, being very deep-

rooted; there was Jewish education, a leading factor in preserving the Jewish conscience down through the centuries.

Where assimilation was possible, Jewish conscience was having to face up to a number of serious questions. What is left of the old-time concept of

כלל ישראל in a society in full tide of mutation, with evolution often advancing at a quickening rate? For those remaining faithful to the old way of life - and they will soon be in the minority in many countries - the question does not arise in exactly the same form. To them, that evolution had in no wise altered the community's way of life, not only imposed on them by the hostility and ostracism of their environment, but also preserved as being essential to the community's very existence. Yet the great majority of those who had resolutely "crossed the dividing line" could not remain indifferent to the multiple problems raised by the new situation. What, actually, is the impact of Jewish identity - for that is what is ultimately involved - to those who wish to identify themselves as closely as possible with enviring society? And to what extent is it possible to preserve Jewish identity? What should be the approach to factors that according to tradition are an integral part of the Jewish patrimony, such as hope of eventual return to Palestine, restoration of national independence, the rebuilding of the Temple, etc.? Are those concepts, which especially in the synagogues have been kept alive and proclaimed for two milleniums, compatible with willingness to assimilate, that in itself postulates integration in a culture foreign to Judaism and professing aspirations that often differ widely from those of Judaism?

The representatives of the religious Reform trend resolutely reply that those factors proper to Judaism are incompatible with environmental culture. Reform Judaism would therefore undertake to "purify" prayer ritual by suppressing all or any "archaic survival". One of the movement's first theologians, Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, wrote in "Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums auf geschichtlicher Grundlage" (Leipzig 1910, pp. 290-91):

As a result of the radical change that has occurred in modern Jewish life as regards relationships with western culture, in which the Jew feels deeply rooted, and which forms the framework within which he aspires - on the same basis as the other citizens of the State in which he lives - to be a fully-fledged citizen, the very basis of his aspirations and of his religious feelings is profoundly modified. With every fibre of his being he wishes to become integrated in the nation within which he lives, and with which he has a sense of complete solidarity on the plane of his aspirations and ideas, with religion as the only factor that distinguishes him from his environment. Seen in this light, the very idea of returning to Palestine with a view to re-establishing a Jewish state, under a Jewish king, becomes intolerable to him, and the prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem becomes a perpetual lie on his lips. . . . .

Is that approach, or rather approaches, entirely incompatible with the traditional attitude? The question is certainly a complex one. In this context one cannot fail to emphasise that a man whose very being was as dedicated to tradition as S. R. Hirsch, the founder of Jewish neo-orthodoxy in Germany, also - at least for a time - supported the thesis of the "German citizen of Jewish faith".

At that level, the impact of religious tradition on Jewish life as a whole becomes very strongly perceptible. Nevertheless, it is particularly in this realm that one should be careful not to make hurried rapprochements with the approach of other religions, especially the Christian vision.

From a historical angle, Judaism has only existed and managed to survive through its religious patrimony. That is certainly an undeniable fact. It therefore merges with this patrimony or - if one prefers the term - these major facts, but such identification does not necessarily and primarily bear on formal adherence to a "group" of beliefs as is the case in, e. g. Christianity. It can also be conceived at certain moments as the explicit non-negation of a group or system of concepts which, one might add, are not bound to any rigid formulation. This remark is important in regard to a society in which the religious element proper - at least in its traditional form - will exert a decreasing influence on life as a whole. But for Judaism any individual who continues to identify himself with the historical destiny of the

כלל ישראל concept, even through implicit consciousness, preserves his religious identity. According to the different spiritual trends, the religious element will be more or less strongly accentuated; it nevertheless need not formally occupy first place in this identification, in this conscience of communion within a common destiny.

#### Recent evolution

That explanation will enable us to tackle the present evolutionary stage of the "people" concept in Judaism, a stage marked by three major moments: the emergence of the Zionist movement at the end of the last century, the 1939-45 genocide and the creation in 1948 of a Jewish State in Palestine.

Our attempted analysis certainly bears on the ideological impact: it conforms with the Jewish people's "Selbstverständnis" to approach it from an historical angle, since ultimately it is invariably events and concrete evolution, that arouse any attempt at interpretation. It is thus that the present-day Jewish attitudes as regards the impact of the "people" concept can only be built up on a background of historical reality; any new position and any new attitude can only be a reinterpretation of certain constants in the light of actuality.

These constants amount to a system of constitutive elements of Jewish conscience, and, while they are transmitted by an essentially religious tradition, they are implicitly or explicitly present whenever one seeks to elucidate typically Jewish concepts. Thus Judaism cannot interpret the concept of God's people without calling on or invoking the people's relationship towards God, that people's adopting a path laid down by the Torah as the very expression of God's will, the vicissitudes of history interpreted partly as consequences of the people's unfaithfulness to its own mission, the conscience of a concrete mission to be fulfilled within the context of history, in function of its own identity. But in order to carry out that mission in full, Israel should, among other things, be able to pursue a way of life required by

the Torah, a way of life that can be observed only in certain conditions, the principal among which is to return to the land of the fathers.

We have not been able in this context to consider the full extent of the importance of that factor throughout Jewish existence. Moreover, it appears in concrete shape at the level of Jewish tradition in the postulate of ישוב בארץ ישראל Tradition on the whole takes this imperative involving the return of the people to Israel to re-settle in the land of its fathers as a commandment of the Torah, ever-present and actual at all levels and stages of Jewish existence, and which must be obeyed as soon as circumstances permit.

The question that confronts us is precisely that of knowing what can be the impact of such an element or elements of traditional conscience on the present-day Jew, who lives in a world in process of secularization in its relationships towards the religious element as habitually conceived, for he must radically re-think his attitudes. It should further be stressed that the impact of secularization and laicization is not the same in Judaism and Christianity. The idea that the religious element, as belonging to individual conscience, is radically different from the other aspects of life, is absolutely foreign to Judaism: Zionism is a typical instance of this.

#### The Zionist movement

The historical origins of the Zionist movement are too well known to require mention here. Originally the movement was a reaction to a concrete situation: an awakening of conscience, in the light of the hostile reactions of the non-Jewish environment, that assimilation was proving a failure. Its initiators, many of whom were detached from Jewish religious traditions, always interpreted Zionism as exclusively political movement, and rejected any identification with a religious ideal, turning down the "Messianic" approach even in the broadest sense of the term.

Nevertheless, the national home for the Jewish people, as the immediate object of this movement that aimed at rescuing its people from centuries-old tribulation, was set up in Palestine, although the founder, Theodor Herzl, greatly favoured other projects. This orientation was the result of ideological pressure exerted by the East European Jewish element, that had remained very traditional in its structures and even in its ways of thought. Genuine religious influence cannot be said to have been involved here, but rather the very conscience of the Jewish people, that had remained strong where it had escaped the assimilationist trend. And this collective conscience, the fruit of history, ideology and religion, could envisage only a fully Jewish solution and thus could conceive of a return nowhere else than to the Land of Israel.

On the other hand, the reticences of the purely religious fraction of Judaism concerning modern Zionism are well-known; it had much difficulty in overcoming them. Conversely, the leaders of the religious reform trend also vehemently rejected Zionism, which they saw as a serious retrogression from the modern concepts of integration and assimilation. In the light of events, these two trends, the traditionalist and "reformed", nevertheless ultimately ratified modern Zionism and its achievements. The fractions that still persist in their negative attitude are too small for their opposition to be significant in present-day Jewish life. One understands how personalities who - at least formally - do not profess the Jewish religion have become the active artisans of Zionist achievements while invoking what is still an essentially religious patrimony. This attitude, while paradoxical in the eyes of many non-Jews, is not so for Judaism.

#### Genocide and the State of Israel

As regards the question of Jewish identity, one should here emphasise the impact of the 1939-45 period on Jewish consciousness as a whole. Whereas both within Judaism and outside it, Zionism was often charged with being a mere rever-

sion to what were considered outdated concepts, belonging to a kind of national mythology, proof was now forthcoming that in a part of the world which had been considered the birthplace of modern ideas, a mass-scale return to a primitive, mythical world was under way. Moreover, this primitive myth had seldom been so violently manifested in the history of mankind, involving reversion to a policy of physical extermination.

It was against this background of unspeakable horrors, and after the extermination of one-third of the Jewish world population that the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine in 1948 would appear to Jewish conscience as fresh confirmation of its identity and as a valid mode of expression of that identity. From that angle, a Jewish State would be meaningful only on condition it hewed to the line of the Jewish historical and existential conscience: origins of essentially spiritual order should command Jewish existence, in the State as in the Diaspora. Any State, however, must first define and consolidate its foundations, which in present-day conditions in Israel absorbs much of her energies. That, however, is not enough, and this State should be Jewish primarily by virtue of its character as a place of concentration of Jewish life and spiritual irradiation. It can never be exclusively - though it is also that - a "State like any other", for the simple reason that the Jewish people cannot be a "people like any other" without losing its profoundest value. Any contrary concept would deprive the Jewish people of the element that commands its existence and at the same time constitutes the unique key of its destiny.

#### Jewish identity

Throughout our exposé we have used terminology currently accepted as designating Jewish entity and referring in turn and almost without distinction to "people", "nation", כלל ישראל "community of destiny", etc. On the terminological plane this differentiation is none other than a concrete expression of the difficulty of defining Jewish reality in terms of language. Jewish existence and identity are

never restricted to a single element of this terminology, nor even to several taken together. People, nation, community of destiny, religious entity: the Jewish element is all that and more.

Judaism has experienced a history which at first made it into a people, a nation within the meaning of that work in antiquity: **גוי בקרב גוי**. Biblical documents reflect the stages of that evolution without claiming to depict it from a purely historical angle. In those remote times, a man was a Jew through identifying himself with a certain number of precise criteria and through living within the confines of a well-determined framework.

With exile, its experiences and influences, certain nuances were added to this initial concept. This would lead to the rejection of foreign women and their children as an element that jeopardized the preservation of Jewish identity at the moment of return to the ancestral land.

In the countries of the Diaspora where the major part of the Jewish people live since their exile, it is the religious fact that ensures Jewish identity, although there is rapid assimilation on the linguistic and, to a certain extent, cultural plane. In antiquity, religion was effectively the touchstone of identities, and the Jews, through not adopting the gods of their countries of residence, formed ipso facto separate entities. They would thus be granted the right of administrative structures of their own that far exceed the religious framework proper.

It was at this same period that the phenomenon of proselytism appeared. Judaism, which at the time was becoming conscious of its own mission, found itself faced with the question of what attitude to adopt towards the non-Jews who wished to adopt the genuine Jewish path. Without wishing to undertake clarification of this complex problem, we would like to point out that Judaism offered to the pagans full integration in its own life, provided they fully accepted God's Covenant and the obligations that derive from it. The fact that there were also less complete forms of association does not concern us here. What should be emphasised is that since

antiquity, Judaism has no longer had any purely racial or ethnic criteria. To accuse Judaism of racism in the modern sense of the term is a profound misconception of its true nature. There are two equally valid ways of becoming Jewish: through being born within the כלל ישראל or through deliberate adoption of כלל ישראל with acceptance of the obligations which make the Jewish people what it is.

Down the centuries, the modalities of birth or adoption have undergone some change: Jewish identity had to be safeguarded in what were often difficult or troubled circumstances. That is a problem that periodically stirs up Israeli opinion; it is difficult for non-Jews to grasp. The essential aim is the internal cohesion of the body of Jewry, the combined Diaspora and State of Israel, whatever steps are taken at this or that period.

President Ben Gurion started a large-scale inquiry into Jewish identity in 1958 and asked for the opinion of the "seventy sages of Israel." In his reply R. Aaron Kotler, one of the leading Talmudic authorities of our time, took up all the traditional elements and pointed out that there is no identification with Judaism other than acceptance of the Covenant. Touching on Jewish existence, he tersely noted:

אין שום הבדל במונחים של "דת" או "לאום", כי אין הבדל כזאת בישראל - לא מצד הלכה ולא מציאות הדברים.

"There is no difference between the concepts of religion and nation, such a distinction being unknown to Judaism, from the point of view of Halacha as well as from that of the very nature of things" (cf. Jewish Identity. Modern Response and Opinions. A Documentary Compilation by Baruch Litvin. Edited by Sidney B. Hoenig. Philip Feldheim Inc., New York, 1965, p. 101).

One may wonder whether it is possible, even admissible by modern ways of thought to impose the forms and content of a religious conversion to one who wishes to identify himself with Jewish destiny entirely irrespective of the religious ele-

ment proper. In the case of Judaism, this religious element should be taken as the form of expression of a deep-seated existential identity which it has not yet been possible to express in other terms. אין שום הבדל : in Judaism there is no difference between the spiritual and cultural patrimony (traditionally expressed in religious language) and belonging to a distinct entity which is defined as a function of this very patrimony.

To remain the same, the כלל ישראל , at all levels of its existence, must define and situate itself in relation to its mission, for this last cannot be accomplished except in function of its internal cohesion. As to the actual terms of that definition, they can only be the outcome of an evolution whose stages should be carefully recorded, but which cannot be anticipated. In function of the modern Israeli context itself, the criteria of definition are subject to marked change in relation to other historical situations, and for this to come about, reality must first accomplish its work.

In the present-day conscience of the Jewish people, the concept of Jewish identity is the principal element of the concept of people and ethnic allegiance. Relations between Israel and the Diaspora are defined in function of comprehension of that identity. That being done, the nature of relations between Israel and the other nations may be circumscribed: present-day experience lends itself to a resolutely modern interpretation from the religious angle as well.

I V

GOD'S OLD AND NEW PEOPLE: JUDEO-CHRISTIAN CONTROVERSY

Careful and objective study of New Testament scripture shows that even after Whitsuntide the community of Jesus' disciples was none other than a new religious trend within the Jewish community, or "Nazarene fraction" as appears in the Acts of the Apostles (24. 5) As such it did not constitute a novelty or an unusual phenomenon at a period of very great diversification in the line of religious options: there was a flourishing of "sects" that were distinct from Pharisee-inspired Judaism either by their doctrines or by the way of life they propounded. The young community and its leaders would only gradually become conscious of the elements which, as a whole, would fairly rapidly dissociate the community of Jesus' disciples from the Jewish structures.

At first, the force of Jewish tradition still held sway: it is worth stressing that the nucleus of Jesus' disciples, as an eschatological salvation community, continued to depend strictly on that which is a major element in the eschatological vision of Judaism: unconditional fidelity to the Torah and the "mitzvot." Perusal of the Acts shows how much hesitation there was in the beginning as regards the mission to the pagans: their admission to the young community could not be conceived without entering into the Jewish Covenant - an essential pre-requisite. It was only gradually that practice became more flexible, that exceptions were allowed (cf. the case of Cornelius, Acts 10); finally exception, with the help of accumulated experience, became the rule. Moreover, belief in Jesus resurrected, the core of their faith, was for the Apostles and first disciples an integral part of what they always held to be true Judaism. They were never conscious of preaching or proclaiming a new religion other than the divine fulfillment of Judaism, its accomplishment promised for the end of time.

Here again, they were in good company; the other Jewish fractions professed the same belief, whether they were the Pharisees, who were the official teachers, the Essenes or the sects that gravitated around Qumran. For these movements, based more or less, - except for the Pharisees - on apocalyptic inspiration, the eschatological fact as such still lay in the - however imminent - future. To Jesus' disciples, that fact was reality; it had already come to pass. The Christian community had entered the age of eschatological fulfillment, an era of accomplishment of prophetic "oracles" and of promises. It had received the Spirit of the latter-day times and thenceforth would live in certainty of the imminent consummation of the Kingdom of Heaven, which has been manifest and had become well-nigh palpable reality with the coming of Jesus. It is in that sense that the disciples are thenceforth the fully-fledged eschatological people, the "new Israel" of the end of time. In the meantime, however, their place was still within the concrete framework of the Jewish ethnic group which was their own; the two realities did not exclude each other, one being conceived as the logical fulfillment of the other.

The community would therefore naturally expect to see its example followed by the nation as a whole of which it had become the prototype. Subsequent developments would be conditioned by the fact that that expectation was not being realized. At the same time the Christian community would have to give up its immediate expectation of the Second Coming - a thing that it was slow to do - and adopt, for better or worse, a very different spiritual position that would profoundly modify its approach to terrestrial realities: that is the aspect with which we are more closely concerned. In expectation of imminent fulfillment of human history, one could consider concrete realities as finally outdated, as devoid of real importance: the concept of a people, of belonging to ethnic groups, to different cultures, with all their practical consequences for man, were numbered among these outdated realities. But the realities regained their importance in a situation which, without having completely lost a sense of eschatological tension, requires installation in history: this installation would compel the Christian community to give up its spirit of "splendid isolation."

and compose with daily life and its exigencies.

We hold here the key to one of the paradoxes of the Christian situation, of the history of the Church. The Church is caught between two opposite poles: on the one hand, the eschatological community on the march, the place of assembly of all humanity around Christ; on the other hand, a deep insertion into this or that precise ethnos or culture, such insertion frequently amounting to identification, to the detriment of its universal mission.

Judaism obviously could not consider the eschatological concept of the Christian community as the fulfilment of its history and its entrance into the eschatological phase. For that, there are several mutually compelling and complementary reasons.

First and foremost, the epos of Jesus, the events of his life and his death, - whatever the value and significance of those events on the plane of the conscience of the Christian community, - have remained from the purely historical angle one among many other occurrences with a more or less similar outcome. All this actually occurred in troubled and difficult times - in times when tensions within the nation had reached a paroxysm, when foreign domination - that of the Romans - increasingly angered those Jews who were most faithful to the nation's spiritual patrimony. That occupation constituted a major obstacle in living a life according to the norms of the Torah; an absolute bar to the mission of Israel. There was no absence of "Messiahs" in those times, and the indefinite character of so-called "Messianic" expectations was pronounced enough for this or that "Saviour" to find adepts without his failure in any way lessening the intensity of expectation. It was difficult if not impossible for a single person to fulfil all the criteria that the various messianic trends of Jewish tradition attributed to the saviour. Such eminent scholars as Rabbi Akiba Ben Joseph may have been mistaken in that, though this did not detract from their immense prestige and absolute authority in the realm of "halacha." It should not be forgotten that the whole vast field of Messianism in Jewish tradition derives exclusively from the Haggadah and is defined as not being subject to any form of rigid determination.

Maimonides was able to say centuries later, in drawing up a kind of balance sheet, that all the Haggadot bearing on the Messiah, including the imagery of the prophets interpreted in that sense by tradition, were mere משל וחדה - images and approximations of a substantially different reality.

In the Jewish vision, the major element of Messianic times is principally the restoration of conditions of life that allow the Jewish people to devote itself entirely to study of the Torah and practice of the "mitzvot." Those Messianic times evidently partake of the eschatological achievements to which they constitute the prelude, though the Messiah would at best be no more than a privileged instrument of God's design, strictly subject to ever-guiding divine action:

אין בין העולם הזה לימות המשיח אלא שעבוד מלכיות בלבד

"The only difference between the actual world and the Messianic era is that Israel would then no longer be subject to the nations," adds the Rambam (Kings XI: 2 in quoting a message from the Talmud (Ber. 34b). In Jewish tradition touching on Messianism, the emphasis bears essentially on the concrete liberation of Israel, a sine qua non condition for life according to the teachings of the Torah. Therein lies the mission that devolves on Israel within God's design. Fulfilment of that mission is the first stage of that plan concerning all the nations, and there can be no turning point in history before the fulfilment of this initial condition. Thus for the Judaism of those times, this does not - whatever the pressure of events - imply a return to particularist concepts, to the detriment of the universalism of the prophets. It is a matter of fulfilling an indispensable stage of God's design. And if it devolves on Israel to carry out this preliminary stage, the benefit will be enjoyed by all the nations, for God's design affects the nations as much Israel.

Neither the historic epos of Jesus, nor Christianity thereafter have brought this concrete change in the conditions of life of Israel and the nations. Moreover, we notice in New Testament scripture to what extent this vision was that of the Apostles, who nearly forsook their master who was disappointing their expectations on this precise point. They also ask him, in a context that the Acts of the Apostles

situate after the "events": "Lord, is it in these times that you will restore the Kingdom of Israel?" (Acts 1:6). In view of the volume of suffering that the different "Messianic" movements had brought upon the people, the authorities of the nation wanted to put an early end to the movement brought into being by the preaching of Jesus; they had therefore decided to deliver Jesus to the Romans before the latter took the matter into their own hands, as they had so often done before, settling any problem by means of a blood-bath. The fourth Gospel quotes the high priest as saying: "Better that one man should die for the people than that the whole nation should die" (John 11:50). And even after the events, when the young community gave an ultimate eschatological interpretation on the succession of phenomena in connection with Jesus, the de facto position did not change: the beliefs of a single small group proved powerless to enlist the support of the whole nation.

In a second stage - evolution on this plane would be very rapid - the Christian community would harden its interpretation of the nature and mission of Jesus, and emphasise his special and unique association with the very being of God. Thenceforward Christianity would finally become a *מינוח* in the eyes of Judaism, which cannot allow invocation of *כלל ישראל* while being *כופר בעקר*; one cannot at the same time put in question the principle of God's absolute uniqueness and invoke the whole concept of Jewish existence, based mainly on that principle. It is there that Judaism stops, "a-theological" though it may be, because it refuses to formulate theses on the nature of God, a nature which completely eludes human understanding. It was here that - this thesis is nowadays almost unanimously recognized - the Jewish religious authorities took the step of provoking a radical break with the Christian community, by introducing into the *שמונה עשרה* an imprecation formula, the *ברכת המנים*.

Finally, the Christian concept of a mission to the pagans, as finally prevailed with Paul, would represent for Judaism a major obstacle to any integration of the Christian community within the framework of Judaism. We here come to a central point of our subject, which is that of the Jewish concept of ethnic allegiance that

we shall deal with later. Let us say from the outset that Judaism cannot dissociate Israel's own vocation from acceptance of the Torah and the "mitzvot." There cannot be identification with the mission of the people of Israel without acceptance of the foundation of Israel. This remains true for historical times, and it is only in the eschatological perspective that it can be discussed. Through a very profound conscience of its way of being and of its path through history, the Jewish people is also bound to oppose the idea of a "new Israel" that would exist according to different modalities.

One strongly feels that we have here reached the core of Judeo-Christian antagonism. We have here sought to summarize briefly its deep-seated causes, on both sides; that is the key to comprehension of the distressing history of relations between Jews and Christians, through the centuries and down to present times. Christianity, though it has ultimately "composed" with so many nations, so many ethnic groups and so many cultures has never been able really and profoundly to recognize that Judaism has been unable to identify itself with its vision of "Israel". Having ultimately made room in its bosom for all the ethnic groups, despite a rather uniformist "neither Jews nor Greeks" initial concept from the angle of immediate expectation of the Second Coming, it had, and always had, great difficulty in granting this place to the Jewish people. The deep-seated reasons for that are evidently of a theological nature: they influence Christianity's approach to the concept of ethnic allegiance and the place that it attributes within its own system to the different ethnic groups. Concerning Israel, these same theological reasons show why Israel occupies a special place in the Christian problematic of ethnic allegiances. Only a profound theological change could modify this point of view. It would require a less exclusive interpretation of God's design, which evidently is still keeping a place for Israel according to that design's own concepts. If Israel refuses to identify itself with this "new Israel" that the Church wants, it is because such identification would lead ipso facto to "the end of the Jewish people."

V

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

Every analysis of the Christian notion of people postulates the first Christian community as people of God, and, as for a people of God this community would assume the place of, and would be a continuation of the Jewish mission, would enlarge it and would give it a new dimension.

Inasmuch as it is not the question here of a theological presentation bearing on a doctrinal background, we are refraining from the task of making a critical analysis of Christian attitudes: we face them as historical facts. What we are exclusively interested in here, is to know how things were reflected to the conscience of the first Christian communities. In this domain both the accounts of the New Testament and those of the ancient patristic tradition provide us with numerous references from which one can deduce a certain overall picture.

The Christian notion of people of God has its roots in the Jewish notion to which it is strictly indebted, and we have shown this in our analysis of New Testament terminology. We are going to speak about the influence exerted by this dependence upon the difficult process of separation of these two, the Jewish and the Christian, communities.

Through inspiration, Christianity in its origins is attached to a Jewish tendency mentioned by us and the importance of which for the development of Christianity we emphasized but which has not been discussed by us in detail; namely the eschatological and apocalyptic vision. This deficiency of our survey is due to several factors. While in view of a whole series of historical facts this eschatological tendency has not been eliminated it has however become strongly subdued in official Jewish teachings. Accordingly, eschatology has failed to mark in a decisive manner the development of ancient traditional Jewish thought. No doubt, it has always remained present: it nourishes the esoteric and cabbalistic current and it is inconceivable to ignore its influence upon Judaism as a whole. However, this current still fails to

present direct interest for our study in respect of a concrete experience of Judaism.

On the other hand, it is mainly under this angle that Christianity is linked to Judaism: with excessive concoction one may proceed as far as stating that Christianity presents itself as an extreme Jewish eschatology having a strong apocalyptic shade dominated by the idea of an immediate end of the times and the completion of history. Here we don't have to consider theological and dogmatical developments which took place subsequently. These are entirely foreign to Judaism and their historical origins have no relevance to our survey.

Belief in a crucified and resuscitated Christ who has entered the glory of God henceforth living as an exalted *Κύριος* constitutes the center of the conscience of the primitive Church as it will progressively take shape. This conscientiousness is based on the witness of the disciples bearing on their actual experiences and their meetings with the resuscitated man as a living reality. This proclamation of the resuscitated Christ will henceforth constitute the center of their faith taking hold directly of the message proclaimed by Jesus and the contents thereof.

It is around this confession and its contents — and one should beware of considering them under the angle of subsequent precise statements and doctrinal indurations — that the community of believers is taking shape. This community, while remaining part of the framework of the Jewish race, very soon differentiates itself through this very confession, considering itself as an eschatological community of the end of times. The events surrounding the person of Jesus assume an absolutely decisive significance for the community of disciples. These events, taken as a whole, constitute the eschatological fact. This eschatological fact was in turn formerly understood as the direct succession of a combination of events which have either already taken place or must still come about at the time of the next Creation which is the glorious return of Christ among his people, this being the final phase and "the end (goal) of history".

In this perspective, it is Jesus above all that the eschatological action of God becomes incarnate and the members of the community themselves take a position vis

à vis this action. Quite naturally, the phrases adopted by them are those of the Jewish apocalypses: they are the ἐκλεκτοί, "the chosen" and the ἄγιοι "the saints". They constitute the genuine ה'לה, the "congregation of the Lord", a term denoting, in the language of the time confirmed by the writings of Qumran, not only Israel in its instrumental function in God's plan as it unfolds in history but also and in addition, the eschatological community of salvation. In the language of the Κοινή, the language of the hellenistic diaspora which will soon become predominant in the young community, it is the term of ἐκκλησία which is employed by the LXX for the translation of ה'לה and which will assert itself to designate the young community envisaged as eschatological community of salvation.

The selection of this term is important and in our perspective significant. As a matter of fact, the LXX differentiate in general rather distinctly between ה'לה and ἐκκλησία, the community in a broad sense and אגודת, the community envisaged primarily under the juridical and cultural angle habitually expressed by συναγωγή. In our context, the emphasis is obviously placed, both in Judaism and in Christianity, on ה'לה, ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ, for it is the action of God which presides over this gathering and imparts in its deep significance. It is this ἐκκλησία, this community assembled by God in an eschatological perspective which, according to the Christian conception, is constructed as such by the gift of the Spirit predicted by the prophets of Israel for the end of times. This is the deep meaning of the Christian Whitsuntide.

It is this ἐκκλησία which appears already as a reality of first importance in the Apostles' Deeds and with Paul still in the sense of the "gathering assembled by the action of God manifested in Jesus-Christ and consecrated by the Spirit". In this sense, the term of "assembly" (Gemeinde) remains nearer to the original reality than that of "Church". The latter term has been gradually assuming increasingly a juridical and institutional meaning.

VI

DEVELOPMENT AND CONCRETE EXPERIENCE  
OF THE CONCEPT "PEOPLE" IN CHRISTIANITY

After our attempt to show the Christian awareness of the dimension of the "new Israel" assumed by the community of the faithful, we must return to the basic documents, the writings of the New Testament. Methodologically, this may seem a somewhat unusual procedure; but it is justified by the very development of these writings: we wanted first to record the concrete experience, before tracing the stages of its development by means of the documents.

At the level of lexicological development, the different books of the New Testament show an appreciable progression. While the term λαός is still often used as in the Septuagint, either just in the sense of "people" or more particularly for Israel as "His people" or "God's people" in contrast to the heathen ( ἔθνη ), the same term also designates the community of Jesus' disciples, without prejudice to Israel's status as God's particular people. Since the word ἐκκλησία — which, as we have seen, corresponds to קהל and, in a narrower sense, to בניאגוה — hardly occurs in the Gospels, terminological differentiation is often not easy even within a given document.

But over and beyond a terminology which is often hesitant and clearly still tentative, those same New Testament writings already show the clear outline of a new reality, which consists of no more or less than the transfer of the concept of God's people to the community of Jesus' disciples. It is this community which, from now on, becomes from the theological viewpoint the "Sitz im Leben" of events; and it is to this community that Paul, in 2 Cor., 6:16, applies the two Old Testament passages Lev. 26:12 and Ez. 37:27, when he says: "I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." In Acts, we find the same "transfer" when James says (Acts 15:14): "God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name."

Paul, in Rom. 9:23-26, alluding to Hosea 2:25 and 1:9, presents the same idea in an even more explicit way by applying an Old Testament prophecy about Israel as God's people to the Christian community which consisted of Jews and Gentiles. In the latest books of the New Testament, such as 1 Peter, the transfer of the terms used for the Old Testament's people of God to the community is an established fact. From now on, the community and the community alone is referred to as the γένος ἐκλεκτόν, βασιλείου ἱεράτευμα, ἕθνος ἁγίου, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν the "chosen generation, royal priesthood, holy nation, peculiar people" (1 Peter 2:9 with reference to Ex. 19:5-6).

What is important here is not so much the terminology and its use, as the new reality of God's people which becomes more and more clearly defined in the New Testament writings. For further particulars, and in order not to become overly involved in technical explanations, we must refer the reader to "New Testament Theologies."

Ἐκκλησία in the sense of "the definitive gathering around God of the people which He has chosen" is the key term of the "Selbstverstaendniss" of the community of the disciples. Ἐκκλησία is taken in the extended sense which it has been assuming more and more clearly in the Septuagint, with a quite appreciable eschatological overtone. By designating itself as Ἐκκλησία, the Christian community consciously establishes itself as the true community of God, the people of God at the time of the gathering at the end of days. (What we consider here, in line with our central viewpoint, is the concrete experience of the community; we do not intend to discuss the true place of eschatology in the New Testament — a question much discussed in exegesis, and, incidentally, a controversial one.) It is in this sense that the term is of capital importance in Acts and the Pauline Epistles.

We consider the matter therefore at the level at which, in the awareness of the community, the identification of Jesus' disciples, Jewish and Gentile alike, with God's people has clearly become an established fact. We are not concerned

here to know in what measure that identification was justified or not, or what, from this viewpoint, is the function of an Israel which refuses this identification. Those questions are extremely important, but are purely a matter for the theologian.

#### Development in the Life of the Church

One might think that in the Christian system, the central idea of gathering and unification replaces the concept of people in the earlier sense of a well-defined human community; but that would be a too abstract and too exclusively theological view of Christianity. Still, in the classical Christian view, salvation in Jesus Christ is the revelation of God's design for all mankind, and the main task is therefore that of uniting all in the belief in salvation. And since the primitive community apparently lived in the expectation that the Second Coming was at hand, there was in those times no precise conception of its circumstances.

For the New Testament writings and the Church fathers, the problem remains from the theological viewpoint "the union of the two peoples in a single one" — the "two peoples" being the Jews and the Gentiles. The terms are taken over from the Jewish tradition, in which Gentile stands for the whole pagan, that is, non-Jewish world. Certain Church fathers go farther and exclude the actual Israel — in other words, the Jewish people — from this view. For them the "great gathering" relates to an "Ecclesia ex Gentibus", in which the final integration of the Jewish people becomes a specifically eschatological event which will — or, according to opinion, will not — take place only at the end of days.

In reality, the problem is obviously one of the actual integration of the Gentiles in the Christian community (we shall from here on purposely disregard the question of the place of the Jew in this context); not the integration of an abstraction, but of a complex reality. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to separate the individual from his ethnical, sociological or cultural context. The vital question for the Church will be how to integrate these ethnical, sociological and cultural characteristics as living entities. What value does the Church assign to the human

reality of a given people's ethnical and cultural community — or that of an individual as member of that people — in the progression towards the ideal unity? In putting the question in this form, we leave past for present history, for we are not concerned here with considering the question from the historical angle. What we want to know is what the present position of the Church facing the present actual world is.

We know that the Church, carried away by its missionary zeal aiming at ingathering all for salvation, has not always avoided the danger of identifying with this or that culture. Every nationalism, every particularism has been able to claim it. Though pretending to being "catholic" in the sense of universal, it has in course of time nevertheless allied itself with every particularism of thought and of politics. Its message became so strongly imprinted by the sum total of these successive influences that it could not be stated otherwise than clad in the language of a given civilization, — a language which had to be adopted first to be able to approach that civilization. In the awareness of its universal mission, it wanted to use the powers of this world and come to terms with them; but it has gradually allowed itself to become their servant. It has created the image of "Christian" and even of "most Christian" nations. Today, the Church acknowledges the facts and is aware that it has largely been overtaken by the events. It sees that the message which it wanted to communicate and teach by these means is being obliterated rapidly.

Faced with this failure, the Church of Christ — the Churches — searches its conscience. The problem is clearly universal, with no sectarian distinctions, though the specific situations may differ according to circumstances. Willingly or not — and often most reluctantly — the Church must admit that it is in a situation of crisis, and must therefore review its positions. It does so hesitatingly, while being continually overtaken by a more and more rapid development.

It is on this plane that the Church is beginning to realize that the "locus theologicus" is not a great theological synthesis to which matters must be subordinated artificially, but man as he is in his environment and as he is conditioned by his environment. If it wants to be able to reach him, the Church must purify its language

and its mode of being; it must be within his reach, meet him within his own universe. Its message must regain its universal dimension, and at the same time become capable of adapting itself to widely differing situations.

This need is what makes the Church consider in the first place the nature of its mission in the world and to the world. It must realize that unity does not mean uniformity, but the ability to diversify widely thanks to a common inspiration which, far from reducing human values to a common level, can take its place within any specific situation, raise it to a different level, and enable it to progress in turn towards the common aim.

Hence, the Church must return to its own sources of inspiration. If it is to be truly universal, available to all and at the service of all men, it must to a certain degree "disincarnate" and divest itself of the many accretions which, in the course of the ages, have been superimposed on each other to the extent of rendering its irre recognizable. Only a Church which has been repurified in this sense will be able to rethink its mission to man, to men and to the world.

Always and at all levels, the Church will be an "assembly", an "assembled community"; not, however, an abstract and by definition ideal community, but a concrete brotherhood able to give room to man in his normal ethical and cultural context. Thus the Church will not be first and foremost a hierarchial institution — though that is a legitimate aspect and there is no question of rejecting it —, but a permanent gathering of men as such around God and His Word. In that sense, the primate reverts to the concrete human community: the institution's function is to provide the link between the communities. As a concrete human community, the local Church is not an abstract entity which must be subordinated to a central administration, just as the universal Church is not a mere side-by-side of local communities. The entire historical situation makes it therefore necessary to redefine the mutual links between the community and the Church from the bottom up; and we must never forget that the link uniting the Churches is in the first place not administrative but pneumatic: they will or will not be united to the extent that they

really intercommunicate in one same spirit. That is the point where they will truly be "the Church of God" while remaining gatherings of men.

Such a view excludes equally any too individualistic conception and amounts, in a certain sense, to an upgrading of the basic community with all that that implies. Touched by the message of the Church, man is not alone, isolated from a context, a kind of monad, but in the first place a member of a community of men: and as such he becomes a member of God's people, with which together he will have to travel towards a common aim, in perfect solidarity and to the exclusion of any idea of any-one being subordinate to others.

This "people of God", while consisting basically of clearly distinct unities, is, as we have already seen, a concrete people, composed of concrete human units on the march. It is therefore at the same time a historical reality, a present fact that a future development, and we cannot disregard any of these essential aspects if we want to understand it. The Church as God's people in the process of gathering does not hover over the events, but makes its way within those events. It is, as we have said, a permanent gathering, not a rigid institution proceeding simply by acquiring individuals. Some traits of the Church which we mention here seem almost to be part of a caricature, but they nevertheless correspond to conceptions which, as a matter of history, were capable of prevailing at certain not too remote times. As a truly living assembly, the Church must be capable of taking in what men bring to it without dehumanizing them and without regarding it as its task to force them into a uniform mould. The Church must shoulder its past without becoming fixed in a static view of itself: it must be there in the present without wanting to shape it according to its own image, and it must prepare the future without wanting to lean onesidedly on its creative forces. This is how it can regain the dynamic quality which is the justification for its existence, and its main function, which is to provide the transition from a beginning of realization, marked by the coming of Christ, and an end, which is the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Such a Church, deeply involved in the human reality, cannot escape from the human condition. It is not and cannot be the ideal community, but it is the ideal

community in statu fieri: it is growing towards the ideal. It is not without fault, without error or without sin, and instead of defending the often deviant attitudes it has assumed in the past — everything can be explained if it is put in its historical context — it should rather acknowledge its errors and try to avoid them.

That is why the Church's progress through time is always in the first place a process of continuous purification and renewal. The true eschatological fulfilment calls for the presence of a new people of God which the Church must become; and the process of becoming that new people of God — by definition a process of progressive purification — is not completed. We must be very careful not to identify the Church either with God's people or with God's kingdom; in its present state, it is neither, though it is very directly at the service of both.

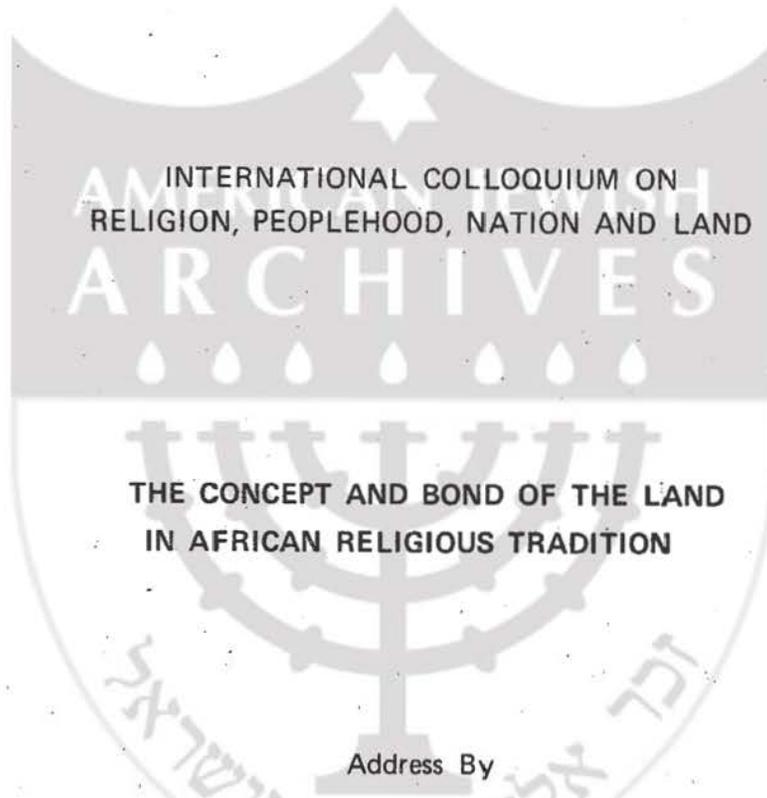
If the coming of Jesus, in Christian terms, means the beginning of the "end of days", we must never forget that it is after all only a beginning directed towards an end which lies in the future. It is the interval between these two poles which is the "tempus Ecclesiae", the time of the Church, a time of service to man, not a time marked by the concern for domination on the part of an institution acting exactly in the manner of the powers of this world.

The entire future of the Church in our civilization and in our present world depends on this. Will it be able to go back beyond its past errors to find its true mission, its true way of being and its first inspiration again? Will it be able to carry out its reconversion in metanoia, in humble acknowledgement of its mistakes? Is it ready to accept man in order to lead him on this road, to liberate him from compulsion and bring him nearer to God? Will it at long last be able to be a guide on this road rather than an obstacle, as it has so often been? Will it cease being the opposite of all this in its actual behaviour, in its reaction to events, in facing reality in all its complexity? It is for the Church to answer this, not by cheap words, but by its actions, by its manner of being and its actual conduct, for those alone can assure it of new credibility. Only then can it become a chosen instrument for the "populorum progressio", for the betterment of nations and of men; only then can it be truly present in the world, while never forgetting that the realities towards which it must lead man are not "of this world."

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INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON  
RELIGION, PEOPLEHOOD, NATION AND LAND

ARCHIVES

THE CONCEPT AND BOND OF THE LAND  
IN AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITION

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Rome

Jerusalem, Nov. 1 - 7, 1970

THE CONCEPT AND BOND OF THE LAND  
IN AFRICAN RELIGIOUS TRADITION

It has been pointed out that the Africans are easily inclined to attach great importance to the religious aspect of the land. This has been observed with regard to modern African writers such as L. S. Senghor, K. A. Busia and J. Kenyatta (Biebuyck, p. 33).

Indeed, the religious connotation is one of the many aspects that the concept of land can imply. To the westerners, however, it is not the most obvious one. Westerners are more utilitarian in their present approach to land, and, therefore, they consider it mainly as an economic reality that can be measured and allotted in order to be inhabited and cultivated: it can, thus, be exploited for profit. It is also seen as a political entity, and becomes, then, the 'fatherland', a sacred entity. It would not be correct, however, to describe this 'sacredness' as something religious, except in a rather vague and very broad sense. It is an emotional attitude more than a religious relationship.

In western countries there are, of course, places and localities that are marked by shrines or cemeteries or other particular monuments of this kind. They are historical places, tied to some event or legend, which attract the devotion and piety of the faithful, but which cannot be identified with the land as such.

It is, thus, worth analyzing what it is that makes the Africans so prone to the religious aspect of their land. The tie with whatsoever spiritual power and the ancestors, which the Africans sense through their land, are indeed mystical, but they are very real, to the point of causing deep emotion which may even become explosive and violent.

We must be reminded that it is the Africans' point of view on the land that we must understand. As Paul Bohannan observed "thinking about land has been and remains largely ethnocentric" (Bohannan, p. 101). In the African systems of thought the land is

an integral part of a whole that includes religion as a basic co-efficient, not as a marginal aspect. Thus land, as any other element of that whole, is deeply blended in religion.

Audrey L. Richards, in her approach to the problem of land among the Bemba of Zambia, remarks that it is important to describe the general attitude of the people towards their environment; so much so that the Bemba, she notes, look at the presence or absence of trees as a sign of productive or unproductive soil (Richards, p. 230). I would like to add that such a significance is not true solely for the utilitarian interests that go with the land, but also for its religious aspects. Everywhere in Africa there are spots and localities marked by a religious character, such as mountains, woods, trees, initiation lands, etc.

Kenyatta describes a mogumo tree, the sole survivor of the sacred trees in his neighbourhood: "it was a huge tree, round which a variety of trees grew; thus it was an outstanding landmark" (Kenya, p. 249). In fact, within Kikuyuland it is still possible to see such huge trees or woods that have always been respected, and are still used for sacrifice. For the Kikuyu the abode of Ngai, their high God, is Mount Kenya. Kikuyu elders, also, when they sacrifice and pray, turn to the different mountain tops, to the north, to the east, to the south and to the west (Kenya, p. 249).

It is not hazardous, then, to state that the general attitude of the Africans to land was not devoid, in their tradition, of a religious significance.

#### THE EARTH AND THE LAND.

We have now to take note of the difference between the earth and the land. The earth is something universal: it extends as far as the horizon and even beyond it. The land is limited: it is a parcel of that universe which is the earth. The idea of the earth, just for its universality, offers itself readily to abstraction and symbolisation; it can even be seen as a deity. The concept of land is more concrete, it is palpable: land can be settled, it can be cultivated, it can be sold, it can be abandoned. It is intimately intricated with all human social life.

There is great variety of forms with regard to the earth in African tradition. As known, creation myths are not very rich in Africa. Generally it is not said how the earth came into being; its presence is taken for granted.

The creation myth of the Dogon, recorded by Griaule, is one of the few where we are told how the earth came into being. It was formed from a small piece of the primeval placenta (Griaule, p. 184-88). Ogo, the son of Amma (the Creator), committed incest and ruined the plan of his father. Nommo, one of Ogo's twins, offered himself to die, and having to die, and having been sacrificed, he was buried inside the earth and rose to life again, thus making possible the creation of man. This intimate connection with the first acts of creation has tributed a mark of sacredness to the earth. For that reason all the land is considered as sacred by the Dogon, and when it is toiled, the modes and system of cultivation must be performed as a re-enactment of the grandiose events of the beginning.

Among other peoples of West Africa, like the Tallensi, the Ibo, the Jukun, the earth is conceived as a divinity. The Tallensi, says Fortes, stand in awe of the Earth. They speak of it as a living thing, meaning by this that it intervenes mystically in human affairs in the same way as the ancestor spirits do; (Fortes, 1945, p. 176).

For the Ibo there is a whole pantheon of alosi or spirits who have received power to control the various aspects of nature from the supreme being, Chuku. "In many ways the most important of the alosi is Ani, the personalized Earth. She is the ruler of the land of the dead, the guardian of the community's moral code, the bringer of fertility, and the supervisor of the farming cycle" (Horton, p. 23).

"The Kikuyu", writes Kenyatta, "consider the earth as the 'mother' of the tribe, for the reason that the mother bears her burden for about eight or nine moons while the child is in her womb, and then for a short period of suckling. But it is the soil that feeds the child through lifetime; and again after death it is the soil that nurses the spirits of the dead for eternity. Thus the earth is the most sacred thing above all that dwells in or on it. Among the Kikuyu the soil is especially honoured, and an everlasting oath is to swear by the Earth". (Kenyatta, p. 21).

I would comment on this by underlining the difference between the idea of the earth of the Kikuyu and the conception of the same among the Tallensi and Ibo. The Kikuyu consider the earth as a mother; but it is not the classic idea of the Great Mother Earth, conceived as a divinity. I would rather describe it as a secularized version of it. Indeed, it views the earth as a mysterious being that harbours the dead in its inside as a mother nourishes her child in her womb. The Tallensi and Ibo regard the Earth as a personification, a real being, a god or a spirit. For all these peoples, the Dogon, the Tallensi, the Ibo and the Kikuyu, the earth is sacred, but the meaning behind it, i. e. the reason for that sacredness, are quite divergent.

#### THE EARTH AS SYMBOL

Such a conceptualisation of the earth starts from its actual surface, its vastness, its mysterious character that bears a hidden power of life. For this reason it becomes a symbol, a reality that signifies something of another nature, unknown.

To the Tallensi, as Fortes writes, "it is the symbol of the forces that promote the common welfare of all mankind without discrimination". The attitude of the Tallensi is very logical and very significant. "Just as the earth's surface is limitless, so the mystical power of the Earth is universal". A wandering stranger is not entirely stranger; he is "a thing on the earth". He should not be attacked; though, of course, he must be handed to the chief for protection. (Fortes, 1945, p. 176).

I wish to refer to an analogous concept of the Mbuti of the Congo, concerning the forest. "The forest is the godhead, rather than being its abode; hence the sanctity of the forest, and the profanity of anything that is not the forest. That this is so is seen in the almost universal answer given when faced, either among themselves in the course of discussion or directly, by the question of where pepo (the life force) derives from. The answer is that it derives from the forest itself. Not just the trees or streams, or the sky or the soil, but from the totality, down to the last grain of sand". (Turnbull, p. 252).

The totality of the forest in the same way as the universality of the earth goes beyond all human limited possibilities. 'The forest', 'the earth', are thus proper terms for describing the supernatural that exists beyond and above man.

An analogous phenomenon can be observed among the pastoral nomads of East Africa. I personally recorded a prayer of the Samburu elders of Baragoi, south of Lake Rudolph. The prayer was communal. The leader remained standing while pronouncing the invocations; all the others, squatting, replied in chorus to the litany. The prayers started by direct invocations to Eng-ai;

Leader	Chorus
Ngai ya Baragoi	Ngai ai
Ngai ya Maralal	Ngai ai
Ngai ya Marsabit	Ngai ai
etc.	

Baragoi, Maralal, Marsabit are villages at opposite points, and are named as points of reference so as to describe the universality of the earth and by that they indicate the domain of God. While stating the invocation, the leader turned in direction of each village, using his staff to point toward them. It was also clearly apparent that by calling to the Ngai of each place, he was not directing to a plural deity, but to one and the same god which possessed power over all the earth. Such a meaning is very similar to the attitude of the Kikuyu elders, when they turn to the mountains which surround their land at the four points, to revere God while they sacrifice to him.

In the prayer of the Samburu the universality of the earth is not stressed in order to give relief to the earth as such, but rather to symbolize the universality of God's presence and power. For the Samburu it is God the living being, not the earth. I do not think it would be correct to describe the concept of the earth on the part of the Samburu as religious, though it would be rash to deny that they attach to it some sense of sacredness.

We have seen, then, that the concept of the earth can be used differently as a means of religious symbolisation in connection with the idea of God above. It can be

described as intimately involved with the beginning of the world; it can be personified as a divinity with special power from God; it can be assumed as an apt indication of the limitless presence of God.

#### THE FERTILITY OF THE LAND

We are still to consider the sacredness of the earth from its 'below'. Every man depends on it for his sustenance. Be he a gatherer or an agriculturalist or a shepherd, he is anxious to see the blossoming of the seeds from inside of the earth.

To most African peoples, though not to all of them, the mysterious power inside the earth is seen in direct connection with the ancestors. We have seen the earth compared to a pregnant mother, due to the fact that the ancestors are like her children who have returned into her womb after their life in this world. The idea of fertility or the relation with the ancestors modifies, as it were, the concept of the earth into a very definite reality with its limits and borders, and thus the earth is better described in terms of land.

In African languages this concept of land may be expressed by some precise words. The Bemba, by the word mpanga, indicate one whole stretch of land, that is all bush and all potentially cultivable: "They believe that mpanga is under the influence of supernatural beings, the spirits (imipashi) of dead chiefs, who reigned over the country, or the ancestors of the headmen in charge of individual villages. They conceive of the bush as a whole, yielding or withholding its produce according to the good or ill will of the supernatural powers." (Richards, p.234).

The Kikuyu word githaka describes a similar stretch of land that could be exploited by cultivation and forms the estates of individual and shallow lineages. It is the githaka that is thought of most in connection with the ancestors, though the ancestor's communion with the living is not restricted to the land but to all other aspects of social life.

The Tiv say tar for a territory inhabited by a lineage segment. Every Tiv has a right to farm in the tar. There seems to be no special relationship between the land and the ancestors according to the Tiv.

## THE ANCESTORS

Let us analyze better the relationship of the land with the ancestors. Land must be occupied. The first occupation goes together with the foundation of some social unit and possibly some political structure. The stories of the founding fathers are thus recalled to explain the established right held on the land. They are what Malinowsky aptly described as the 'mythical charter of land rights'. The figure of the first settler or settlers goes through a phenomenon of mythopoesis by which it can be exalted to some sort of divine rank, ruling over the land with which he is or they are somehow identified.

These mythical accounts are very significant in order to understand the position of chiefs and groups of recognized descendants of the first settlers with regard to land. The kings and the ruling strata that are found in so many countries of Africa explain mostly in those terms their political privileges.

In some traditions the ancestors were declared to be the real owners of the land. The expression could have a political as well as a religious meaning. The Paramount Chief of the Bemba, praying for rain, addressed himself to his ancestors in these words: "You, the owner of the land, look now. We have not yet seen any porridge, fish, meat, and all sorts of food." (Richards, p.236).

The Tallensi say that "the land really belongs to the ancestors who first cultivated it" and therefore they invoke their blessing upon any new recipient of land, because "without this, they believe, failure and even disaster would overtake him when he starts farming". (Fortes, 1949, p.310).

We are advised not to interpret this principle of the ownership of the land on the part of the ancestors "in a static manner" (Verdier, p.29). I am inclined

here to refer to the interpretation of the ancestors worship by J. Kenyatta in terms of "communion with ancestral spirits". "The gifts which an elder gives to the ancestors' spirits", writes Kenyatta, "are nothing but the tributes symbolizing the gifts which the departing elders would have received had they been alive, and which the living elders now receive". (Kenyatta, p.226).

This has much in common with the comments of the Lo Dagaba by Goody: "The offerings to ancestral beings are not made simply out of the goodness of man's heart. They are made not as gifts, but in fulfillment of obligations to those who expect offerings because they have helped to provide the living with earthly goods. As ancestors they continue to belong to the same property holding corporation that they belonged to in life and are entitled to share in the gains that accrue to their descendants". (Goody, p.414).

#### SOCIAL VALUE OF THE LAND

With regard to land the dynamic interest of ancestors is primarily expressed in terms of fertility. To ensure that aim one has to keep in constant communion with them. In this sense the Bemba call the land lucky or unlucky. The luck of the land "is in the hands of ancestral spirits to grant or withhold at will". The unluckiness of the land is caused by the anger of the ancestors roused by breaking a tribal code, or failing in some ceremonial observance or in the failure to carry out one's obligations to his chief. (Richards, pp.234-235).

The blessing of the land by the ancestors is thought as the main coefficient for the social cohesion of a community. A fertile land is clear evidence of the ancestors' pleasure. A land that has become barren or eroded represents a curse, and having lost not only its fertility but also its dynamic force of cohesion and continuity, is to be abandoned.

We are led to interpret migratory movements not solely in terms of political or utilitarian motives, but also in spiritual and religious sense. The land, in such cases,

takes on the real value of symbol in the same manner as we have noted in relation to the concept of the earth.

The symbolizing value of the land is best seen in its social effects. "In Tale social organisation there is an intrinsic connection between every defined social group or part of a social group and a specific location." (Fortes, 1945, p. 171). This kind of generalisation can be applied to all societies of Africa. We should, however, be mindful of the recommendation made by P. Bohannan "to investigate the distinction between territorial groups and the spatial dimension of society". (Bohannan, p. 110).

The spatial dimension is part of the essence of society, of any society; the territorial dimension is not. In other words, territories can change: they can even be done without. We see societies migrate from one territory to another, move from one land to another, but, at the same time, we see also how a territory or a land is valued emotionally, how deep attachments and dedication to it can arise. There seems to be a sort of contradictory paradox in these attitudes, but we have to account with them, if we want to comprehend the complexity of the concept of land and understand certain changes that have taken place with regard to land in Africa in these last decades.

#### THE CHIEFS AND THE SHRINES

A main evidence of the religious aspect of the concept of land in Africa is to be seen in her rituals. I propose to analyze it in the role played by the chiefs or kings, and in the erection and function of land-shrines. The chief, in the old tradition of Africa, can be described as the living symbol of the community in its continuity with the past, in its present cohesion, and in its future developments. He can be described as the incarnation of the ancestors.

The reth of the Shilluk was identified with Nyikang, the mythical founder of the dynasty: Nyikang is the reth, the reth is Nyikang. (Howell, p. 102). The Mukama of the Nyoro is identified with the country and he must be maintained in a state of

both physical well being and of ritual purity; he is also held to perform certain ceremonies daily, mostly with regard to cattle "for the good of the country". (Beattie, p. 136-37). In the same way, the primary duty of the Swazi king was to perform the national ritual for rain. (Kuper, p. 165 and 171).

"When the Bemba chief is installed he acquires, as guardian spirits, the imi-pashi of the dead rulers of the land, of whom he is of course the lineal descendant in the matrilineal line. Hereafter he is believed in his own person to affect the fortunes of his land". (Richards, p. 248). Among the Bwa "the role of the village head is to be the personification of the territorial unity of the village, being the sole depository of those rights acquired by the ancestors over the territory of the village; he has also charge of all the shrines; every sacrifice must have his approval." (Capron, p. 139-140). The headman of the Luapula villages, described as the owner of the village, must also be ritually efficient. (Cunnison, p. 2).

In other chiefless societies governed, as among the Masai and the Kikuyu, by councils of elders, it is the elders who are the living link with the ancestors and become ritually responsible for the welfare of the country.

"A land", states Gluckman, "either is itself the focus of shrines and ritual or it is associated with the principal ritual symbol of the tribe". (Gluckman, p. 104). For that reason he prefers the expression land-shrines to rain-shrines in connection with the Tonga of Zambia, described by Colson.

The Tonga are known to be organized around land-shrines, so that their social organisation is so tied to them that the Tonga settle their villages in an area centred around a shrine for rain-making. As long as the shrines are thought to be efficacious they are frequented; when they are not, then new shrines are built and villages move around them.

The Lo Daga, as the Tallensi, build shrines to their ancestors as the centre of their compounds. These shrines may also be moved if a house is abandoned, and they can also be carried back again to their original spot if the people decide to return to their former place. (Goody, pp. 382-385).

We can thus see that shrines perform a function of linking a people to a locality. They are, so to speak, an evidence of the bond to the land, an aspect that we are going to discuss presently.

Before doing so, let us summarize what has been said about the concept of land in African tradition. There is, as seen, ample evidence for attaching a religious implication to that concept, and there is no doubt that the idea of land has, for the Africans, a religious significance. This generalisation, however, is not to be taken as univocal. It is not. It implies various and even divergent interpretations.

We can say, thus, that land is a pregnant term, which carries different facets including a strong religious one. Such a phenomenon is not peculiar to Africa. The land, the country, the fatherland, are more or less sacred realities for every people. Paradoxically, it can also be taken in an entirely secularized sense and considered simply as the soil that can be exploited for utilitarian motives. Being such a significant term, it is understandable that for the Africans, as for any other people, it may excite personal emotions and become the reason for heavy passions, even to the point of justifying the use of violence.

#### COMMUNAL OWNERSHIP

In his analysis of the dynamics of the lineage system among the Tallensi, M. Fortes states that "the bonds between a community and a locality and between an individual and land are summed up in the idea of ownership." (Fortes, 1945, p. 171). This generalisation is certainly valid for all societies. A peculiar and consistent feature of the African societies was its being communal. It was primarily the social groups as such that claimed the property of the land. Even when chiefs are described as the sole owners of the land, they are so only in the sense that they symbolize their people as a whole and guarantee the continuity of the community. Be they divine kings or mere headmen, they are expected to

honour the ancestors through sacred rites, to protect the rights of every individual in connection with land, to allot the land to each member of their community and to preserve it for the coming generations.

Also the right of every individual, in all African tradition, was accepted as definite as soon as he was recognized as a full member of the community, i. e. after initiation.

We need not enter into an analysis of the different forms that communal and individual ownership may take within the African land-systems. Our import is to analyze the influence of religion on these types of bonds. I think this is best shown if we revert to the concept of the ancestors as the first and sole owners of the land.

When it is stated that the above must be interpreted in a dynamic sense we are called to stress the link of the ancestors with their living and future descendants. The reality of the ancestors is mystical and can only be expressed by rituals.<sup>1</sup> In an analogous way future members of the community are not yet real and they can only be prayed for. But all of them, the ancestors, their living and future descendants, constitute a whole, the community in its entirety. Such a concept is best expressed in the witty definition of the Yoruba idile: "A vast family of which many are dead, few living and countless members yet unborn". (Sertorio, p. 111).

Thus, the expression 'the ancestors are the owners of the land' is tantamount to saying that the community is the owner of the land. A possible expression as the following 'our unborn children are the sole owners of the land' would have a similar value.

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(1) I take the term 'ritual' in the sense used by M. Gluckman with reference to the Tonga: "we define these highly conventionalized performances as ritual because people believe that they help - by mystical means outside of sensory observation and control - to protect, purify or enrich the participants and their group." (Gluckman, p. 251).

The acute sense of community of the Africans is thus plainly explained because they realize their connection with the ancestors and their responsibility to their children. It is a deeply religious sense, though, again, not in a static meaning but in a dynamic one.

In this perspective it is not merely the idea of ownership that must be seen, but such other basic concepts as inheritance, alienability or inalienability of the land. Indeed, all transactions with regard to land need to be sanctioned by a ritual.

That the bond to their land was not so static is clearly evidenced by the continual movements of the Africans so that migration from one place to another, and even from one region to another, has always been prominent in African tradition. Even among the Tonga, land-shrines "like a sea-anchor, slowed the drift of the people, without stopping it." (Gluckman, p. 107).

At this stage we can be assisted in our analysis by the distinction of a society and its bond to a definite piece of land. "To attach people to a piece of land", the Tiv believe, "is tantamount to disavowing his rights in social groups". (Boahannan, p. 110). I do not think that there is any contradiction between these acute social beliefs of the Tiv and the basic bond of the Africans to their land. Indeed, it is the spatial dimension of a society, i. e. the relationship of a community to a territory that it owns communally, that is of essential importance.

Right to land, and land seen as a concrete physical ability of supplying all its members with means for their sustenance, was considered as part of the nature, I would say a sacred commitment, of any African community.

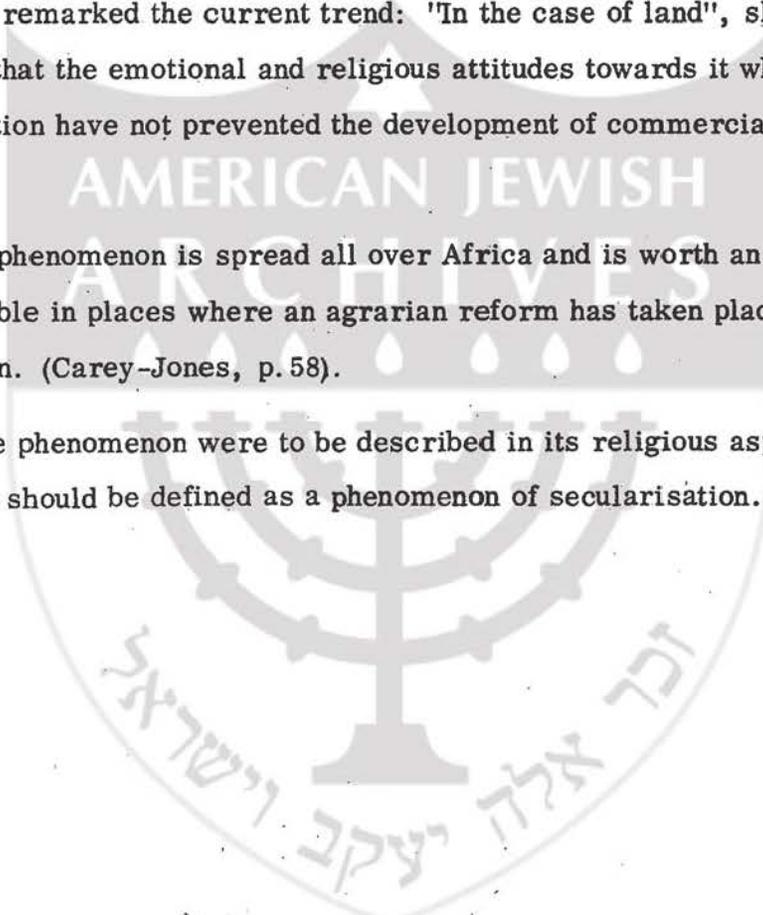
One is not surprised, thus, at the violent reaction of the Kikuyu in their fight for a land whose shortage had become serious due to the demographic development and also to the occupation by the white settlers of areas that were the property of their community. In an analogous way, the fight of the Freemen of Meru in Tanzania against their eviction from their lands can be summarized in this statement: "What probably hit the Wa Meru hardest was the realization that the entire North Meru Reserve did not belong to them". (Nelson, p. 25).

## SECULARIZATION

Against this traditional background, if we look at the present situation of Africa we see it deeply altered. The process of change has gone a long way towards an utilitarian attitude. As far back as 1948, Lucy Mair in an analysis of the same problem had already remarked the current trend: "In the case of land", she wrote, "it is abundantly clear that the emotional and religious attitudes towards it which are inculcated by native tradition have not prevented the development of commercial attitudes." (Mair, p. 185).

The phenomenon is spread all over Africa and is worth an extended analysis. It is most visible in places where an agrarian reform has taken place in terms of land consolidation. (Carey-Jones, p. 58).

If the phenomenon were to be described in its religious aspect, there is no doubt that it should be defined as a phenomenon of secularisation.



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