

CULTURE AND CONVICTION

CULTURE, THE MARK AND MEASURE OF CONVICTION IN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

*This study paper was prepared with the  
help of a grant in 1982 from the esteemed  
Ministry of Education  
Republic of Korea*

Theodore Hard, Th. M.\*

Kosin College and Korea Theological Seminary

---

\*教授

## Preface

This small offering is an attempt of the writer to undergird a previous small offering in the general area of this subject. It was a classroom syllabus, later published as part of a larger book (in Korean) entitled *Religion and Society*. The syllabus, in both English and Korean, attempted a basis for, and application of, Christian cultural awareness in rural Korea. It is hoped that a larger work can someday appear combining and improving both offerings.

Now in his thirtieth year of missionary service with the Korea Mission of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, and witness of the growth and maturing of the Korean churches, the writer urges attention to the much-neglected subject of this paper. It is not a matter of being more self-conscious about the need for a Christian culture -- both for the church's own benefit, and also the nation's and the world's. It is not a matter of taking up new slogans, new techniques, or adopting new programs or emphases. It is rather the matter of inner integrity, character, sincerity, and virtue. Truth and love are the keys to Christian culture -- the truth given from God, and the love shown to God and God's image-bearers.

The author is honored with, and renders sincere thanks for, the opportunity to present this paper as a grant-funded research project from the Ministry of Education, and for the special permission to

present it in typewritten form. This puts all the greater responsibility on me, not only for content, but also for format. It is hoped that an author-edited and author-prepared camera-ready manuscript, in spite of some crudities, can speed the time between writing and reading, and better help the reader sense nuances of the writer's thinking.

Both during the aggregate of fourteen months of research in India, and in the many weeks of writing this paper both in India and in Korea, my wife was constantly at hand -- as research assistant, as editing critic, as logistics manager, and as typist. How does one thank one's own right hand? Appreciation is also noted for the hospitality and generosity of many friends and acquaintances in India -- of various faiths and cultures -- who have given me of their time, information, and considered thoughts, and often use of their books.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Introduction

I. Culture - Its Meaning, Parts and Evaluation

II. The Presuppositional Stance of the Writer - A Christian Viewpoint

III. A Broad and Selective Survey of Historical Cultures and Related Religions

1. The so-called primitive religions and their cultural expression

2. Classical civilization

3. Hinduism and its cultural expression

4. Buddhism and its cultural expression

5. Minority religions in India and their cultural expression

Jainism. The Parsees. The Sikhs.

6. Christianity

IV. The Need for and Possibility of a Christian (Reformed) Culture Today

Concluding Considerations

CULTURE AND CONVICTION

CULTURE, THE MARK AND MEASURE OF CONVICTION  
IN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

"It strikes me that a religious belief could only be something like a commitment to a system of reference. Hence, although it's *belief*, it's really a way of living, or a way of assessing life.... It's passionately seizing hold of *this* interpretation."<sup>1</sup>

"Perhaps one day this civilization will produce a culture."<sup>2</sup>

"What I live by I impart." - St. Augustine

INTRODUCTION

"The Christian church, it is all too clear, no longer enjoys a cultural hegemony or takes an influential stance in the world. We live in a secular age."<sup>3</sup>

Many reasons can be given for this fact. For one, the development of science has focused men's thoughts on this world, given him a confidence and a control of power, wealth and health in ways unimaginable

1) L. Wittgenstein, *Culture and Value* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980), p: 64e.

2) *Ibid.*

3) D. Vickers, *A Christian Approach to Economics and the Cultural Tradition* (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1982), p. 19.

in earlier centuries. Riding through space in ships that travel many times the speed of a bullet, millions of pounds of thrust or millions of tons of explosive power at finger-tip control, sending voice commands that actuate mechanical servants millions of miles away -- what ancient king ever had such power? Cloning, mechanical hearts, computers in living-rooms, ready-to-eat food in spoilproof packaging in every home, and bathroom closets supplied with medicines no wizard of centuries ago even dreamed of -- such is today's fabulous wealth. King, magician, priest, never had it so good!

Man's confidence is more and more in man himself, not in God with us. Significantly, western man had already interpreted the world in recent centuries (at least from the time of the middle ages) in such a way as to help foster an over-weening self-confidence and world focus, and the turning from infinite concerns, so common to civilized man today. Herman Dooyeweerd points out that although the secularization of science and intellectual pursuits was accomplished by the influence of post-renaissance humanism, there was already a previous view of the world within "Christian" circles that prepared the way for the renaissance and for post-renaissance secularism.<sup>1</sup>

Dooyeweerd considers the view of medieval Catholic Scholasticism to be a departure from true Christian thinking in its motive of nature over against grace -- a central motive in Scholastic thinking, he says. In short, he believes Scholastic thinking attempted a synthesis of Aristotelian and Greek thought concerning the nature of the cosmos and its forces, and the teaching of the Bible -- this latter limited basically to biblical teaching on grace.

Opposite from the ex nihilo creation teaching of the Bible is the Greek view that matter itself cannot have its origin in the divine principle of form.<sup>2</sup>

The tension between resistant eternally-existent stuff and the organizing

1) H. Dooyeweerd, translated by Robert D. Knudsen, *The Secularization of Science* (mimeographed, no date), p. 2.  
2) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

cultural aspect of man -- with no infinite pre-existent God in the picture -- was imported much as-is into the Scholastic world-view, without a resolution of the conflict involved.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, Thomism developed a synthetic conception in which the Greek view, more or less intact, was combined with the doctrine of Christian grace.

This synthesis tended to disintegrate in the 14th and 15th centuries when, in nominalism, a rigid antithesis developed in the thought of the Ockham and Averroistic schools. According to Ockham, says Dooyeweerd, "science is limited to the knowledge of relations between universals. The criterion of scientific truth is located within the human understanding itself."<sup>2</sup>

This development also involved the complete secularization of natural reason. For though depreciated, natural reason was completely divorced from divine revelation.<sup>3</sup>

If Dooyeweerd is correct, the secularism of the renaissance period is more than understandable. It was to have been expected on the basis of the momentum in thought preparatory to renaissance developments, even though the humanists of the renaissance period and after expressed abhorrence of Scholastic thinking.

#### ANOTHER STREAM

However, not all humanists were revolting from the Church or the Christian religion.

Humanists profess to despise the study of logic and of natural philosophy, so much cultivated during the preceding centuries. On the other hand, the opposition to medieval logic and natural philosophy found in many of the Humanists was far from being an opposition to the Church or to the Christian religion.<sup>4</sup>

1) Dooyeweerd, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Ibid.*

4) ed. Cassirer, *et al.*, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 4.

Among these, there were men also interested in the Bible -- in Christian theology -- who may rightly be called "heirs of the most authentic elements of the Christian tradition." These different kind of humanists did not part company with the Reformers as did those other humanists, some of whom were "heirs of pagan antiquity."<sup>1</sup>

André Biéler, a minister of the Gospel and lecturer at the University of Geneva, who held a doctorate in Economic Science, admits that John Calvin rather violently opposed the humanists. But, he insists, that opposition was because of their atheism and exclusive man-centeredness, not humanism itself.<sup>2</sup> To the name of Calvin, a humanist of the highest degree, Biéler adds the names of several others.

The return to antiquity which the Renaissance sponsored was for a Lefèvre d'Étaples, a Marguerite of Navarre, or a Guillaume Budé, and even for a François Rabelais, also a return to the springs of Jewish and Christian civilization. Hence these men studied anew the text of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>3</sup>

This divide between students of man continues down the years. Some are atheistic and man-exalting, but some are theistic and Christian, dedicating their best human and "humanistic" pursuits in science and the arts to God in Jesus Christ. We do not stop with our reference to France or to early Renaissance times. For example, Calvinists in the earliest days of the Scientific Revolution, who had considerable influence on the development of natural science, include philosopher Pierre de la Ramée (Petrus Ramus, 1515-1572), physician Ambroise Paré (1517-1590), Bernard Pallissy, Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and John Napier of Merchiston. Roughly a century later, we note the

1) A. Biéler, *The Social Humanism of Calvin* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1964) p. 11.

2) Karl Barth has affirmed that "there is no humanism without the Gospel" and Roman Catholic theologians have called Catholic Christianity humanistic in that it emphasizes man's uniqueness as created in God's image. See "Humanism" in *Macropaidea The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1977

3) A. Biéler, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

chemist and physicist Robert Boyle (1627-1691), an outstanding English scientist who was one of the first members of the group that became the Royal Society. He wrote moral and religious essays, financed the translation of the Algonquin Bible in Puritan New England, and in his will founded the *Boyle Lectures* for defense of Christianity against unbelievers.<sup>1</sup>

His Jansenist contemporary in France, the equally versatile Blaise Pascal, is famous for his literary and apologetic classic, the *Pensées*. Pascal combined in his short life the most earnest and zealous love for Jesus Christ and the desire for the faith to spread among all men -- together with prodigious and prodigal labors in mathematics and science. Before the age of forty (he lived 1623-1662), among many other accomplishments for the cultural advance of mankind, he "contributed to the development of differential calculus; originated, with Fermat, mathematical theory of probability, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Or we may consider two other men, whose periods bracket Boyle and Pascal. Galilei Galileo (1564-1642) died the year another Christian scientific luminary was born: Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Their fame is so great, their accomplishments for culture and science so undeniable, that they are brought in here precisely to remind ourselves of their Christian religious convictions.

In quite different areas and down through the centuries, we see outstanding Christians active in their faith and in cultural matters. Brief mention is made here of but four: William Wilberforce (1759-1833) who was the indefatigable statesman and leader in the abolition of the slave trade in England;

1) "(he) improved the air pump and invented a compressed-air pump; experimented in pneumatics; investigated specific gravities, refractive powers, crystals, electricity, etc.; discovered importance of air in propagation of sound; held that atoms of one kind of matter constitute all substances, the atoms having different arrangements and movement in different substances; (author of) the law that the volume of gas varies inversely as the pressure." *Webster's Biographical Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: G&C Merriam Co., 1980) *in situ*.

2) Webster, *op. cit.*, *in situ*.

Thomas Malthus, economist and demographer, deeply concerned lest population should tend to outrun the food supply; the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-1855), social reformer; and Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), journalist, philosopher and Prime Minister of the Netherlands, as well as outstanding theologian.

In the realm of literature we mention writers who have won great praise from readers and critics not at all interested in their religious conviction. These writers adorn and advance human cultural pursuits from a foundation of strong Christian conviction. The epics of Dante and John Milton call to mind the flaming religious fervor irradiating the famous Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. Poets Edmund Spenser and John Donne were unfeigned in their faith and made that obvious in their verse. Daniel Defoe (1659-1731) surprises us by apprising us that his deliberate intent in writing the novel *Robinson Crusoe* was to defend Calvinism! It is a shame that his main intent is removed in expurgated versions and the main focus is put on his contribution to narrating adventure and to helping form the early English novel.

And who can deny the greatness of a Samuel Johnson, a Robert Browning, a Gilbert Chesterton, a Sigrid Unset, or such as T.S. Eliot, Graham Greene, C.S. Lewis, and William Faulkner -- and at the same time urge the irrelevancy of their religious faith to their literary attainment?

In the fine arts, where religion has always been expressed -- as in sculpture, painting, music and hymnody -- we shall not even begin to list names. We would expect them to be numberless. The presence of a religious theme, or even its emphasis, does not of course mean that the artist himself is religious. But let us speak of one man, Rembrandt. "He lived in a culture informed by Reformed theology, and he lived with the Bible. His own life, though in many ways undisciplined, faced the realities of rejection,

bereavement, and poverty. As an artist, he was a genius. The result is a body of paintings, drawings and etchings that embody many of the characteristic motifs of Reformed theology and piety."<sup>1</sup> John Leith, who here treats with Rembrandt, goes on to say, "Of Biblical subjects there have survived about one hundred sixty paintings, about eighty etchings, and more than six hundred drawing."<sup>2</sup>

## I. Culture - Its Meaning, Parts and Evaluation

### A. What is Culture?

For the purpose of this study, an attempt is made to use the term with a wide but justifiable definition. Hundreds of definitions exist so we approach a tentative formation of the concept for our purposes as follows.

Certainly culture has to do with man's thoughtful doings, as man acts uniquely as man. Breathing, growing, and healing are not cultural acts in themselves; they are common to plants and animals, and are often done unconsciously. Yet man often has a conscious, learned, and controlling role in them. Breathing exercises, building muscles, and using medication all can be called cultural activity. Of course, man's whole physical and mental framework preconditions what he can, or is likely, to do. So culture study is not to be abstracted from this framework-- as, for example, man's ability to touch his thumb with each of the fingers of the same hand, or his brain's ability to store memories.

We do wish, however, to be as broad as reasonable in our concept of human culture. Even an art critic can view culture in a broad way.

- 
- 1) J. Leith, *Introduction to the Reformed Tradition* (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, revised 1981), p. 205.
  - 2) *Ibid.*, p. 203, quoting J. Rosenberg, *Rembrandt: Life and Work*, 3rd ed. (London: Phaidon, 1968), p. 28.

Rookmaaker say:

The term "culture"...should not be restricted to intellectual and aesthetic pursuits. Such a dualism underlies the disharmony of our modern civilization. Life should be one, and culture is simply the creation of life's forms, customs, and institutions, as well as our utilization of nature and its resources. When a farmer cultivates, his methods and tools are all part of culture.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, we do not wish to define culture so broadly as to make it an abstraction. The theologian Lonergan, for example, defines culture as "a set of meanings and values that inform the way of life of a community."<sup>2</sup> But is this not merely a theological or philosophical abstraction? Doesn't culture include the product of the meanings and values being practiced?

Anthropologists A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn have analyzed 160 definitions of culture in English alone, by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, etc., and found these definitions divisible into six major groups. Two major groups emphasize social heredity and genetics in historical development. Another group defined culture as traditional ways of solving problems.<sup>3</sup> This may be enough to indicate some of the variety and complexity in definition.

A very recent, very brief, but perhaps generally acceptable definition is found in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1977) in the article on "Culture":

(Culture is) behavior peculiar to mankind, together with material objects that are part of the behavior. Culture consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, codes, institutions, tools, works of art, and so on.

Here, for our purposes, we understand "behavior" as conscious and learned

1) H. Rookmaaker, *The Creative Gift* (Westchester, Ill.: Cornerstone Books, 1981), p. 42.

2) B. Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd., 1972), p. 107.

3) ed. J. Gould & Wm. Kolb, "Culture", *Dict. of the Social Sciences*, 1964.

action or lack of action -- not merely biological function. "Mankind" we take to mean man not in his distinctive individuality, but as group identity. An individual can invent or initiate a technique, but a once-only or one-man-only sort of skill or deed is hard to view as culture -- though imagination and originality are, of course, essential to the development of culture. "Material objects" is taken by this writer in a broad sense, so as to include, for example, energy manifestations (heat, light and sound). Thus a stove, a flashlight, and a whistle are material objects that have their primary cultural function in producing heat, light, and sound; but the light or sound themselves can be called cultural "objects" as they are controlled and used.

#### B. Other Distinctions: Culture and Behavior. Culture and Society.

Some other necessary distinctions should also be made. First, how shall we distinguish culture and behavior? Kroeber and Kluckhohn and Beals and Hoijer take the view that culture is an abstraction from human behavior, but not behavior itself. This would make it very difficult to observe culture and isolate it. This distinction seems possibly motivated by the threat of culture being identified as behavior and thus being claimed as the proper subject for psychologists, thereby eliminating cultural anthropology. Abstracting culture from behavior, or a concept from an associated object may not necessarily be the problem.

As anthropologist Leslie White points out, every element of culture has both a subjective and an objective aspect. Each needs the other. For example, a stone axe is meaningless without a concept and an attitude. But, obviously, the concept or attitude without the object or its use is hardly observable. Therefore, to treat culture as an abstraction appears to be the domain of philosophy. We reject the definition of culture which is only in terms of ideas.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that culture consists of material things in themselves, either, even things man has made and used. Their significance is not in their material makeup, but rather in their being a product of man's thought and labor and in the use to which they are put. This is not to ignore Whitehead's meaningful remark that, "Human life is driven forward by its dim apprehension of notions too general for its existing language."<sup>1</sup> Culture, then, includes material objects, but viewed in terms of their part in man's conceptual framework and also their part in human behavior.

Another distinction attempted is that between culture and society. Is culture the same as society? We take the commonly held position that all cultural elements exist in a social context, learned or shared -- though of course the individual makes innovations and contributions within society. We view society in terms of the ways that people have of being together, though not everything that man learns and does while together with others (or in socially structured dimensions, levels, castes, family, church, states, etc.) can be considered culture. Nevertheless, we view as culture the things man uses, his deeds, even his ideas -- not in themselves, but in terms of their symbolic value or function within society. Gamst and Norbeck put it this way:

Cultural anthropologists, whose basic interest is not limited to the social but covers the entire range of what is man-made in ideas, attitudes, social relations, and objects, distinguish the social from the cultural, customarily by regarding the social realm as a major component or element of the larger realm of culture.<sup>2</sup>

Culture, let us say, is composed of conceptual material and behavioral constituents peculiar to mankind or groupings of mankind, these actual

1) Quoted by C. Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1944) p. 34.  
2) ed. F. Gamst and E. Norbeck, *Ideas of Culture, Sources and Uses* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976), p. 4.

constituents viewed in terms of their symbolic meaning. Constituent elements so viewed include language, ideas, beliefs, customs, codes, institutions, tools, works of art, and so on. A very brief definition of culture that does not go far wrong, when these are all viewed together is: "Culture is social effectiveness."<sup>1</sup> Or another: "Culture may even be described simply as that which makes life worth living."<sup>2</sup> But this brings us to our next consideration.

#### C. How Are Cultures To Be Compared and Evaluated?

It is no doubt obvious that a given culture, whether in part or in whole, must be measured or evaluated in some way or there would be no concepts such as useless, useful, convenient, harmful, destructive, etc. The very fact that man is continually inventing, experimenting, redesigning -- the very existence of trash heaps -- all show that man is taking account of his culture. The Harvard professor of anthropology, Clyde Kluckhohn observes:

It is men who change their cultures....The record shows that, while situation limits the range of possibility, there is always more than one workable alternative. The essence of the cultural process is selectivity.<sup>3</sup>

Cultural relativity is a strongly defended principle. One position is that cultures cannot be judged; societies may be judged as good or bad on the basis, at least of internal tension and conflict discerned by the society itself, but culture is not to be judged, from the outside, at any rate. I must reject this idea for the following reasons.

1. Members of a given culture often show dissatisfactions with not only their social structure, but also their codes, or their scientific or industrial achievement. Some members emigrate and adopt new languages, new codes, new lifestyles. They, at least, judge their own culture negatively and transfer to

1) A. Calhoun, *The Cultural Concept of Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1950), p. 39.  
2) T.S. Eliot, *Christianity and Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 100.  
3) C. Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 39.



another culture.

2. Subcultures and counter-cultures, by the very fact of their difference from the larger culture in which they are located, are set apart -- in some ways, isolated. This could be by their own choice or through rejection by others. The hippies and beatniks of a decade or two ago, for example, were clearly and stridently in rebellion from the culture within which they came into being. Is this merely a social judgement by them? I think not -- they reacted not only against social structures, but also against mores, customs, codes of etiquette and aesthetic choices. Nudity, long hair, acid rock music, contempt for "the establishment", drug abuse--are not these all cultural traits deliberately taken up in protest against the generally accepted culture of their environment?

3. Reformers exist in every group, those calling for cessation or amelioration of conditions accepted or endured by the majority. They may condemn on religious or ethical grounds such things as infant exposure, abortion, the burning of heretics or witches; or they may favor some of these on other religious or ethical grounds which they assert. As reformers they are different from those who flee and abandon their culture, and they are different from mere anarchists: they seek to restore from within.

4. Critics from outside obviously exist everywhere. Can this be true of responsible, enlightened scholars? Pitrim A. Sorokin is not ashamed to use the title "The Degradation of Culture by Masses" in speaking of other cultures. He says,

Taoism, Hinduism, Christianity, Confucianism of the intellectual stratum of either the Chinese, Hindu or European society is one thing; in the mentality and culture of the respective lower classes it is another thing. Each of these religio-philosophical-ethical systems in its pure form is one of the sublimest and greatest systems ever created. In the mentality and culture of the lower classes of the respective societies, each of them is vulgarized to an enormous degree. What is Taoism or Hinduism of the masses

of the lower classes but a collection of so-called "superstitious" rituals, magic beliefs, primitive ideas about God, soul, transmigration, and so on, which have little of the depth and sublimity of the system of Lao-Tse or Qwang-tsu, or of the Vedas, Upanishads and Brahmanas. The same is true of Christianity or Confucianism or any other religious or moral system.<sup>1</sup>

The Apostle Paul in his letter to Titus quotes a Cretan poet who severely criticized the Cretan people of his time. Paul says, "Even one of their own poets has said, 'Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons!' This testimony is true. Therefore rebuke them sharply..."

The real issue is: Is there an indispensable moral code transcendent of cultures themselves that man can appeal to to judge his own or others' cultures? Here we enter the realm of faith, of presupposition, or religious conviction. This is related to our very subject, "Culture as the Mark and Measure of Religious Conviction". It is time the writer declared his presuppositional or faith stance before he proceeds. But first this consideration by Kluckhohn:

While breeding a healthy skepticism as to the eternity of any value prized by a particular people, anthropology does not as a matter of theory deny the existence of moral absolutes. Rather, the use of the comparative method provides a scientific means of discovering such absolutes. If all surviving societies have found it necessary to impose some of the same restrictions upon the behavior of their members, this makes a strong argument that these aspects of the moral code are indispensable.<sup>2</sup>

One final word. If we insist that cultures must be judged by existing moral absolutes, this is not to say that cultural objects have moral value. A knife is a knife, and can be used for murder or to sacrifice to God. We note that in Ezekiel 27, where the prophet prophesies against Tyre, the goods which the proud and wicked city deals with in trade are not condemned, nor are her cultural products as to material things.

Your builders brought your beauty to perfection (v. 4)...your skilled men, O Tyre, were aboard as your seamen (v. 8)....

1) In *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 4 (New York:Bedminster Press, 1962), pp. 259-260. Cited elsewhere.

2) *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

bringing your splendor (v. 10)...they brought your beauty to perfection (v. 13).

The rebuke was not for the quality of the merchandise; it was in the following: "In the pride of your heart you say, 'I am a god; I sit on the throne of a god.'" There is acknowledgement of Tyre's wisdom and understanding that gained her wealth (28:4) and Ezekiel says, "By your great skill in trading you have increased your wealth, and because of your wealth your heart has grown proud." (28:5) Here is the crux of the matter -- good things produced at a high level of cultural attainment in terms of skill, knowledge, etc., can be the occasion for pride or other evil. And since culture is not merely the objects used, but the use to which they are put, culture must be judged. There is no neutrality or relativity for cultures as wholes!

## II. The Presuppositional Stance of the Writer -- a Christian Viewpoint

We have already hinted at our presuppositional stance. It is important to state it at this time to clarify our use of concepts and vocabulary, and to seek to be frank, unambiguous and clear in showing the convictions that govern the development and conclusions of this study. Circular reasoning it may appear to be, but we plead that all reasoning is circular reasoning (turning back upon its starting point) and that, assuming consistency within the chain of thought, the starting point is critical. We proceed in summary form, following quite unoriginal, rather classic Christian lines, based on the teachings of the Old and New Testaments of the Holy Bible. The never-diminishing, divine authority and relevancy of that depository of God's own special revelation concerning man's redemption and life's regulation is our frank affirmation. Those chief teachings for our view of culture, we present as follows:

1. The God of the Bible is creator of the universe by His fiat, out of nothing, so that it emerges according to His plan, but is no part of God Himself, but derivative, finite, changeable and pluriform in its many types, parts, and diversity of species.

2. Man, God's creature, and capstone of His cosmic creation, is made in God's image or as God's image, and with dominion over God's other creatures as steward of God. This includes the ethical sense, conscience, that all men have.<sup>1</sup>

3. Man, enjoying the environment within which he is set -- which receives God's own upholding in the forms, and within the divisions and borders and limits He has set -- immediately emerges as cultural thinker and doer. (Cf. Col. 1:17; Heb. 1:3; Acts 14:17 and 17:25,26).

a. The first man is commanded to subdue the earth and rule the creatures. Genesis 1:28 says, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth." (RSV). Man's very reproductive powers are called into focus as a prelude to this commandment, for it is a task for men so numerous as to fill the earth. If, in this twentieth century, it be objected that man is already so numerous that food and resources are now insufficient for man's long survival here on planet Earth, we may ask ourselves, as some scholars do, whether we truly have enough people to really do the job before us -- harvest us

1) Margaret Mead in her chapter on "Cultural Man" says, "The present position in anthropology emphasizes the universality of an ethical sense as part of man's inherent capacities; and anthropologists agree with the biologists who have identified the role played in human evolution by the capacity to accept from trusted elders a standard of behavior. Thus the natural order, scientifically explored, provides, as at present understood, no basis for the sterile relativism which so recently was seen (and residually is seen) as a scientifically based position in opposition to that taken in Christian ethics." (from *Man in Community*, ed. de Vries, p. 204).

the oceans, mine the sea-beds, settle colonies there or even on other planets, for example. But numbers alone mean little if wars continue, selfishness and ignorance reign, and God's gracious provisions for cultural wealth from His own bounties are wrongly grasped for.

b. Man, by God's command, proceeds immediately to the naming of the animals and to tilling and keep the garden in which he is placed, before tackling planet earth beyond the borders of that specially prepared environment in the Garden (Genesis 2:4-20).

c. The world beyond the Garden is described in terms of its potential and its need of man's cultural activity -- a rainless environment away from the moisture of the rivers needs man's tilling for plants to live. Minerals, too, are already mentioned as if that area, rich in gold, bdellium and onyx may have early significance for man beside agricultural value. (I suggest the possibility that these are gems and gold -- or even a building stone of beauty, as chalcedony -- for man to decorate himself or his dwellings, industrial deposits not being yet in view as relevant. Cf. Gen. 2:4-12.)

d. Another dimension of man's cultural duty and potential is reflected after the flood when the Noahic covenant demonstrates God's promise to continue and to preserve the life-support system of man's environment. This now even extends to putting the fear of man in the breasts of fierce beasts, even all creatures, so that man may use them. ("The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every bird of the air, upon everything that creeps on the ground and all the fish of the sea; into your hand they are delivered." Gen. 9:2).

At this time, also, man's social and juridical responsibilities are defined in the maximal dimension of human governmental authority by the express command of God, thus: "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man

shall his blood be shed" -- and the reason is immediately appended -- "for God made man in His own image." (Gen. 9:6).

Here, then, cultural responsibilities for man are laid out in broad lines by man's Maker, so that culture is seen not as a product of mere chance, or of evolutionary development along one of many lines of possibilities, but as a stipulated activity of man as vicegerent under the Maker, Owner and Provider of all the environment and stuff, *and worker*, from which culture is to emerge.

4. Man is a rebel against God, his maker, provider and lord, for which there are cultural implications. The Biblical account, however interpreted, is concerned to show the change in man's estate.

a. First, of course, we see man separated from the fellowship with God. This, in itself, has tremendous implications for cultural development. If fallen and imperfect Solomon can, with the wisdom given to him from God, and with the attitude of worship and obedience to that God, produce the cultural triumphs that are recorded of him, how much more could have been expected of Adam and Eve when in full fellowship and full adoration toward their Maker, the Designer of all about them who has commanded their cultural roles and put all in their hands? The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews prays for redeemed man that he will be equipped to do God's will. How much more was this exterior and interior equipment available before man's rebellion, and God's curse on man and the environment!

May the God of peace, who through the blood of the eternal covenant brought back from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, *equip you with everything good for doing his will, and may he work in us what is pleasing to him...*" (Heb. 13:20,21 NIV - emphasis ours).

b. Second, there is social disruption. We see man separated

from his wife. Adam blames both God and his wife when, as excuse, he says, "The woman you put here with me -- she gave me some fruit from the tree." (Gen. 3:12). Eve is told that now her husband "will rule over her." Both express the shame they have in each other's presence as naked. Their first son becomes the murderer of their second son -- and a fugitive on the earth. The implication for all this, even in its initial and obvious elements, is a great handicap to cultural development. All the best offerings of man and wife to one another -- I think of fellowship, food, clothing, provisions for shelter, decorations -- are tainted and lowered in quality by lack of love, admiration, enthusiasm, and concern. Sons who should help and carry on what the parents begin in these cultural beginnings are lost -- one murdered and the other a wandering fugitive, afraid of vengeance. Cooperation, harmony of mind, mutual help, planning together -- all these well-springs of the best of culture -- are here destroyed, in part or whole. The rest of the Old Testament chronicles and deploras the effects of the fall on the whole world and on the people of Israel -- and points to a redeemer.

c. Third, we come to man's changed condition and the changed environment (Gen. 3). Death is now imminent, inevitable; life's length, meaning, and joy is forfeited. The motivations for culture, what are they in the long run? We have already noted the comforting presence of God is not now an expected given, but something to be earnestly sought -- and that only by a change of heart!

Not only so, but the motivation that made Eve eat the forbidden fruit against God's express command (she "saw that the tree was good for food and pleasing to the eye, and also desirable for gaining

wisdom." Gen. 3:6) as recorded in the first book of the Bible, is also the motivation of mankind who is without God according to the last writer of the Bible. John says, "For everything in the world -- the cravings of sinful man, the lust of his eyes and the boasting of what he has and does -- come not from the Father but from the world. The world and its desires pass away, but the man who does the will of God lives forever." (I John 2:16,17). And John adds, in Revelation 14:3, concerning those blessed dead: "They will rest from their labor, for their deeds will follow them" -- which many theologians believe is a teaching of the Bible that cultural attainments and all good deeds have some kind of fruitage or continuation in the next life!

Other changes also militate against the free, happy development of cultural achievement. The reproduction of the species is now accompanied with pain and fear, and there is resentment at the rule of the husband over the wife. And man's labor for the basic essentials of life is made difficult by changes within the natural environment of man. It is not only the thorns and thistles that infested the ground after the fall, but all the other things that cause man to eat his food by the sweat of his brow (Gen. 3:18,19). Certainly we cannot read Genesis and believe that flood, drought, insect swarms, plant disease, etc., that plague the farmers of the world were man's lot before the fall and curse.

It should not be necessary to list the later developments of the race that are obvious enemies of the joyful, willing labors of man in the free development of his talents, goals and plans dedicated to what he best honors and loves. Secularism and materialism see man's labors and glorification as all self-centered. Oppression and enslavement of

fellow-man, for whatever god or goal, reduced cultural control and development to the hands that held whip or gun.

In this section dealing with man's rebellion against God and its cultural implications, we have implicitly bound up the nature and possibilities of true culture with the nature and possibilities of true religion. This is not, we believe, a forced connection. As T.S. Eliot says:

No culture can appear or develop except in relation to a religion. ....We may go further and ask whether what we call culture, and what we call the religion, of a people are not different aspects of the same thing: the culture being, essentially, the incarnation (so to speak) of the religion of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Paul Tillich speaks similarly:

Religion as ultimate concern is the meaning-giving substance of culture, and culture is the totality of forms in which the basic concern of religion expresses itself. In abbreviation: religion is the substance of culture, culture is the form of religion.<sup>2</sup>

It strikes me that a religious belief could only be something like a commitment to a system of reference. Hence, although it's belief, it's really a way of living.<sup>3</sup>

It is our conviction that man's turning from the true God begins the slide away from all that is good, and that human sin is the enemy of culture, just as true culture is man's worship of God in his whole life. Toynbee is interesting in this matter:

We have now laid our finger on some of the causes of regression from higher religions to vain repetitions of secular civilizations, and in each case we have found that the calamity is precipitated, not by a *saeva necessitas* or by any other external

1) T.S. Eliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 100,101.

2) P. Tillich, *Theology of Culture* (London:Oxford Univ. Press, 1948), p. 42.

3) L. Wittgenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 64e.

force, but by an "Original Sin" which is innate in terrestrial human nature.<sup>1</sup>

We pause as we pass from a treatment of our presuppositions as taught by the Bible, and are at the point of introducing the Redeemer of man, man's Creator come in flesh to atone for and rescue us from the culturally suicidal rebellion and judgment-bound slide of man. Is this way of approaching our subject a fundamentalist voice in a corner? Does a view of history answer to the Biblical analysis?

J.H. Bavinck writes: "Every aspect of culture originates from religious sources."<sup>2</sup> He describes the two-dimensional reference of culture, saying,

Culture...is based upon the fundamental attitude of man toward the universe and the invisible powers....There are disconcerting aspects of our civilization which are threatening to suffocate us. The main cause of our predicament obviously lies in the fact that we have neglected the basic problem of culture.<sup>3</sup>

Paul Tillich sees present Western culture (as controlled by the spirit of industrial society) as blindly focusing on man's activities in methodological investigation and technical transformation of his world and self, and on the spirit of confidence in man's creativity and progressive fulfillment of his potentialities. But in it all is a loss of "inner transcendence" and "transparency for the eternal" and a disappearance of the sense of sin and guilt.<sup>4</sup>

Josiah Royce in his *Sources of Religious Insight* echoes Eliot, Bavinck, and Tillich above in his discussion of salvation:

1) A. Toynbee, *A Study of History Vol. 2*, an abridgement of the original Vols. VII-XII by D.C. Somervell (New York:Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), p. 117.

2) J.H. Bavinck, *The Church Between the Temple and the Mosque* (Grand Rapids, Mich.:Eerdmans, no date), p. 21. Bavinck died in 1965 and this work was published posthumously.

3) *Ibid.*

4) P. Tillich, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

What one pretends or at least hopes to know, when there is any question of religious insight, is something which has to do with the whole nature and destiny and duty and fate of man. For just such matters are in question when we talk, not of how to earn our living or of how to get this or that worldly prosperity, *but about our need of salvation and about how to be saved.* So deep and weighty are these matters, that to pretend to know about them seems to involve the whole nature of things.

.....  
 We need to give life sense, to know and control our own selves, to end the natural chaos, to bring order and light into our deeds, to make the warfare of natural passion subordinate to the peace and power of the spirit. This is our need. To live thus is our ideal. And because this need is pressing and because this ideal is far off from the natural man, we need salvation.

.....  
 Unity of Spirit, conformity to an universal Will, peace with power, this is our need.<sup>1</sup>

5. The last of our basic presuppositions is this, that the Bible speaks truly about the true Redeemer of mankind from his sin, curse and dilemma. A Savior to come, to fatally crush the head of the serpent, is spoken of in Genesis 3:15. The expanded covenantal structures (Noahic, Abrahamic, Mosaic, Davidic) are but steps in the fulfillment of this plan for the eons. A chosen people, a chosen land, a chosen life-style and law --all are progressive steps in pointing to, and partly fulfilling, God's promises to show redemption in all the earth and in all man's and society's dimensions.

We have in this paper, of course, a primary emphasis on man in his cultural dimensions, and are quite aware that the spiritual or vertical dimension of culture must begin with the individual men in a right relationship to their Maker and Lord.<sup>2</sup> Such an emphasis is proper, and is the

1) J. Royce, *The Sources of the Religious Insight* (New York: Scribners, 1940), pp. 24-32.

2) A contemporary evangelical says it in similar words: "It can scarcely be overemphasized that the springs of good culture are in the heart more than in the head.... Inventive genius, artistic creativity, and technical know-how may be matters of the head and hand; but meaning, purpose and use are of the heart. It is in cleansing the heart and residing in it as Lord and Master that Christ is supremely glorified. The concept of holiness directs our attention to this central glory of Christ's self-fulfillment in us.

prevailing one in theological literature. Not to do despite to that aspect of the Bible and of theology, we nevertheless wish to bring into focus the themes of the prophetic voices of the Bible relating to man's social and cultural redemption. It is patent that in the Old Testament it is the group sins, the wickedness of peoples, empires, and governments, that is constantly assailed. The book of Judges, the books of Kings, the writing prophets -- all repeat this kind of indictment and repeat God's verdict of judgment upon it. The prophecies of the Messiah are couched in the context of the corruption and perversion and wallowing misery of the world -- and especially of His chosen people. The Messiah is promised and looked for as a rescuer from oppression, an undoer of injustice and cruel enslavement, in the social and cultural realms. The mother of Jesus, Mary herself, magnifies the Lord in such terms (Luke 1:51 ff.) as does Zechariah, father of John the Baptist (Luke 1:68-79, where He is hailed as savior from enemies).

Attention to Arnold Toynbee at this point is particularly relevant -- as here is a student of history in the grand style, a brilliant viewer of world civilizations in their rise and fall -- as he attempts to see what laws or principles are at work. Astonishingly, he says the following, as if the Bible for him, too, was the loom and tapestry of the ages, the final and true embroidery of God:

The call of Abraham, for example, is presented in Hebrew legend as a sequel to a defiance of God by the self-confident builders of the Tower of Babel. The mission of Moses is presented as a move to rescue God's Chosen People from a spiritually unpropitious enjoyment of the fleshpots

Holiness thus becomes a yardstick for evaluating culture and the Holy Spirit becomes the indispensable Dynamic for the changing of culture -- at least our own." from R.S. Taylor, *A Return to Christian Culture* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Dimension Books, 1975), pp. 44,45.

of Egypt. The Prophets of Israel and Judah were inspired to preach repentance from the spiritual backslidings into which Israel had lapsed when he made a material success of the "land flowing with milk and honey" which Yahweh had provided for him. The ministry of Christ, whose Passion, as a secular historian sees it, is fraught with all the anguish of an Hellenic Time of Troubles, is presented in the Gospels as an intervention of God Himself for the purpose of extending to the whole of Mankind a covenant previously made by God with Israel whose descendants had alloyed their spiritual heritage with a Pharaonic formalism, a Sadducean materialism, an Herodian opportunism, and a Zealot fanaticism.<sup>1</sup>

Our presuppositions for this study now climax in the person of Jesus the Christ. He, the long awaited and promised one, brings in a kingdom of righteousness, preaching the ways of God and doing miracles and signs, showing God's mercies and beaming the light of God's culminating revelation for redemption. He offers Himself as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men, rises from the dead, and sends the Holy Spirit to work works of regeneration, sanctification, and guidance to His followers, and to give gifts for the building and care of the Church, His people. All this is so basic, so familiar, so saturating the pages of the New Testament, that we refrain from long lists of proof-texts.

And what are the cultural implications for this section?

#### CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS SUGGESTED BY OUR PRESUPPOSITIONS - A SUMMARY

1. Since God is acknowledged as Creator, upholder of all things, and Revealer through creation of the true nature of things, mankind finds predictability and meaning, and an environment prepared for his living here on Earth (the six days of creation are capped with the creation of man, and all are declared "very good".) Here are the bases for science, theoretical and applied.

2. Cultural activity is thus provided for and clearly commanded to man -- in the subduing of the earth and ruling of the creatures (Gen. 1:27),

1) A. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

as vicegerent of God (Psalm 8:6-8), and steward, ranging throughout the whole earth so it be filled with human inhabitants. The curse of the division of tongues at Babel is partly to be understood in terms of man's refusing to disperse and fill the earth after the Flood. The substitute materials used (Gen. 11:3) show the impoverishment of even their proudest attempt at a monument to their name because they did not engage in the exploration, mining, industry, and trade (eventually), which would give them better working materials.

3. The effect of the fall of man is seen as secularizing the cultural process by virtue of the no longer God-ward offer of every cultural attainment and product. The later development -- both shown repeatedly in the Old Testament and throughout human history -- is the re-direction of man's cultural efforts to idolatrous glorification or worship of man-made "absolutes", conceived as different and beyond man himself. In self-deifying religious cultures this process, more complex, is also seen.

4. Cultural products after the fall are seen as used for purposes of selfish aggrandizement, symbols of pride (Babel), and weapons for aggression. The episode of Genesis 4:20-24 combines the cultural developments of tent dwelling, cattle raising, making of musical instruments, and forging of metal instruments. But immediately after this list comes the song of Lamech boasting of killing a man for wounding him. Presumably the weapons figure in the slaying, and the musical instruments (one, at least) figure in the lyrical boast. We note here, incidentally, that Lamech has two wives (not the ideal of one man and one wife as in pre-fall Eden!), and Lamech also has an atrocious sense of ethics and theology in saying, "If Cain is avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy-sevenfold."

Various civilizations rise and fall with power and wealth gathered at the expense of enslavement or slaughter of others. Great energy and ingenuity are often expended for war and defense, monuments and mausoleums, spectacles to glorify a leader or to occupy the idle masses, luxury to pamper the wealthy sybarites, misguided attempts at wealth (such as alchemy's attempt to make gold), and so on and so on. To all this must be added the sacrifice of men and/or their goods to imaginary deities or spirits. This is the appalling and sickening, destructive and hell-worthy story of mankind in the main, and that toward which it tends without a looked-to Restrainer, Savior and Judge.

Here again we fall back on Toynbee's words, in summarizing different saviors people look to in world history. In the concluding pages of Somervell's summary, Toynbee's "Argument" is epitomized, and the following remarkable estimate emerges:

(1) *The Creative Genius as a Savior*

In the growth state creative individuals lead successful responses to successive challenges. In the disintegration stage they appear as saviors of or from disintegrating society.

(2) *The Savior with the Sword*

These are the founders and maintainers of universal states, but all the works of the sword prove ephemeral.

(3) *The Savior with the Time Machine*

These are the archaists and the futurists. These, too, take to the sword and suffer the swordsman's fate.

(4) *The Philosopher Masked by a King*

This is Plato's favorite remedy. It falls on account of the incompatibility between the detachment of a philosopher and the coercive methods characteristic of political potentates.

(5) *The God Incarnate in a Man*

Various imperfect approximations fall by the way and Jesus of Nazareth alone conquers death.<sup>1</sup>

1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 376,377.

And we quote him once again in an estimate of man's ability to harness non-human nature and human nature. Again the limit and potential of culture is stated in terms of God, man's Savior:

As regards the laws of non-human Nature, Man cannot alter them, but he can harness them to his own purposes. As regards the laws affecting human nature itself, a more cautious answer seems to be called for. *The result will depend on Man's relations, not just with his fellow men and himself, but above all with God his Savior.* (italics by this writer, not Toynbee).<sup>1</sup>

### III. A Broad and Selective Survey of Historical Cultures and Their Prevailing Religion

In this section we are on the lookout for clear, discernible relationships between culture and religion in historical examples testified to by reputable analysts and observers. With so brief a survey, with so little proof as such, we can but try to elicit some attention to and consideration of our thesis, on the basis of the reader's own historical knowledge, or his own study. Our selections, necessarily brief, are also primarily focused on indigenous cultures -- at least those not forced upon the people by conquest or imperial or colonial rule. But, secondly, our primary interest is in minority religions among the indigenous kinds. For then, cultural contributions within the larger matrix of their environmental and social milieu, and among a more numerous and usually more powerful majority, are doubly significant. Either they are spontaneous developments which show particular strength of their ideology and value system, and its relevance to reality, or they signalize the conscious efforts of the minority to show its "truth-claims" and ideological superiority to the world. Israel

1) *Ibid.*, p. 391.



in Old Testament days shows one or both of these "cultural display" patterns, and repeatedly the religious and cultural distinctives of the Jews in their integrity are claimed as reasons for the respect of the Gentiles for them and for their God.<sup>1</sup>

We are convinced of 1) the relationship of religious conviction to culture, already shown as an extremely close and indivisible one by definition of the two terms "religion" and "culture" and 2) the psychological necessity of the interaction of the two, if indeed they can be distinguished enough apart to be called two! As Rookmaaker has remarked: "Many of the problems which arise when we discuss the relationship between Christianity and culture come from treating them as separate entities."<sup>2</sup> And of course this applies likewise between other religions and their respective cultures. Again we quote Wittgenstein's earnest, striking affirmation:

It strikes me that a religious belief could only be something like a commitment to a system of reference. Hence, although it's *belief*, it's really a way of living, or a way of assessing life....It's passionately seizing hold of *this* interpretation.<sup>3</sup>

On our Christian suppositions stated above, we have seen the sincere and dutiful pursuit of cultural progress, and the enjoyment of its potentials for blessedness and power and wealth, become vitiated, enfeebled, and misdirected -- its very wellsprings and sources in the human breast polluted and poisoned and, to use another metaphor, mined with self-destructive explosives. By this, of course, we mean evil in man's heart, which to some degree or more turns man from his Maker and Mentor, as well as from his

- 
- 1) Genesis 39:3-6,21; 41:38-45; Ruth 1:16; I Kings 10:1-10; II Kings 5:15-18; Neh. 6:16; Ezek. 28:25; Dan. 1:17-20; 2:46-49; 3:29,20; cf. 4:34-37; 6:20-28; Mal. 1:11; Acts 10:1-4,22; I Pet. 2:12  
 2) Rookmaaker, *op. cit.*, p. 44.  
 3) Wittgenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

fellowman, in concert with whom he must seek success in the cultural way of life most useful and helpful to all.<sup>1</sup> Not only so, but man becomes alienated from his world, which, in aggrandizing greed and selfish "tunnel-vision" he destroys and wastes, killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. We believe that man thus becomes his own enemy, entraps himself (whether alone or in collusion with others) so that, as in the present crisis of atomic weapons aimed at every worthwhile target, man's most strenuous, sophisticated, technically complex, powerful and (from one point of view) brilliant accomplishments are sure-fire, hair-trigger, unerring means for one full use only: suicide of the whole race! And we believe this is true, not only in the physical sense, but also in terms of the promise of judgment to come by the Man whom God raised from the dead upon culture -- a religious category applied to man's doings in this world.

On the other side of the coin, however, we must recognize that culture in history has developed man's life, improving it in many respects, and that beauty, pleasure, better health, increased skills and powers, tools, etc. have been attained or obtained. World history, along with its tragic and appalling destructive acts of ferocity and malice, has still very much that is good. We preface this section, therefore, with a list of Biblical teachings that explain this fact.

First of all, culture continues to develop because man is the image of God<sup>2</sup> who, though rebellious, destructive, selfish and perverse, retains in

- 
- 1) As C.S. Lewis has argued in his *Abolition of Man*, we re-affirm here: that values are not created, but are discovered (or revealed, rather) as they are part of ultimate reality. True values for culture are not the temporary price tags of changing styles or changing wants, but the revealed will of God which is always in accordance with God's Self-imaging creature and his nature and needs and best, true interests.  
 2) Cf. I Cor. 11:7 where Paul says of man (male) "He is the image of the glory of God (εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοία θεοῦ). Should it not be expected that man's cultural attainments should reflect and be connected with God's glory?"

his very identity and makeup the very attributes of God Himself -- albeit received in creaturely and analogical form. We suggest the traditional aspects of man as spirit, as possessing intellect, as possessing knowledge of good and evil, and still possessing the entrusted authority over the other creatures. These, though biased, mis-aimed, and misused, are still inevitably culturally productive.

Secondly, in the preserving, upholding work of God, which we will call by the traditional name of "providence", man is kept from total destruction; and the riches of nature remain in his grasp though (as we described) subject to the "curse". Woman, though in pain at childbirth, still produces offspring. Man, though by the sweat of his brow, still produces bread. This is God's providence. This, as some theologians have pointed out, is sign also of God's patience and love, in order that man may find God, repent before Him, and be restored to Him. (Acts 14:15-17; 17:25-27).

1. The so-called *primitive religions* and their cultural expression.

Following our assumed presuppositions we seek confirmation and illustration of them in historical religions. Our first choice is made most difficult because primitive religious phenomena have no history as such, in the sense that objective and recorded descriptions are quite rare, and quite recent. We also do not really know just why there is such a uniformity of pattern in those societies world-wide and over the traceable ages. We group them with some apology, but in the general sense that most students of anthropology and religion do.

First, belief in deity and its implications for culture. In spite of the research of Father Wilhelm Schmidt and Andrew Lang and others showing that a belief in a kind of monotheism may be found in the most backward or primitive of peoples, it has also been repeatedly shown that these peoples

neglect worship of that supreme god. Rather, their religious activity seems tied up in the placation of spirits everywhere in natural phenomena or objects of various kinds -- spirits feared, considered malevolent, or whimsically destructive, or prowling or lurking about like wild beasts. What are the implications for this? Nature is thus not man's rightful area of command, but something to be feared, something to survive in. And the method is ultimately religious: calling on tutelary spirits, spirits of one's ancestors, offering sacrifices to one or both, use of witchcraft, sorcery, fortune-telling, necromancy. Magic, true, is also used, which is more of a primitive science than a religious phenomenon, in the sense that in magic, man is not suppliant but on the trigger side of the gun, not pleader, but manipulator, threatener, coercer. But it is arcane, occult, preternatural.<sup>1</sup>

Whether through religion or magic, man thus is not co-worker with deity, but a fugitive, alien, or disoriented figure, harrassed and fearful. Without the revealed will of the One God for a chart, and with his compass of conscience swinging wildly, he knows not how to construct human society, knows

1) Max Weber in the chapter "The General Character of Asiatic Religion" in *The Religion of India* describes and analyzes magic in Chinese religion as follows. We treat it here as a carryover of "primitive" religion seen so widely elsewhere.

Not the "miracle" but the "magical spell" remained...the core substance of mass religiosity. This was true above all for peasants and laborers, but also for the middle classes.

"Miracle" in terms of its meaning always appears as an act of some sort of rational, world-linked, godly sort of grace, seen and practiced, thus inwardly motivated as a "spell"; in terms of its sense it stands as a manifestation of magical potencies manipulated by irrational, operational arts and by charismatically qualified beings. However, such manipulation occurs in terms of the particular free will behind nature, human or super-human, stored up through asceticism or contemplative performances.

This most highly anti-rational world of universal magic also affected everyday economics. There is no way from it to rational, inner-worldly life conduct. With such means the great mass of the aliterary and even the literary Asiatics sought to master everyday life. (pp. 335,336).

not who is his neighbor. His view of the world of nature prevents truly building a science, theoretical or applied.

Of course there is much that is admirable in the primitive man -- his courage, hardihood, self-discipline in stalking game or in warfare, skills in jungle lore, fishing, the artistic motifs and skill of rendering them in pottery, basketry, and iconography. After all, he is in God's image, and has God's gifts. But in the absence of the worship of the God of creation, providence and love, all culture is truncated and distorted at its first stages.

## 2. *Classical civilizations* of the Americas, Egypt, Asia, and Europe.

Is there here, too, a similar sameness about the relationship of religion and culture? Here the prevalent picture is one of the great masses of men under the all-embracing authority and power of a minority -- the king and his nobles together with an organized priesthood. Whatever variations of the share in power between the secular rule (king) and the religious (the priest), the masses are in thrall to both. The very concept of the division of church and state awaits a far distant century and the womb of a new religion -- Christianity, though its seeds are seen in Old Testament revelation as when Samuel rebukes King Saul for performing the sacrifices that are for the priest to offer (I Samuel 13).

In these civilizations, usually polytheistic, or at least henotheistic, the king is an embodiment of deity in some sense or other, in case after case. The priests validate, glorify, ritualize, and sanctify the kingship, and the king accepts the accumulation of riches, lands, and authority by the priests. As the Old Testament and other ancient literature well testify, the primitive heritage of augury, fortune-telling, magic and sorcery continues. The god or gods are viewed as the powers of nature, and worship is to heavenly lights or to deities as "images resembling mortal man or birds

or animals or reptiles." (Romans 1:23).

The means of corporate development of culture is now clearly seen. Written laws, and army and a police force, administrative structures and systems of taxation, coinage, record keeping, weights and measures -- all minister to organization and control of the materials, forces, and skills available. So there is, to be sure, cultural progress in terms of parts or aspects of the total cultural pursuit.

This progress in culture does not undo our theory. As Toynbee points out and argues strenuously,

We have been led to reject the popular assumption that civilizations emerge when environments offer unusually easy conditions of life and to advance an argument in favor of exactly the opposite view.<sup>1</sup>

And further:

The moral is found in the early chapters of the book of Genesis; it was only *after* Adam and Eve had been expelled from their Eden Lotus-land that their descendants set about inventing agriculture, metallurgy and musical instruments.<sup>2</sup>

Men's wants and needs push him to invention and production. Necessity is the mother of invention. But, as we are implying, the father of invention may be not necessity, but the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life (I John 2:16). As the next verses say, "These are of the world and the world passes away!" And so has passed the glory of the pyramids built with the lash-marked, straining limbs of countless slaves -- monuments to kings who strained for their own immortality with all the riches and technology and art and magic they could assemble, but monuments to selfishness and hubris and cruelty. So likewise with a thousand other boasting steles, with their catalogue of prisoners, burned cities, and

1) *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p.81.

2) *Ibid.*, p.87.

plunder.<sup>1</sup>

And what has this to do with religion? Again, man's deification of nature's forces and man himself can only be the creation of a god in man's image. For all the glory and power imputed to these images, how many of them have imputed to them brotherly love, righteousness, mercy, and kindness? The adulterous, jealous, lustful, greedy gods of Greece and Rome, for example (or many other civilizations) -- are they not the embodiment of the personality and cultural concepts, even ideals, of their worshipers? At any rate, can lecherous Zeus and jealous, nagging Hera as gods be the source of spiritual uplift to the earthly married couple?

1) While we agree with Toynbee above that not easy conditions, but difficult ones, have spawned the great civilizations, yet he himself admits that too difficult an environment or conditions inhibit growth. The colonies on the Antarctic icecap are a good example -- they are artificially maintained with great difficulty with regular supplies coming from their countries in more hospitable climates. They are in no sense a homogenous collection of people with family life and ordinary pursuits maintaining their livelihood, but scientists, specialists, technologists all.

At the same time we note the remarks by Herbert Marcuse in estimating Sigmund Freud's view of culture. Here the issue is not environmental as to the outside world of nature but the matter of the subjugation of the inner instinct:

Freud questions culture not from a romanticist or utopian point of view, but on the ground of the suffering and misery which its implementation involves. Cultural freedom thus appears in the light of unfreedom and cultural progress in the light of constraint. Culture is not thereby refuted; unfreedom and constraint are the price that must be paid. (*Eros and Civilization*, pp. 32,33). We also affirm this -- that culture is not refuted by its emerging from and under the bonds and constraints of man's historical situation. A cultural attainment is still a cultural attainment, whether done freely and joyfully, or under cruel necessity. What we are concerned with here is the evaluating of the cultural matrix and motive. With Marcuse we can say, "Sigmund Freud's proposition that civilization is based on the permanent subjugation of the human instincts has been taken for granted." (*Ibid.*, p.23). Nevertheless, we insist that before the fall of man, this subjugation was one of joy and happiness, and that true fealty to Christ as rightful, loving Master of all will return the cultural enterprise to its desired and, then, rightful, goal. The hope of salvation and the revealed purpose and promised inheritance of culture are thus of one piece.

### 3. *Hinduism* and its Cultural Expression.

This ancient religion in its protean forms is the faith, in some sense, of about 78.8% of India's some 694,000,000 people,<sup>1</sup> and in parts of the population in yet other nations. The writer has, in his three multi-month visits to India in the past four years, taken an ever closer look at this religious complex, talked to adherents, and read thousands of pages about it. In so brief a survey, we will cover only the following aspects:

a. Hinduism today is derived from the characteristic "primitive" view of the world. Nirad C. Chaudhuri's perhaps original, but undoubtedly serious, account of Hinduism is written in his old age, boldly and intimately speaking from personal knowledge:

For all Hindus their religion is a supernatural overlay on the natural world, and the two cannot be separated. Its ultimate derivation is from primitive life, in which the two mingle in every conceivable way.<sup>2</sup>

To sum up, Hinduism in its fundamental aspect is a civilized amplification of the primitive man's way of living in the world by accepting the conditions which he believes are inexorably laid down by the supernatural spirits who really own and govern it...In modern terms, the collaboration between man and the supernatural spirits may be called religious feudalism based on the principles of fealty, service and protection.<sup>3</sup>

b. The main concern of the adherents of Hinduism is to improve their existence in this world. Here we follow Chaudhuri in his bold assertion. Though it goes counter to many books about Hinduism, his thesis rings true to the observer even in the pilgrimage spots of Rishikesh and Hardwar.

Hinduism differs fundamentally from Christianity in this, that for its followers it is not an alternative to the world, but primarily the means of supporting and improving

1) ed. Barrett, *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Nairobi:Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), p. 370.  
 2) N. Chaudhuri, *Hinduism* (New Delhi: B.I. Publications, 1979), pp. 18,19.  
 3) *Ibid.*, pp. 21,22.

their existence.<sup>1</sup>

So Hinduism became pursuit of power through religion.<sup>2</sup>

c. The Hindu concept of salvation is focused on worldly prosperity, not delivery from the world.

They also speak of salvation (moksha). But the unworldly aims of the religion, when put against the worldly, have hardly any weight. As to the notion of salvation, it is wholly unreal and unattractive, a mere talking point....Salvation is never the object of the religious observances and worship of the Hindus. The main object is worldly prosperity, and this absorption in the world has made the doctrine of rebirth in it the appealing and strongly held belief among all the notions put forward by them about existence after death. They so loved the world that they made the possibility of leaving it for good, even after many cycles of birth, as remote and difficult as possible.

Albert Schweitzer had the insight to perceive this and said that Hinduism was not a religion of world negation.<sup>3,4</sup>

d. The startling assertions of Chaudhuri above may help us understand the assertion of other students of Indian religion. We mention here the caste system and nationalism as fostered by the Bhagavad Gita, so often admired, so seldom deplored. We note the following critique:

On the whole, its teachings can help (and have helped) only to subject human progress and nourish social evils. It is a philosophy of the upper class meant to be utilized by them as a weapon for maintaining a frustrated society in some sort of stability and equilibrium by inculcating ideas of patience and contentment

1) *Ibid.*, p. 9.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 329. See also pp. 294, 304 *in passim*.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

4) Murugesu N. Mudaliar, another modern Indian, makes a similar judgment about the basic spirit of Hinduism. He is himself a proponent of aspects, at least, of the gnostic philosophy of Sri Aurobindo Ghose, most anxious to reform Hindu thought toward spirituality of a kind. He says:

It is a mistake to think that Hinduism as a social institution, or even as a practicing religion, has its basis in world and life negation. Its metaphysics generally, and some schools of philosophical thought particularly, might look upon the world as *maya*, which does not mean illusory, but as secondary reality. Some of even the earliest schools, and most prominently the Vaisnava and Saiva schools, did not contribute to the doctrine of *maya*. Philosophic Hinduism looked upon even (materialism) as the first state in the ladder which finally led to the Brahman as the only Reality and so its world and life abnegation is only metaphysical. -From *Traditional Hinduism and Social Development* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1978), p. 28.

in disinherited, exploited and down-trodden millions.<sup>1</sup>

This is not to deny the many high ethical standards urged by the Bhagavad Gita (and the laws of Manu), such as fearlessness, purity of disposition, steadfastness in knowledge and meditation, charity, self-control, non-violence, ruthfulness, absence of anger, renunciation, tranquillity of mind, compassion to living things, vigor, forgiveness, fortitude, purity, absence of malice and excessive pride. But good elements can be combined with bad, as in the rigidifying of the oppressive caste system.

And yet another writer accuses the Gita of fostering dangerous nationalism:

The particular genius of the Bhagavad Gita in combining nationalism with religious fervour is a menace not only in India but has extended to the whole world. Professor A.D. Lindsay has said that nationalism is "one of the most powerful religions in the world today" and that it is "a very degraded form of polytheism." (A.D. Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy*, p. 80.) The menacing character of the Gita may be seen in the so-called German Faith Movement. The leaders of this movement, seeking with German thoroughness a religious and philosophical basis, have adopted the Bhagavad Gita as one of their sources of inspiration. The other is the Christian mysticism of Meister Eckhart, which Dr. Rudolf Otto has shown closely approximates that of Hinduism.<sup>2</sup>

Yet another stringent criticism comes from a modern Indian. His scathing negative judgment of the Gita here focuses especially on the concepts of duty and love:

A. Schweitzer is the most perceptive critic of the dematerialized action apotheosized in the Bhagavad Gita. He regards this as no better than "Fichte's concept of God as an Infinite Will to action and Man to play his part in the stage set by God. Fichte gives human activity a meaning starting from the Divine activity. In the Gita man plays a part in the drama from a blind sense of duty without seeking to find out its meaning. Like Buddhism it demands ethical

1) Prem Nath Bazaz, *The Role of Bhagavad Gita in Indian History* (New Delhi: Sterling Publications Pvt., Ltd., n.d.), p. (ix).

2) J.E. Graefe, *Christ and the Hindu Heart* (New York: Revell, 1938), pp. 16, 17.

action but it arises from one's own social position, profession, etc. as determined by caste or Scriptures. Although the Gita inculcates Bhakti to God, it is an end in itself. It does not make 'love to God' find expression in 'love to mankind.'" Schweitzer observes, "Because it fails to reach the idea of actual love, the ethic of the Bhagavad Gita is like a smoky fire from which no flame flares upward." Bhagavad Gita is sphinx-like in its ethic of duty without love. Dr. Norman Brown also observes the inconsistency in Gita's concepts.<sup>1</sup>

e. Indian traditional philosophy served to maintain the leading caste in its self-serving and in its contempt for, suppression of, and unmerciful exploitation of the masses of India for century after century. The following estimate of the contribution to Indian culture by the traditional philosophies of India comes from a convert to Christianity -- a contemporary Indian, who had followed his father in unusual devotion to Hindu religious ideals and practices, and who received high praise from a Hindu sage and holy man for his holy striving. His indictment of the philosophers is bitter indeed, but in the stark contrast with the wholehearted conviction he has of Christianity's characteristic blessings for culture. Speaking of the six orthodox systems of Indian thought (the Purva Mimamsa, the Vedanta, the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Nyaya, and the Vaisesika) he says:

All the above mentioned systems are considered to be the six aspects of a single stream of orthodox tradition. Actually they are complementary rather than contradictory.

.....  
All these systems claim their origin in the Vedas only.  
.....

The biggest problem of these philosophies was that they produced a Brahminical culture which looked down upon manual labor with contempt and upon the working classes as *heenias* and *pariahs* (the outcastes and untouchables). No doubt these philosophies strengthened the position of the Brahmins and placed them on the highest pedestal of society while creatively contributing nothing to the society. As the Brahmins had nothing to do except enjoy enormous wealth, they could spend most of their time in intellectual exercises and metaphysical speculations while the toiling millions were deliberately

1) Mudaliar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

kept in utter darkness and crass superstition without giving them even the minimum facilities of food, clothing much less any chance for intellectual development. Almost ninety per cent of the Indian people had nothing to do with these high-flown thoughts. Their life was one of misery, starvation, superstition, wretchedness and ruthless caste oppressions.<sup>1</sup>

Pillai speaks similarly of Sankara, the great Advaita philosopher of the eighth century A.D., whose thought is "the source of the main currents of modern Indian thought."<sup>2</sup> Pillai says:

Sankara's genius was responsible for stabilizing the caste system for centuries to come. He is one of history's greatest intellectual defenders of one of the most ancient, most degrading and most atrocious injustices that mankind had ever been subjected to, namely the caste system.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of this grave indictment may be seen in the testimony of other on-the-scene observers that modern Hinduism remains much the same for the masses today. The book *Religious Hinduism* by various Jesuit scholars (Antoine, Fallon, *et al.*) issued in 1964 testifies to the continuing strength of Brahmanic rites and the rituals of home and temple worship. The Upanishads, the two epics and the medieval Puranas keep their hold on the masses. Festivals, fairs and pilgrimages continue, and thousands of sadhus and sannyasins and astrologers "control the decisions of most individuals". "The caste system still controls the social situation." Yet, says the same passage, the greatest danger to this age-long "spirituality" is the emerging secularism and humanism which rides on the crest of the incoming scientism and exaggerated faith in technology with their rationalistic foundations. Henry Pressler (as summarized by R. De Smet in the same book's appendix) does not even see this latter threat affecting beliefs today. This

1) V.K.P. Pillai, *India's Search for the Unknown Christ* (New Delhi: Fazl Publishers, 1979), pp. 119-121.

2) "Sankara", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*; Micropaedia Volume VIII, p. 864.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

summary of ten points we quote in part (I summarize somewhat):

1. Orthodox Hindu beliefs still dominate the thinking of the masses.
2. Social and technological changes have hardly affected these beliefs.
3. There is no organized ideological attack on these beliefs today. In the sixth century A.D. controversial polemics were acute. After Muslim attacks there were upheavals by Ramananda, Kabir, Babak and followers, doctrinal blasts from Brahma and Arya Samajists, but not today, anywhere in India, of consequence.
6. Earth-bound factors largely determine adherence to a certain set of religious beliefs -- caste and sub-caste, ethnic and racial group, occupational sector, economic class, language, literacy, influence of wandering mendicants, etc.
8. Beliefs tend to mirror and sanction the functional order of existing society.
9. Actual Hindu beliefs pertain to mythology and philosophy, not to modern science.
10. The orthodox upper Hindus create the fullest expression of Hindu beliefs by their institutions.<sup>1</sup>

f. We conclude our section on Hinduism with a comment on the well-known doctrine of karma, here by the redoubtable journalist, Arthur Koestler.

The Oriental attitude toward the sick and the poor is notoriously indifferent because caste, rank, wealth, and health are preordained by the laws of karma. Welfare work in the slums and care of the poor in general was, and still is, a monopoly of the Christian missions in Asia.<sup>2</sup>

In our highly selective list of religious factors influencing Indian culture in Hinduism (e.g., its primitive roots, chief goals, certain controlling concepts, a sample of highly influential literature and the greatest name in Indian philosophy) we have emphasized estimates from Indians themselves. We have made very negative criticisms, but not just in the so-frequently denounced areas of suttee (the custom of a widow throwing herself, or being forced upon, the funeral pyre of her dead husband to join him in death) or child marriage or prevention of the remarriage of widows. Child sacrifice, exposure of infants, the religious murders fostered and practiced by Kali worshippers (the thuggees) -- and more, could

1) *Ibid.*, pp. 321-325.

2) *The Lotus and the Robot* (New York:Harper & Row, 1966), p. 280.

also be emphasized as cultural development (or over-hangs) from religious concepts of traditional Hinduism. But plenty of Hindus themselves have deplored such practices and customs. It has been our purpose not to merely point out evils in a culture. Christian history has its witch burnings, its crusades, its inquisitions. We are more interested in pointing out the characteristic directions and chief leading by Hinduism's own recognized leaders. It should be clear that for all the wealth and art and moving literature of India (the great *Ramayana* epic, for example), Hinduism has not provided and cannot provide for its people a truly improved existence and power in this world, nor hope for the next.

#### 4. *Buddhism* and its Cultural Expression.

Just as it surprises one to see the this-worldly interest of the Hindu, who at the same time professes the traditional doctrines of the world as *maya*, so it is also startling to see the Buddhist simultaneously seeming to be world-denying and also world-affirming. We will not attempt to untie this knotty problem. As we have done in the previous section, we try to bring our attention to what appear to be fruits in culture where a Buddhist world and life view prevails. Whether or not one acknowledges the true existence of this world and the society of men, the Buddhist *does* act and react in this world. He can hardly do otherwise, of course.

First, however, we would point out characteristic differences between Hinduism and Buddhism, for Buddhism came into being in India in the midst of Hinduism, and in reaction to it, yet retaining many of the doctrines of Hinduism (for example, karma, dharma, yoga, rebirth and transmigration) Even some deities from the Vedas are recognized by some Buddhists, such as Viswakarma and Prajapati. Kashyap explains five distinctive features

of Buddhism in its relations with Hinduism, taken from the famous Buddhist logician Dharmakirti of about A.D. 600.<sup>1</sup> Summarizing even that summary:

1. Preaching against blind acceptance of any tradition or authority, whether Vedas or even of the Buddha himself, Buddha said it harmed one's spiritual progress. So the Pali Tripitaka are not divine, infallible revelation, but a faithful record for study and practice, in that view.

2. Rejecting a first cause, or creator, and also rejecting both deistic and pantheistic concepts of deity, Buddhists see their gods as "highly moral, subtle beings on a different plane of existence, who there are born, live and die at the end of their life span." "They are considered to be devotees of the Buddha and his disciple Saints" which latter are considered spiritually higher than these gods, and who are to preach the Dhamma (Dharma) to both men and gods alike.<sup>2</sup>

3. Buddhism rejects the idea of the efficacy of external rites, such as washing in the Ganges, fasting, practicing austerities.

4. The caste system and untouchability are rejected. This, of course, is also rejecting the authority of the Hindu scriptures which emphasized the hierarchy.

5. Buddhism opposed the practices of self-mortification and austerities, as being of no assistance in the realization of the Truth, but rather making a man more disturbed.

It is true that Buddhism's revolutionary teaching shook Indian religion to the roots, and all the systems of Indian philosophy tried to meet the rational arguments raised by the Buddha. But, as Kashyap readily admits,

1) J. Kashyap, "Origin and Expansion of Buddhism" in K. Morgan, *The Path of the Buddha* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956), p. 45. Bhikku J. Kashyap was Honorary Director of the Nalanda Pali Postgraduate Inst., India.  
2) *Ibid.*

It should be remembered that there were similarities as well as differences. Both Hinduism and Buddhism existed in a common culture for many centuries; there never was a distinctly separate Buddhist society isolated from the rest of the community.<sup>1</sup>

With this in mind we proceed to consider some estimates of Buddhism in terms of its relation to cultural development. Results, even "practical results", are claimed by Buddhist Hajime Nakamura, Professor of Indian Philosophy, University of Tokyo, Japan. He says:

The practical results of the development of compassion have been seen in the way that Buddhism has softened the rough warrior races of Tibet and Mongolia, nearly effacing all traces of their original brutality. In Japan, also, according to statistical reports, cases of murder or assault are relatively rare in districts where Buddhist influence is strong.<sup>2</sup>

Asoka, the Buddhist ruler of most of the sub-continent from 269-238 B.C., was a prime example of applying convictions to culture. Joseph Kitagawa of the University of Chicago summarizes his reign thus:

Asoka attempted to establish a "true *dharma*" in his realm based on the virtues of self-control, impartiality, cheerfulness, truthfulness and goodness. Though he did not found a state church, he did attempt to make for the state a church that would include Hindu, Jaina, Ājīvika, and Buddhist alike. His aim was to create a religious and social milieu that would enable "all the children of the King" to live happily and attain heaven in the next life. Thus, he created a "welfare state" by setting up medical assistance for men and beasts, maintaining reservoirs and canals, and promoting trade.<sup>3</sup>

Though Asoka is an early and shining example, there are many instances of Buddhist leaders deliberately being involved in cultural pursuits or social and political activity. In China, for example, the genius of Buddhism, as compared with that of India, was "pragmatic and this-worldly. Monasteries operated oil presses and general stores, maintained roads, planted trees, and indulged in commerce and money-lending."<sup>4</sup>

1) *Ibid.*, p. 47.  
2) H. Nakamura, "Unity and Diversity in Buddhism" in K. Morgan, *The Path of the Buddha* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956), p. 387.  
3) "Buddhism, History of", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Macropaedia Volume III, p. 406.  
4) *Ibid.*, p. 409



In Korea, the famous monk Wonhyo (7th century) was an impressive scholar who was also married, and tried to express the meaning of Buddhism through use of music, dance and literature. In recent times we note Cambodia's prince Norodom Sihanouk and Burma's former Prime Minister U Nu, who were outstanding nationalists. Ambedkar of Maharashtra sought justice for the untouchables of India by mass conversion to Buddhism, during his leadership. In South Vietnam, dozens of self-immolations of monks protesting the ruin of their country have taken place since 1963. As is well known, recent developments in Japanese and Korean Buddhism show a shift to interest in social and cultural matters. Soka-gakkai and Rissho-Kosei-kai in Japan (are they "New Religions"?) and Won Bulkyo in Korea are signal embodiments of this shift.

Our difficulty at this point is trying to decide whether good cultural developments fostered by Buddhists are a true fruit of characteristic Buddhist principles, or whether they are sometimes exceptions due to the great adaptability of Buddhism to various religious and cultural milieux. Melford Spiro, in his rather unique anthropological study of Burmese Buddhism, says that in the process of becoming a popular religion, Buddhism, in Burma at least, has undergone changes related to both the means and goal of salvation. Instead of renouncing worldly desire, most Buddhists aspire to "a future worldly existence in which their desires may find satisfaction." And the principal ideas are "not so much used to think about or classify with, as to live by. That is, they are used to provide hopes, to satisfy wishes, to resolve conflict, to cope with tragedy, to rationalize failure, to find meaning in suffering. In short, religious ideas deal with the very guts of life, not with its bland surface."<sup>1</sup>

1) M. Spiro, *Buddhism and Society, A Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes* (New York:Harper and Row, 1970), flyleaf.

This would seem to indicate what we saw in Hinduism, viz., a real concern for this life or life as this world shows it. Especially in the masses -- involved in their families, their occupations, their plans and pleasures -- this can be expected to be so. No doubt this has been the case in Christian Europe where only the minority were monastics or celibates. Spiro puts it thus for Burmese Buddhists:

Structurally viewed, a Buddhist society consists of a small core of world-renouncing virtuosos surrounded by a large mass of the religiously unmusical who although living in the world cherish and support this other-worldly minority.<sup>1</sup>

This much seems clear. The presuppositions and beliefs of Buddhism, for all their variety and changes, do not provide a charter for cultural progress.

Officially and according to its ideals, Buddhism cannot father a social theory, form a political system, carve out power-blocs within economic and social boundaries, give birth to an intellectual movement, foment a school of music, of art, of painting. Nor should it collect funds, set up bank accounts, indulge in military operation, or inspire reformist movements, university studies, secular organizations, political and literary propaganda, and civil activity.

Any real vogue for Buddhism among the major populations of any lands traditionally Buddhist must want inevitably according as modern technology enters the Far East.<sup>2</sup>

One thing is certain, Buddhism has suffered negative growth in recent years in Asia, while Islam and Hinduism continue to grow. Kitagawa concludes his article on the history of Buddhism with the following observations:

Some Buddhist writers have gone to great lengths to promote Buddhism as a rational, scientific alternative to the anti-nomies exposed in Western thought by the battles between Christian dogma and science. They have been quick to point

1) *Ibid.*

2) M. Martin, *The Encounter, Religions in Crisis* (London:Michael Joseph, 1970), p. 405.

out the Buddha's "empirical" attitudes, the Buddhist concepts of cause and effect, and the flux of elements in Buddhist metaphysics as anticipations of modern scientific views. Still, it cannot be said that Buddhism has generally come to grips with the intellectual problems posed by modern philosophy and science. There are exceptions to this, of course, such as the Zen philosophies of the late Nishida Kitaro (1870-1945) and Nishitani Keiji.<sup>1</sup>

We move on. Other religions must be viewed. But as we converge finally on Christianity and its implications for culture, we conclude our treatment of Buddhism with an anecdote from Arthur Koestler.<sup>2</sup> In an interview with what he considered one of the greatest experts on Buddhism today, Koestler reports the following exchange:

"You favor tolerance toward all religions and political systems.

What about Hitler's gas chambers?"

"That was very silly of him."

"Just silly, not evil?"

"Evil is a Christian concept. Good and evil exist only on a relative scale."

What can this mean for the relationship between culture and conviction? What are its implications for the Buddhist idea of compassion? Without a holy and living God, without His revelation given in all authority and reliability and perspicuity and sufficiency, how shall man know how to act, and from whence comes his motivation for good? We insist that man without God thinks correctly and acts constructively only on the "borrowed capital" of the God-made ontological and epistemological and ethical nature of man in his relationship to the world and to other men. Though he does not so believe, he still thinks and acts only by God's continuing

1) *Op. cit.*, p. 413.

2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

grace and gifts. God is the presupposition of all reality, all meaning, and all value, and this applies to human culture and history.

#### 5. *Minority Religions in India and Their Cultural Expression.*

##### JAINISM

Jainism (whose founder Mahavir was a contemporary of Gautama, the founder of Buddhism) never enjoyed the rapid growth of Buddhism, but never died out in India, as did the latter. The Jains, like the Parsees and Sikhs, though decidedly a minority group numerically in vast India, nevertheless have shown vigorous influence on Indian society and culture. The newly published *World Christian Encyclopedia*<sup>1</sup> numbers them at 3,303,600 in South Asia for mid-1985. Scattered widely over that area, the Jains have become very prosperous traders, and have made important contributions to the literature and learning of India.

Not only is the name Jainism etymologically from a word meaning "conquer" or "victor" (Sanskrit *jina*) but its history and doctrine are "permeated by religious convictions related to the notion of conquest, and its goal is absolute triumph over all material existence."<sup>2</sup> What is to be conquered is the accumulation of *karma*, which is conceived of as a subtle form of matter that clings to the sentient soul (called the *jiva*, and whose true nature is basically perfect knowledge and self-contained bliss). To free the soul from the accumulation of *karma* (activity, which is the root meaning of the word), ascetic penance, even death by self-starvation, is permitted or encouraged. Jains teach that the only life-style leading to freedom is that of austere monastic life.<sup>3</sup>

1) *Op. cit.*, p. 785.

2) K.W. Folkert's chapter on "Jainism" in ed. Keith Crim, *Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981), p. 369.

3) *Ibid.*

Along with ascetic privation, the Jaina ascetic must take great pains to avoid taking the life of any living being. Some wear mouth masks to avoid sucking in insects or tiny forms of life, and some carry a broom to sweep before them as they walk to avoid treading on any tiny creature.

Like Buddhism basically atheistic, they maintain that veneration of the Tirthankaras does not impute status of deity to them. The Jain concept of victory is a solitary and strenuous one of self-salvation! The layman is also to follow increasingly vigorous austerities and ultimately to undertake full monastic vows.

One would not expect this religion to have cultural fruits attractive to people of quite different convictions. K.W. Folkert says, however:

The Jainas have maintained a reverence for learning that is somewhat paradoxical in a radically ascetic tradition. In addition to doctrinal and philosophical texts, Jaina authors have produced important works in a variety of literary modes.

Jaina monk-scholars are also noted for their formative influence in making regional vernacular languages, especially in South and Central India, into literary vehicles.

The Jainas have also played an important role in conserving, in their libraries, the writings of non-Jaina Hindu authors.<sup>1</sup>

This same articles states that "the Jaina often enjoyed royal patronage, and were major contributors to the literature, arts, and architecture of various regions."<sup>2</sup>

1) *Ibid.*, pp. 371,372.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 371. - The writer has extensively used the magnificent personal library of the Jaina business man Mr. Padam Kumar Jain, who not only has collected 30,000 volumes on India and surrounding countries, in all their aspects, but really reads his books and has the collection open to the public at large during the whole week. His home, in Dehra Dun, U.P. is also beautifully furnished and decorated with art works showing both cosmopolitan and discriminating taste. His accomplished wife has translated a number of literary works from Bengali into Hindi with distinction.

A popular Christian India writer makes this summary estimate of the social impact of the Jainas:

The social impact of Jainism is especially interesting to note. Because of the extreme practices of *Ahimsa*, the Jains did not engage in agriculture. So they became traders and today they have become one of the most prosperous trading communities in India. Their grip over the economy is considerable, especially in Gujarat, Rajasthan and U.P.<sup>1</sup>

Pillai continues with a comment that reminds of both Hindu and Buddhist tendencies to adapt to the exigencies of earthly life. He says,

Jainism never had any sense of history and could never conceive of the redemption of creation. It is a philosophy of despair, wanting to find a way out through self-destruction. But the realities of life taught the Jains to give up the inner content of Jainism and take to the ceremonial trappings of that religion. This is why they produced one of the most materialistic people in India with a religion sanctioning total negation of matter. Today Jainism is considered only as a part of Hinduism.<sup>2</sup>

Again we see cultural fruits of a particular religious community.

Yet it has been difficult to see which are characteristic fruits and which are the result of adjustment to the world as it is. We are led to conjecture, however, particularly when we see the influence of this minority group throughout the subcontinent, throughout two and a half millenia, that the intense and vigorous application of its followers to their convictions that material existence must be conquered is the key. Whether through the ascetic life-style or whether through overcoming in the material realm, the will to solitary conquest has produced cultural fruits. This may explain both their survival where Buddhism failed, and their influence even as so small a minority -- and perhaps also may be the reason so few have been converted by them to their austere faith.

1) K.V. Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

2) *Ibid.*

## THE PARSEES (Zoroastrian Community of Believers in India)

The Parsees of today, 115,000 strong, and mostly in the Bombay area of India, are another example of a culturally influential minority group. Though originally refugees from persecution in their Persian fatherland some thirteen centuries ago or so, they have become wealthy and highly influential while maintaining a strong monolithic ethnic culture. Eckehard Kulke, Lecturer of Sociology at Freiberg University, has made a special study of this minority group, subtitled his book "A Minority as Agent of Social Change". He applies to the Parsees the "cumulative causation" theory of social change which Gunnar Myrdal applied to the Negro in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Myrdal, in analyzing the underprivileged Negroes, had seen the cumulative causation theory illustrated in the general interdependence of the factors in the Negro problem. Just as low standards of living, health, education, manners and morals had been caused (in part?) by white prejudice and discrimination, so these characteristics in them gave support to white prejudice and white supremacy theories. In the case of the Parsees, positive factors enabled a forward progress which, when initial factors were no longer present, became ongoing by means of an internal dynamic.

The basic positive factor, according to Kulke, "was the advent of the British and the Parsees' adopting a mediating function between the British and Indian society" which led to many advantages, including close intellectual and commercial contact with the British higher educational standards, linguistic abilities, etc.<sup>2</sup>

But other factors must certainly be considered. The Zoroastrian

- 1) E. Kulke, *The Parsees in India, A Minority as Agent of Social Change* (New Delhi: Vikas Publ. House Pvt., Ltd., 1978 (copyrighted by Weltforum-Verlag GmbH, Munich, 1974), pp. 261, 262.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 240.

concept of the struggle against evil and strong affirmation of life, praise of good work and industry, condemnation of idleness, the great importance of righteousness and honesty in connection with work, and absence of begging, all are relevant.

Zoroaster names five ways to perfection:

Integrity,  
virtuous progeny,  
cultivation of land,  
sheep-rearing,  
perfection of manual skills.<sup>1</sup>

Kulke also points out that a systematic, rational, methodical pattern of life demanded by the Parsees enabled many late 19th century Parsees to "combine modern, economically oriented behavior with religious traditionalism without consciously experiencing a conflict of norms."<sup>2</sup>

Kulke, who takes much approving account of Max Weber's views on the sociology of religion, is most helpful for us at this point by comparing, as he sees it, Parsee and Calvinistic economic ethics:<sup>3</sup>

...a brief comparative reference to the Calvinistic economic ethics may be of some interest, the roots of which differ fundamentally from those of Parsism, but the results of which are similar for both religions. While an active support of the "powers of good" leads directly to salvation in Parsism, the Calvinist feels as a divine instrument whose life and fate are determined by predestination and depend alone upon God's mercy... "However useless good works might be as a means of attaining salvation... they are indispensable as a sign of election."<sup>4</sup> While good works and success are a sign that salvation will be attained for the Calvinists, they become the instrument of attaining salvation for the Parsees.<sup>5</sup>

Kulke continues his comparison, asserting that the Parsee has no

- 1) *Ibid.*, p. 255, where Kulke cites Dinkard IX,7, quoted from the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 37, p. 179.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 259.
- 3) *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 260.
- 4) M. Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1947) p. 110.
- 5) *Ibid.*, p. 147.

restriction on his enjoyment of life while the Calvinist, particularly the Puritan, is motivated in his work by "an inner-worldly asceticism". The Parsee rejects both the inner-worldly as well as the world-rejecting kind of asceticism, this latter in contrast to Hindu and Buddhist ideologies. No restriction in the use of material wealth affects the Parsee except in his serious view of social and charity obligations.<sup>1</sup>

This latter matter of charity is of particular interest, as there is apparently no desire to convert others into the Parsee faith. Nevertheless, their giving was in no way limited to their own community, but benefited poor Hindus, needy textile workers in Lancashire, earthquake victims in Japan, and cancer patients in England. In collections for such things, Parsee donors were always prominent or leading.<sup>2</sup>

The Parsees have a close community feeling and cooperation. They have encountered many problems in recent years: lower birth rate, a decline in willingness to marry, increase in divorces, intermarriage with non-Parsees.<sup>3</sup> This is to be expected in view of similar problems in other religious communities. Nevertheless continuing strengths are seen.

...the community still provides or provided India's largest industrial concern, the largest (now nationalized) private bank in India, such important politicians as Masani and Mody, journalists like Karaka and Karanjia, the highest Indian military officer (Field Marshall Manekshaw), India's most important nuclear physicist -- just to name some of the most prominent Parsees who give the community the feeling of being at the top in any field in which Parsees become active. The elite consciousness has thus been preserved up to the present in order to make them forget the actual dangers to the community's future.<sup>4</sup>

The life-affirming Parsees, as would be expected, can boast of more

1) Kulke, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 74 ff.

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 41-47.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 267 ff.

cultural triumphs than the Jains, who are extremely life-denying in their religion. But both, though minorities, startle us with their accomplishments. As we go on to another vigorous minority religion in India, the Sikhs, we see again the inner force which produced outer cultural excellencies.

#### THE SIKHS

The Sikhs, though a much larger group than the Jains or Parsees, came into being much later, and so are treated last. (We omit the Muslims of India, though they are a minority religious group -- some 11% of the population -- because they established themselves not as an indigenous group but by invasion and conquest. Their cultural contributions which are many, are nevertheless at least partly imposed by force. We are, for the purposes of this paper, interested in the spontaneous and natural cultural influences from religious minorities not ruling by force. This will, of course, give us difficulties in treating with Christian minorities when they are protected or led by colonial and military rule, as with the British in India!)

Founded in the late 15th century in Punjab, Sikhism now numbers upwards of fourteen million in India alone, according to the *World Christian Encyclopedia*<sup>1</sup>. The great majority at present in the state of Punjab, which is a rich agricultural area well farmed by these people. Although numbering but 2% of the population of India, they have been reported as providing 70% of its food supply. But they are also prosperous businessmen in many areas, and in the Indian military perhaps as many as 30% of the officers are Sikhs. They are sought after as civil servants, trusted and respected for courage, reliability, and steadfastness.

1) *Op. cit.* - This does not agree, however, with the 1977 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* which lists eight million for all Sikhs everywhere.

Origins of the religion are still a source of dispute among scholars, but it is widely accepted that "Sikhism drew its inspiration from both Bhaktas and Sūfīs."<sup>1</sup> The Bhaktas were part of the Hindu Vaiṣṇava Bhakti Movement, and the Sūfīs were Muslim mystics. To say that Sikhism is an offshoot of either is going farther, but the influential work of W.H. McLeod sees it as "a branch of Hindu Vaiṣṇavism tinged with yogism."<sup>2</sup>

Eclectic though it is, there are differences of importance. Monotheistic, rejecting images or idols, "the sole repository of spiritual authority is the Ādi Granth,"<sup>3</sup> which is a collection of nearly six thousand hymns composed by the first five leading Gurūs, along with some Bhakti and Sūfī hymns as well.

Another difference (which is also significant for cultural fruit) is the rejection of the Hindu pattern of caste. A far less rigid social structure has been substituted, in which -- though there is still discrimination and flux -- the Jats (from the Sudra or lowest main Hindu caste) are pre-eminent, while the non-Jats are not (though they are erstwhile Brahmins, Ksatriyas and Viśyas, the three higher main Hindu caste levels). Even converted untouchables have a higher status within Sikhism than in Hindu society.

- 1) "Sikhism", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Macropaedia, Vol. 16, p. 744.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 747, quoting McLeod's *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* (1968).
- 3) According to Jesuit Scholars, *Religious Hinduism* (Allahabad: St. Paul Publications, 1968), p. 247: "The Granth finally gave to the Sikhs not only the tender devotion to God of the Hindu, but also the sense of reality, vigour and enterprise of the Muslim."

Just as we see worship directed to the images or memory of founders of religion (as the worship of Buddha) even though such founders made disclaimers as to being divine or becoming divine, the Sikhs -- for all their aniconic orientation -- do obeisance and place offerings before the Granth or copies thereof. The writer has heard it formally spoken of in public as if personal and a worker of miracles. The above-mentioned Britannica article (p. 746) boldly says, "The Ādi Granth itself has become an object of worship and as such is known as Granth Sahib (the Granth personified)."

Another difference is allowing widows to remarry. "Women are highly respected and given their rightful place in society and in worship. 'How can they be called inferior when they give birth to kings and prophets?' In this conception, sati (widow burning) has obviously no place."<sup>1</sup>

The Jats, mentioned above as being pre-eminent, being also agricultural tribes, and the Sikhs being excellent farmers mostly living in rural areas -- these factors in combination with widow remarriage become significant, no doubt. *World Christian Encyclopedia* states. "A major reason for the rapid proportionate growth of the Sikh community since 1880 is that Sikhs, being the most rural of the major religions, and tolerating widow remarriage, have a higher fertility than Hindus and also a lower mortality."<sup>2</sup>

Sikh religion and politics have always been closely connected, and belief in a Sikh state is an article of faith. The phrase "the Khalsa shall rule" which is chanted at every service is one of the motivations for present Sikh demands for a Sikh-dominated area of their own. The Khalsa, as a concept of a warrior-saint race, is the rallying point and cementing element in Sikh culture. The notion of the five K's (long hair, comb, sabre, bracelet and special long underdrawers for the men) help retain their distinctives externally, and though discarded by some, are a fiercely preserved badge by the faithful and orthodox.

Each congregation (*Sangat*) in each temple (*gurdwara*) is self-governing, electing its leaders and making decisions by vote. Women do not usually participate in the deliberations, however.

The main consequence of Sikh belief has been a gradual breaking away from the Hindu social system and the develop-

- 1) Jesuit Scholars, *op. cit.*, pp. 273ff.
- 2) *Op. cit.*, article on "India", p. 371.

ment of Sikh separatism.

Since every Sikh is entitled to read the scripture, Sikhs do not have a priestly caste similar to the Brahmins in Hinduism. Sikh insistence on commensality (eating together)...destroyed the traditional Hindu pattern of caste.

Sikhs also have many welfare and educational institutions and sponsor publications and libraries on Sikh history and religion. Innumerable schools have been set up, as well as universities endowed.

## 6. Christianity

We stop with these examples. To consider religions of Japan and China, and especially Korea, would indeed have been desirable. But India has been an especially valuable place to study religions and their cultural impact for the following reasons:

1. Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism antedate the Christian period by many centuries, so a very long period of development and influence on each other can be seen long before the entrance of the Muslim Moghals or colonial Christianity.

2. Comparing minorities side-by-side in more or less indigenous circumstances is possible.

3. General tolerance of other religions and the absence of king deification with its regimentation of all religion under the state. Shinto, as a state cult with deification of the emperor, would be an example of this kind. In the case of China, the various historical phenomena of magic and nature religion (as in primitive Taoism), or the non-theism of philosophical Taoism and Confucianism, or the state cult of either Confucianism or Buddhism, or -- as in recent decades -- the suppression of all religion under Communistic dictatorship, make Chinese religions and philosophies difficult to study in terms of their

1) *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, article on "Sikhism" cited above, p. 746.

spontaneous and indigenous influence on culture. Korea, of course, was until recent decades, tributary in large degree to China, then annexed by Japan. Except for Shamanism, which is not an organized religion with a sense of community of "fellowship of the saints", and is a continuation of primitive religion, perhaps only Chundokyo presents enough strength, span of time, and available data to make a good study of the interrelation of religion and culture.

We pass, then, to Christianity, treating it in terms of its cultural contributions and involvement, and the credibility thus added to Christian witness. But we first try to paint in bold strokes the glaring factors in the disintegration of Roman culture, for it is with that backdrop we see not only the survival of the Christians in the midst of degeneracy and persecution, but also their magnificent stand. Though the world in which the Christians were a scattered minority would seem to be something to flee from or to hide from, the Christians manifest a participation in and help for this dying world of men, so that they evoked not only astonishment, but finally respect and pleas for assistance!

Charles Norris Cochrane, in his seminal study of the thought and action from Augustus to Augustine<sup>1</sup>, has a chapter entitled "Regnum Caesaris: Regnum Diaboli" and proceeds to catalogue and describe that fearful age of growing demonic darkness, chaos and despair. He concludes the chapter by saying of Diocletian, that though he is often regarded as the founder of a new order, "it is more accurate to describe him as the last great exponent of the old."<sup>2</sup> After his abdication in 305 A.D.,

1) C.N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (New York:Oxford Univ. Press, 1957).

2) *Ibid.*, p. 174.

(and six years later, the revocation of the edicts of persecution) suddenly support is sought from Christians!

Making a virtue of necessity, various emperors and aspirants to the purple embarked upon a competition in which they sought to outbid one another for Christian support. The Edict of Milan does not stand alone; it represents the conclusion of a series of manifestoes, each of which offered better terms to the despised and persecuted "slaves of Christ".<sup>1</sup>

It is evident, then, that not one bold revolutionary incident ushers in Christian control over the Roman Empire, but it was a process of decay which included blaming the Christians for the problems (even Gibbon seems to have done it centuries later!) -- and at the same time, a process of seeing their spiritual strength and solid virtues for social integrity and stability.

We first mention some of the factors in the decay and disintegration of Roman society and culture.

1. In the area of religion we note the emperor cult, the deification of capricious emperors. As Tacitus put it, loyalty to the prince required that subjects should abandon the right "to think what you like and say what you think."<sup>2</sup> In Domitian's day (he died in 96 A.D.), it had become a conventional thing to hail the emperor as *dominus et deus*, my Lord and God.<sup>3</sup> Here, vicious, capricious, lustful and cruel emperors like Nero, Caligula and others undermined the belief of Classicism that "the power deemed necessary to protect civilization was supposed to depend upon a fortunate coincidence of character and circumstance" (believed to be fulfilled in Augustus).<sup>4</sup>

1) *Ibid.*

2) *Hist. i.1.4.*, as quoted by Cochrane, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 130

4) *Ibid.*, p. 160. Cf. p. 157.

2. Also, the Pantheon of gods became enlarged to include "all the Mediterranean gods except those which, like the Carthaginian Baal, were distinctly below civilization or those which, like the Jewish Jehovah, were above it."<sup>1</sup>

3. Other indications that "societies die at the top" were the divisions and heresies developing in imperial philosophy<sup>2</sup> and, from those roots, in imperial literature. Stoicism tends to obscure the sense of human freedom and responsibility,<sup>3</sup> and though believing in an orderly world run by divine immanence, it saw that world disintegrating. Stoics and Epicureans fought over which principle of the "form" and "matter" scheme was ultimately determinative. Both schools early died out.

In Plotinus we see the final effort of classical reason to attain a correct picture of the universe and of man's place in it."<sup>4</sup> But not only does he turn back to Plato (and this in Plato's intuitive and mystical aspects), but as Inge puts it, Plotinus "ignored the chaos which surrounded his peaceful lecture room." As Cochrane continues, "To read him, one would never suspect that he was a contemporary of Valerian and Gallienus." So here classical philosophy comes to the end of the road and the view of society for Plotinus is nothing but a monastic retreat from the grim realities of life during the crisis of the third century."<sup>5</sup>

4. In literature, we see Tacitus, supposedly objective, starting the myth of Nordic superiority in his long protest against the empire's degeneracy.<sup>6</sup>

1) *Ibid.*, p. 161.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 163.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 167.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 172.

5) *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 173.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 135.



Seneca, though a high-minded and well-intentioned man, says Cochrane, "proclaimed the doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity while himself acting as prime minister to the last and worst of Julio-Claudian tyrants, requiring him to wear the mask of an accomplished actor," while Lucan "betrays an utter lack of accord between the writer and the world in which he lived."<sup>1</sup> Juvenal uses sarcasm and invective, with nothing to cure the sore.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, higher education with few exceptions was limited to the aristocracy,<sup>3</sup> and the gap between the language of classical literature and the vernacular was constantly widening.<sup>4</sup> Since literature did not reflect the true situation or speak to it, "the masses remained relatively untouched by culture, their rôle within the system being one of mere acquiescence."<sup>5</sup>

Banditry, terrorism and economic collapse; the barbarians pressing against every frontier wall or line of defense; degeneracy increasing as people prostituted themselves to the gladiatorial games; slaves in huge numbers catering to the whims of surfeited, effete, debauched owners, or suffering cruel punishment at their whim -- these are the more common evils portrayed, and all too real. This was the backdrop of the final end to persecution of Christians and the looking to their support to hold the empire intact.

#### Christian Cultural Contributions in Early Centuries

Our concern here is to show what this despised and persecuted minority

1) *Ibid.*, p. 163.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 162.

5) *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162.

of Christians was able to do by virtue of their believing and obeying God. Certainly there was no concerted program for the renewal of the Empire. Nor could there have been. Rather here is the pearl which responds to the irritant -- here is the natural outworking of Christ-possessed, Spirit-filled minds and lives in the midst of affliction and trial, hardship and persecution, false accusation and death by torture as spectacles for the mobs. Errors, evils and aberrations can be counted among Christians, true, for they are only sinners being saved, being sanctified -- not yet perfect. But from them shines an inner light, a strange strength, a sense of community and commitment in service to God, which shows that they are captives and slaves to a new kind of Master -- the Creator and Preserver and Redeemer of man.

A work that I can hardly over-praise, that most thoroughly treats with this theme, is *The Social Results of Early Christianity* (London: Wm. Isbister, Ltd., 1885), which is the English translation of *La Société Civile dans le Monde Romain et sa Transformation par le Christianisme* written some thirty years before by C. Schmidt, then Professor of Theology in Strasburg. In 1849 this essay received the prize from the highly prestigious Académie Française, though the author wrote it as a historical apology for Christianity, for the average reader. It may be seen, both in the subject proposed and in the treatment by the author so well received by the Académie, that the brightest luminaries of the world of scholarship a century and a quarter ago were willing to stake their reputation on the conviction that Christianity did transform the Roman World.

The proposal by the Académie Française that this work be undertaken reads (in English translation): "To trace the influence of Charity on the Roman World during the first centuries of the Christian era; to prove how,

while showing all respect for law and property, it wrought a change by persuasion, through the power of Religion; and to show in the constitutions which were thus established the new spirit with which it had imbued civil society." (Quoted in the preface, p. xxix.)

This the author did, except he enlarged the meaning of the word "Charity" and dealt with the whole fabric of society. The book is a treasure-house of data, with full references from the Church Fathers and other writings contemporary to the time. The range of his treatment is very broad. The examples are numberless. And he emphasizes that not political supremacy brought forth these virtues that changed the Romans. If anything, political supremacy brought back some of the old vices!

The line dividing between charity and social reform is hard to define, and those who worked for righteousness probably did not make such distinctions. Ernest Troeltsch testifies of progress in these areas after Constantine,<sup>1</sup> at the same time showing some of the indications that perfect reform did not yet take place. But Schmidt's book, in its tremendous array of historical examples of both charity and the seeds of social reform, shows us the fruit of faith blooming where it could. In

1) "The Church also waged war on the traffic in girls, and against excesses in the conduct of brothels; she strove to suppress the custom of the exposure of children and undertook the care of foundlings; the Church also supervised the control of punishment in prisons, especially in ransoming prisoners of war... (though) those who were thus set free (were) forced to work on great estates which were unable to find sufficient labor. It was the duty of the Church to ease the lot of slaves, and it did this by obtaining the right which decreed that the freeing of slaves... could lead legally to full Roman citizenship... the Church was however unable to free her own slaves, because they were part of Church property and as such were inalienable, an inconsistency characteristic of the whole situation. This inconsistency also suggests the ecclesiastical system of land ownership can scarcely have been administered on the lines of Christian 'model farms'." - E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, Vol. I* (New York; Macmillan, 1931), p. 141.

the family, for example, we have the matter of child training and the rôle of the mother described as follows:

Pagan morality knew nothing of the mother's influence; they did not say much of the education of daughters, to which maternal solicitude is first directed by the doctors of Christianity. Chrysostom and Jerome insist on the duty of mothers to train their daughters in pious and simple manners, that they may some day make good wives, capable of ordering a household, and in their turn training children for heaven. The Christian mother must also influence her sons.... Several of the most illustrious doctors owed their greatness to their pious mothers. History has preserved the memory of Monica, the mother of Augustine; of Nonna, mother of Gregory of Nazianzus; of Anthusa, mother of Chrysostom.

In the early time of the Church, Christian children were taught only in their own families. This could not be otherwise whilst Christian society was surrounded by dangers and persecutions. It has been asked whether Christians sent their children to pagan schools, or whether they refrained through conscientious scruples. There is no historical evidence on the subject. . . . .

. . . . . The first traces of schools that may be called primary are met with in the fourth century. The schools were kept by priests. Children went there after the age of five... When the Fathers refused to separate instruction from education, into which they introduced the Christian element, they rendered a service to humanity that only blind spirits will refuse to recognize.

But praise of Christian philanthropy and culture will sound best coming from non-Christians or, if possible, anti-Christians. Consider the following (we have already made note of Troeltsch who finds both good and less than good in the history).

For one, note that Edward Gibbon, author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, is not the unconditional critic of Christianity that he is often made out to be. D.M. Low, abridger of Gibbon's massive work says:

...It is a facile mode among some writers to speak of Gibbon's antipathy to Christianity. ..But Gibbon never attacks "the pure and simple precepts of the Gospel". He never challenges Christian

1) C. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 208.

morality as some later agnostics have done. He always respects sincerity and brave attachment to ideals.<sup>1</sup>

By way of example, we quote at length from Low's abridgement in which Gibbon shows the impact of Christians on barbarians:

Christianity, which opened the gates of Heaven to the barbarians, introduced an impressive change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book; and while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures in their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning...The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive...In the most corrupt state of Christianity the barbarians might learn justice from the *law*, and mercy from the *gospel*; and if knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual than the holy communion, which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service of the alliance of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome.

In this selective choice of testimony, we turn to Arnold Toynbee again. He is no orthodox spokesman for Christianity, by any means. Yet he has again and again made statements in reference to historical judgments that bring great praise to Christians acting in history. Here we see him tell not only of the appeal to the masses, but also of the impact of Christian philanthropy on Emperor Julian, the Apostate, himself. This was the man, who in his two year reign from 361 A.D. (only forty-

1) E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, abridged by D.M. Low (Middlesex:Penguin, 1963), p. xiv of the Introduction.  
2) *Ibid.*, p. 521.

seven years after Constantine had begun a Christendom in the Empire), marked that reign by persecution of the Christians and attempted to lift paganism to an official religion.<sup>1</sup>

Christianity appealed to the masses, and this for three reasons: it treated them not as proletarians, but as human souls; it showed its consideration for them in a practical way by taking care of the widows and orphans, the sick and the aged, for whom neither the municipal government of the city-states nor the oecumenical government of the Empire performed any comparable services;<sup>2</sup> and it did all this disinterestedly, under the inspiration of Christian ideals, and not with the ulterior aim of recruiting supporters. The most convincing tribute to these works of Christian charity has been paid by Christianity's thirteenth-hour opponent, the ex-Christian Roman Emperor Julian, in a letter to one of the prelates of his abortive pagan counter-church:

"Are we refusing to face the fact that Atheism<sup>3</sup> owes its success above all to its philanthropy toward strangers and to its provision for funerals and to its parade of a high puritanical morality?...It is a disgrace to us that our own people should be notoriously going short of assistance from us when in the Jewish community there is not a single beggar, while the impious Galileans are supporting not only their own poor but ours as well."

This passage in a letter of Julian's to Arsaces, the pagan Chief Priest of Galatia, testifies that Christian charity has won pagan hearts. At the same time it exposes the forlornness of the anti-Christian Emperor's hope of being able to counteract the moral effect of this expression of the Christian spirit by a forced pagan imitation of spontaneous Christian practice.

The Christian Church won the heart of the masses because it did more for the masses than was done for them by any of the rival higher religions or by either the imperial or municipal public authorities; and the Christians were the only people in the Roman Empire, except the professional soldiers, who were prepared to lay down their lives for the sake of an ideal.<sup>5</sup>

1) "Julian the Apostate", *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Micropædia, Vol. V, p. 632.  
2) Toynbee says that the Alimenta Italiae was one social service of the Imperial Government that in an enlightened, constructive and well-planned way provided funds for low interest loans to Italian farmers, the interest of which helped young couples set up housekeeping. It was, however, apparently confined to Italy, and was wiped out by inflation in the third century. (*Ibid.*, footnote, p. 100).  
3) Julian used this reproachful name for Christianity in allusion to Christians' rejection of the gods of the Graeco-Roman pantheon. (*Ibid.*)  
4. A. Toynbee, *A Historian's Approach to Religion* (New York:Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), pp. 100, 101.  
5. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Volumes can be -- and have been -- written on the cultural and social contributions of the early church.<sup>1</sup> We have barely touched on the subject, trying only to show the stature of some of those who testify to the church's astonishing works of love, giving a sampling or two of that testimony. Time and space forbid more than this.

It may be well for us to touch on a later period, the entrance of Christianity into Northern Europe. What was the effect of Christianity among the bastions of barbarian nations whose likes had dealt the death blow to mighty Rome?

"The Empire fell and the Church survived just because the Church gave leadership and enlisted loyalty whereas the Empire had long failed to do either."<sup>2</sup> And this leadership continues. Toynbee makes the interesting point that only two of all the barbarian "successor states" of the Roman Empire have lineal descendants among the states of Modern Europe -- and both had sincerely Christian kings. They are Charlemagne's Frankish Austrasia and Alfred's Wessex.<sup>3</sup> (It is interesting to note that both have been entitled "the Great" and one historian has asserted that, of English monarchs, only Alfred was so called and deserved to be!)

We jump ahead to a later century. Has Christianity taken root in North Europe even though, after Pepin, so much of Christian outreach was at the

- 1) Another important and recent work in this field is Robert M. Grant's *Early Christianity and Society* (New York:Harper & Row, 1977). Dr. Grant is Chairman of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, Humanities, at the University of Chicago Divinity School, and author of some twenty books on the New Testament and early Christianity, including *Augustus to Constantine*. Unfortunately, in its huge bibliography or index, it does not mention C. Schmidt's *Social Results of Early Christianity*, nor Max Weber, or Ernest Troeltsch and their relevant works. This book purports to be untinged by propaganda on either side.
- 2) A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I (as abridged by D.C. Somervell), p. 13.
- 3) *Ibid.*

point of the sword! Christopher Dawson uses a famous old poem, familiar to school boys and girls, as a litmus paper. In a time of deep distress and doubt in medieval Europe, the poet William Langland (1332-1400) wrote "The Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman". It was during the Hundred Years' War, on the eve of the Great Schism, "when the great hopes of the reforming movement seemed to be lost" in the church of that day.<sup>1</sup> It is an almost unique record of the popular religious culture of his day. It is, in fact, perhaps the first great vernacular English poem -- and though by an educated man, speaks the language not of the court or the schools, but of the common people.

His poem seems to prove that the fundamental religion had been more completely assimilated and incorporated by the new vernacular culture of the common people than it had been by the higher and<sup>2</sup> more literary culture of the ruling elements in Church and state.

Christopher Dawson, famous cultural scholar, startles us in revealing that the reforming ideal in the poem is not conceived of in terms of ecclesiastical organization and government, but *as a new way of life*, as St. Francis had seen it, with ideals of poverty and compassion for the poor. Dawson sees Langland in the stern ascetic moralism that looks forward to John Bunyan, not in the courtly culture and oriental romance and Provencal song. He sees Langland's poem as a strong expression of the medieval ideal of the unity of religion and culture.<sup>3</sup> It is, thus, a proof to Dawson that the labor of seven hundred years had not been in vain, though so many were in despair.

For if the barbarians of the West had learnt to think such thoughts and speak such language, it shows that a new Christian culture

- 1) C. Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (New York:Double-day, 1958), p. 223.
- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 219.
- 3) *Ibid.*, p. 222.

has been born, which was not an alien ideal imposed externally, but was the common inheritance of Western man.<sup>1</sup>

Of course the writer, a Protestant, is convinced that there is much more to say. The increasing accumulation of error, corrupt and hierarchical dictatorship from Rome, and the continuing downward slide of the church made reformation an urgent need. To tell of that great struggle and the new cultural fruits from the Reformers is not possible here. We have done little justice to the centuries we have just touched upon. And, by going beyond Constantine the Great, we have already departed from our plan to restrict our remarks to Christianity as a minority without sanction of special government protection or favor.

Says Dawson, "A new Christian culture has been born." Though there are senses in which it is accurate to speak of such being a fact in the monolithic medieval culture of Europe, now it is another matter indeed. Though John Calvin in Geneva may have made great advances in the cultural expression of Christianity, yet can we speak of Reformed culture emerging to any extent?

#### IV. The Need for and Possibility of a Christian (Reformed)

##### Culture Today

Korea today is unique in the world in having so many vigorous Presbyterian churches. With the Christian population approaching a fifth of the nation's population, and the majority of them Presbyterian, one could hope to find semblances of a Reformed culture. But it is not so.

Henry Zylstra, a Reformed writer of note in Grand Rapids, U.S.A., where Reformed churches are so numerous and so strong says,

1) *Ibid.*, p. 224.

We have no Reformed culture now; even in our almost exclusive Reformed communities, the total cultural complex of life as it is lived there is only partially a Christian, and still less a Reformed, complex.<sup>1</sup>

Yet he calls us to seek a Christian culture:

The heart of our problem is the divorce of religion and what we call culture in the modern world. We Calvinists never intended, when we separated the State from the Church, that religion should become separated from culture. When we separated the first two, we committed ourselves also to leavening the whole society and culture with the Christian principle. We see now how indispensable carrying out that commitment is...Except we succeed in what we sometimes call our "cultural mandate" we shall be progressively cut off from a kingdom of realization for the faith that is in us.<sup>2</sup>

The matter of culturally contextualizing the Gospel is a matter of foremost interest today. But my concern is not how to phrase the message, but how to live the message we phrase. My concern is to recapture the spirit of the Old and New Testament teaching to God's people living in the midst of alien and hostile surroundings. The general lines of this teaching are, I think, as follows:

1. God's people are a unique possession of God and both the cultus and the culture of His people must reflect this fact, and indeed, have clear lines set out for both of them by God. Certainly the Old Testament is full of directions for both ritual and cultural life.

2. His people are bearers of God's name and thus are witness-bearers, but not only in word -- most surely also through both cultus and culture.

3. God's name is praised or blasphemed among the nations according to the obedient or disobedient life-patterns of the people of God.

Let us consider #1 above, God's people as God's treasured possession. Exodus 19:5,6 (NIV) which Geerhardus Vos calls the classical

1) H. Zylstra, *Testament of Vision* (Grand Rapids, Mich.:Eerdmans, 1958), p. 4.

passage on the Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, says, "Now if you obey me fully and keep my covenant, then out of all nations you will be my treasured possession. Although the whole earth is mine, you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation...". In the context of urging right living of Christians (in this case the particularly poor examples that he says Cretans are), Paul reflects the Exodus passage in Titus 2:11-15 (NIV):

For the grace of God that brings salvation has appeared to all men. It teaches us to say "No" to ungodliness and worldly passions, and to live self-controlled, upright and godly lives in this present age, while we wait for the blessed hope -- the glorious appearing of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us to redeem us from all wickedness and to purify for himself a people that are his very own, eager to do what is good.

Again, in Titus 2:8 (NIV) Paul emphasizes, "This is a trustworthy saying. And I want you to stress these things, so that those who have trusted in God may be careful to devote themselves to doing what is good. These things are excellent and profitable for everyone."

Peter uses this concept (I Peter 2:9-15, cf. Deuteronomy 7:6) when writing to the Christians scattered by persecution in Asia Minor:

But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God, that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light. Once you were not a people, but now you are the people of God; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy. (I Pet. 2:9, 10 - NIV).

Note here the identity of the believers as a group, a people, even a nation. This is obviously not a call to form enclaves as Christian self-ruling nations, for in vv. 13, 14 immediately following we see the call to be subject to ordinances of men, governors etc. But it does mean that we must maintain an identity of a real and visible sort, by our attitudes, life-styles, ethical practices both among ourselves and in relationship to the unbelievers around us. We continue the quotation from Peter:

Dear friends, I urge you, as aliens and strangers in the world, to abstain from sinful desires, which war against your soul. Live such good lives among the pagans that, though they accuse you of doing wrong, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day he visits us...For it is God's will that by doing good you should silence the ignorant talk of foolish men. (I Pet. 2:11,12,15 - NIV).

According to the Nestle's Greek Text, Exodus 19:6 is also quoted in part, or reflected, in Revelation 1:6 and 5:10. In 1:5 Christ is introduced as prophet, priest and king, but 1:6 mentions only the priestly and kingly role of Christians. This is all the more startling since the prophetic role of the church as witness is so often stressed. In view of Paul and Peter's use of Exodus 19:5,6 as shown above, in which the church today is also priest and king as well as prophet -- and all these in some sense to the world -- we should expect John to confirm this idea. We do not have to look far for the prophetic role of the Christian. In Revelation 1:9, John identifies himself as being in Patmos "for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus". In 5:1, the one who makes us to be kings and priests is the Lamb who was slain for our redemption (priest) and who stands in the midst of the throne (king). Compare 7:10,15. This same king-priest opens the book with the seven seals which harbingers the various judgments on men before the final judgment, warning them to repent (prophetic activity) and John is given a book to eat and told he must "prophecy again before many people and nations and tongues and kings". (10:10,11).

And so it goes. In Rev. 20:6, those whose *rule* shall be a thousand years are *priests* and are the ones in v. 4 who lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years (kings) who were "beheaded for the witness of Jesus" (prophet).

We must, therefore, think of our priestly and kingly role together with the prophetic. The prophetic role is not for this age to the exclusion

of the priestly and kingly role -- these latter roles were held at the same time, and were of old. A kingdom of priests does not mean that priests rule *instead* of kings, or that the kings rule *over* priests, but that the kingdom functions as if all were priests. The various references we have seen rather teach that we are a people set apart who have *the three roles simultaneously*, and that the roles or offices have application or relevance to the nations.

## CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

Though one strains for precise guidelines for the subject of our concern here, we hesitate to be bold where great caution and care are necessary. I refer readers to Klaas Schilder's *Christ and Culture* recently appearing in English translation, and F. Nigel Lee's stimulating little diamond of a book *The Central Significance of Culture* for incisive, deft, and Biblical guidelines in this area. For a sample of encouraging Christian culture in a local field, one may refer to the author's *Christian Culture in Rural Korea*. I know of no other monographs attempting the same thing for other fields.<sup>1</sup>

But we can say a few positive things at this juncture. Hear Schilder on:

## 1) Christ as the flawless whole man as He relates to culture:

Since cultural achievements are among man's mandates, and since no one can act in such a way that his actions have no cultural significance, Christ, the sinless One, is the only One Who in an entirely pure manner has acted and is still acting upon cultural life...As the sinless One He responds, in words and deeds, in a way that is always entirely to the point in every situation into which the Spirit thrusts Him in order that He should prove Himself to be the Second Adam, even in a world that in cultural respect is far removed from that of the first Adam. What is a more direct cultural act than

1) For publication data on these books, please see their entries in the Bibliography.

to react to cultural situations and complications fully and purely, and fundamentally, and according to the original rule?...As the Logos-Mediator-Surety he is the hypostasis, the solid foundation, the original ground, the fulfiller, redeemer, and renewer of culture -- a cultural sign which shall therefore be spoken against.<sup>1</sup>

2) And what shall we say of Christ's saved ones? To Schilder, Paul and Christians of his time were of greater significance for cultural life than the whole Roman Empire.

Hence, when the world was top-heavy with an effete and violently disruptive pseudo-culture which did not acknowledge God as the Owner of the cosmos, a handful of simple gild artisans in some small towns in Asia Minor -- workers who by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ had learned to serve God in their daily labour -- as often as they had dutifully, with God in mind, tanned a piece of leather or made a tent or completed a certain gild task, meant more, precisely for culture, than the entire imperial train of the Caesar of Rome with his palaces, his dancers, his laurels, his maecenasesses, and his metropolis. Hence, when on a certain day an escort of prisoners was led into the city of Rome, among whom there was a certain Paul, this man was of greater significance, particularly for cultural life, than all of culture-drunk Rome; he signified a radical change...A man who showed his fellow-prisoners a great light and made a rented house in Rome the forecourt of an academy of philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

3) This matter of culture is a *community matter*,<sup>3</sup> more than individual. It must be properly directed to a true goal and takes the cooperation of like-minded men, though with various gifts and talents.

Teleologically-directed cultural construction is not an affair of individuals but of a strong communion. Therefore the article of our faith concerning "the communion of saints" (the *koinonia*) is also of direct significance for culture.<sup>4</sup>

Schilder also reminds us:

- 1) K. Schilder, *Christ and Culture* (Winnipeg: Premier, 1977), pp. 34, 35.
- 2) *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.
- 3) Troeltsch (*op. cit.*, pp. 993f.) says:  
From the very beginning there appeared three main types of sociological development of Christian thought: the Church, the sect, and mysticism...The churches alone have the power to stir the masses in any real and lasting way.
- 4) K. Schilder, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

*From the Church* the fire of obedience, *the pure cultural glow included*, must blaze forth over all the world. (Italics by T.H.)<sup>1</sup>

Only the *Church*, as the mother of believers, brings forth the "new" men who, also, as far as cultural life is concerned, bear the burdens of the whole world.<sup>2</sup>

The Church should not be even the smallest direct centre of culture, but she *must* be the greatest indirect cultural *force*.<sup>3</sup>

We have named our study "Culture and Conviction". We have argued for the close connection of these two, that is, the connection between what people believe is true and what their lives are actually like. We have used the word *conviction* to register the more than mere credence or assent of belief, but belief as the mind and heart convinced and controlled by the belief.

But conviction varies, and different circumstances or milieu or talents cause the culture to vary in quality or success in its functional rôle. And, of course, convictions -- for all their variation in intensity -- also vary as to truth possessed. With these variations in mind, we conclude with the wise and humble words of T.S. Eliot:

The truth, partial truth, or falsity of a religion neither consists in the cultural achievement of the peoples professing that religion, nor submits to being exactly tested by them. For what a people may be said to believe, as shown by its behavior, is, as I have said, always a great deal more and a great deal less than its professed faith in its purity. Furthermore, a people whose culture has been formed together with a religion of partial truth, may live that religion (at some period in its history, at least) with greater fidelity than another people which has truer light. It is only as we imagine our culture as it ought to be, if our society were a really Christian society, that we can dare to speak of Christian culture as the highest culture..."<sup>4</sup>

1) *Ibid.*, p. 79.

2) *Ibid.*

3) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

4) T.S. Eliot, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmad, Aziz STUDIES IN ISLAMIC CULTURE IN THE INDIAN ENVIRONMENT. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1964, 311pp.
- Baker, Archibald CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND A NEW WORLD CULTURE. Chicago: Willet, Clark & Co., 1964.
- Baillie, John WHAT IS CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION? N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945, 59pp.
- Batchelor, Peter G., and Boer, Harry R. THEOLOGY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1966, 7, 24pp.
- Batteau, John "Christianity and Culture - an Overview", REFORMED PERSPECTIVE, Vol. 2, Nov., pp. 4-8.
- Bazaz, Prem Nath THE ROLE OF BHAGAVAD GITA IN INDIAN HISTORY. New Delhi: Sterling Publications Pvt. Ltd., n.d.
- Bennett, John C. THE CHRISTIAN AS CITIZEN. N.Y.: Association Press, 1955, 91pp.
- Biéler, André THE SOCIAL HUMANISM OF CALVIN. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1964, 79pp.
- Bollinger, E.E. REFLECTIONS, EAST AND WEST. Okinawa: Radio Joff, 74pp.
- Brinton, Crane IDEAS AND MEN, THE STORY OF EASTERN THOUGHT. N.Y.: Prentice Hall, 1952, 597pp.
- Cailliet, Emile THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO CULTURE. Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953, 288pp.
- Calhoun, A.W. THE CULTURAL CONCEPT OF CHRISTIANITY. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1950, 155pp.
- Cassirer, Ernest *et al.*, eds. THE RENAISSANCE PHILOSOPHY OF MAN. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948, 405pp.
- Chaudhuri, Nirad C. HINDUISM. New Delhi: B.I. Publications, 1979, 329pp.
- Chateaubriand, Francois-Rene THE GENIUS OF CHRISTIANITY. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1857, 763pp.



- Cochrane, Charles N. CHRISTIANITY AND CLASSICAL CULTURE. N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957, 523pp.
- Coldthorpe, J.E. THE SOCIETY OF THE THIRD WORLD. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1975, 325pp.
- Dawson, Christopher CHRISTIANITY IN EAST AND WEST. La Salle, Ill.: Sherwood Sugden & Co., 1981, 224pp.
- DYNAMICS OF WORLD HISTORY. La Salle, Ill.: Sherwood Sugden & Co., 1978, 489pp.
- RELIGION AND CULTURE. N.Y.: Meridian Books, Inc., 1958, 225pp.
- Dennis, J.S. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. Fleming H. Revell, 1898, 2 vol.
- de Vries, Egbert, ed. MAN IN COMMUNITY. N.Y.: Association Press, 1966.
- Dooyeweerd, Herman A NEW CRITIQUE OF THEORETICAL THOUGHT. Presbyterian and Reformed, 1953, 4 vol.
- ROOTS OF WESTERN CULTURE. Toronto: Wedge, 1979, 228pp.
- THE SECULARIZATION OF SCIENCE. Translated by Robert D. Knudsen, mimeographed, no date, 17pp.
- Douglas, J.D., ed. LET THE EARTH HEAR HIS VOICE. Minneapolis: World-wide Publ., 1975, 1471pp.
- Eliot, T.S. CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE. N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940, 1949, 202pp.
- Florovsky, Georges CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland Publ., 1974, 245pp.
- Forsyth, P.T. CHRIST ON PARNASSUS. London: Independent Press, 1911, 297pp.
- Fuchs, Stephen ANTHROPOLOGY FOR MISSIONS. Allahabad: St. Paul Publ., 1979, 198pp.
- Gamst, Frederick C. and Norbeck, Edward, eds. IDEAS OF CULTURE. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, copyright 1976, 353pp.
- Gibbon, Edward THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, abridged by D.M. Low. Middlesex: Penguin, 1963.
- Gerth, H.H. and Mills, C. Wright, eds. FROM MAX WEBER. N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1958, 490pp.
- Gokak, Vinayak K. INDIA AND WORLD CULTURE. Delhi: Vikas Publications, 1972, 137pp.

- Goodall, Norman CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL FERMENT. London: Epworth Press, 1964, 123pp.
- Graefe, J.E. CHRIST AND THE HIMDU HEART. N.Y.: Revell, 1938.
- Grant, Robert M. EARLY CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1977, 221pp.
- Hanson, J.W., ed. THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS (Addresses and Papers and Abstract of the Congresses). Chicago: The Monarch Book Co., 1894, 1196pp.
- Hard, Theodore "Christian Culture and Witness", STUDY PAPERS - THIRD INTER-MISSION CONFERENCE, Taipei, 1978, pp. 28-39.
- CHRISTIAN CULTURE IN RURAL KOREA. Pusan, Korea: mimeographed, 1974, 38pp.
- "Missions and the Cultural Mandate", INTERNATIONAL REFORMED BULLETIN, Winter 1972.
- Heddendorf, Russell "The Affirmation of Culture", PRESBYTERIAN JOURNAL, Vol. 41, No. 32, pp. 8-10.
- Hesselgrave, D.I. COMMUNICATING CHRIST CROSS-CULTURALLY. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978, 511pp.
- Hooft, W.A. Visser't, ed. THE NEW DELHI REPORT. N.Y.: Association Press, 1962, 448pp.
- Huntington, Ellsworth MAINSPRING OF CIVILIZATION. N.Y.: Mentor, 669pp.
- Inch, Morris A. DOING THEOLOGY ACROSS CULTURES. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982, 110pp.
- Jarrett-Kerr, M. PATTERNS OF CHRISTIAN ACCEPTANCE. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972, 342pp.
- Jesuit Scholars RELIGIOUS HINDUISM. Allahabad: St. Paul Publications, 1968
- Kluckhohn, Clyde MIRROR FOR MAN. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1944, 240pp.
- Knudsen, Robert D. SOCIOLOGY The Encounter of Christianity with Secular Science. Memphis, Tenn.: Christian Studies Center, 1981, 55pp.
- Koestler, Arthur THE LOTUS AND THE ROBOT. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1966, 296pp.
- Kraemer, Hendrik THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN A NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD. N.Y.: International Missionary Council, 1938, 1947, 455pp.

- Kraemer, Hendrik WORLD CULTURES AND WORLD RELIGIONS. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960, 386pp.
- Kraft, Charles H. CHRISTIANITY IN CULTURE. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, copyright 1979, 445pp.
- Kulke, Eckehard THE PARSEES IN INDIA, A Minority as Agent of Social Change. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978, 300pp.
- Kuyper, Abraham CHRISTIANITY AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE. Grand Rapids: Piet Hein, Publ., 1950, 64pp.
- LECTURES ON CALVINISM. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1931, 1961, 199pp.
- LAUSANNE OCCASIONAL PAPERS, No. 2, "The Willowbank Report - Gospel and Culture", Lausanne Comm. for World Evangelization, 1978, 38pp.
- Lee, F. Nigel THE CENTRAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURE. Presbyterian & Reformed, 1976, 150pp.
- Leith, John H. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REFORMED TRADITION. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977, 253pp.
- Livingston, G.H. THE PENTATEUCH IN ITS CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1974, 291pp.
- Loewen, J.A. CULTURE AND HUMAN VALUES. South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1975, 443pp.
- Lutzebetak, L.J. THE CHURCH AND CULTURES. South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1976, 429pp.
- Machen, J. Gresham CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURES. London: Banner of Truth Trust, 9 pp.
- McGavran, D. THE CLASH BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURES. Washington, D.C.: Cannon Press, 1974, 84pp.
- McKinney, R.W., ed. CREATION CHRIST AND CULTURE. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1976, 321pp.
- Marcuse, Herbert EROS AND CIVILIZATION. London: Beacon Press, 1972.
- Marchus, R.A. SAECULUM. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970, 252pp.
- Martin, Malachi THE ENCOUNTER, Religions in Crisis. London: Michael Joseph, 1970, 488pp.
- Mayers, M.K. CHRISTIANITY CONFRONTS CULTURES. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977, 348pp.

- Mead, Margaret "Cultural Man" in de Vries, ed. MAN IN COMMUNITY, q.v.
- Mehl, Roger THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROTESTANTISM. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, copyright SCM Press Ltd. 1970, 324pp.
- Miller, Haskell M. A CHRISTIAN CRITIQUE OF CULTURE. N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1965, 96pp.
- Morgan, Kenneth, ed. THE PATH OF BUDDHA, Buddhism Interpreted by Buddhists. N.Y.: The Ronald Press Company, 1956, 432pp.
- Mudaliar, N. Murugesu TRADITIONAL HINDUISM AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1978
- Neill, Stephen THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY. Collins, Fontana Library, 1964, 318pp.
- Newbigin, Leslie HONEST RELIGION FOR SECULAR MAN. Lucknow: Lucknow Publ. House, 1967, 159pp.
- Nida, Eugene CUSTOMS AND CULTURES. William Carey Library, 1976 (1954) 306pp.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard CHRIST AND CULTURE. N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1951, 259pp.
- Pai, Min Soo THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND RURAL KOREA. Seoul: Christian Education Committee, 1958, 272pp.
- Pillai, K.V. Paul INDIA'S SEARCH FOR THE UNKNOWN CHRIST. New Delhi: Fazl Publishers, 1979, 227pp.
- Pope, Richard THE CHURCH AND ITS CULTURE. St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1965, 618pp.
- Rau, S.K. Ramachandra SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AMONG THE HINDUS. Mysore: Rao and Raghavan, 1969, 85pp.
- Radhakrishnan, S. RELIGION AND CULTURE. Delhi: Hind Pocket Books, copyright 1968, 174pp.
- Reid, W. Stanford, ed. JOHN CALVIN, HIS INFLUENCE ON THE WESTERN WORLD. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982, 415pp.
- Rookmaaker, N.R. THE CREATIVE GIFT, "Essays on Art and the Christian Life". Westchester, Ill.: Cornerstone Books, 1981, 172pp.
- Roper, D.L. A CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF CULTURE. Potchefstroom University for CHE, 1979, 73pp.
- Roszak, Theodore THE MAKING OF A COUNTER CULTURE. Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969, 303pp.
- Schaeffer, Francis A. A CHRISTIAN MANIFESTO. Westchester, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1982, 157pp.

- Schilder, Klaas CHRIST AND CULTURE. Winnipeg: Premier Press, 1977, 89pp.
- Schmidt, C. THE SOCIAL RESULTS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY. London: Wm. Isbister, 1885, 480pp.
- Schneider, Louis, ed. RELIGION, CULTURE AND SOCIETY. N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964, 662pp.
- Schuurman, Egbert REFLECTIONS ON THE TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Toronto: Wedge Publication Foundation, 1977, 66pp.
- Schweitzer, Albert INDIAN THOUGHT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT. Boston: Beacon Press, 1935. 272pp.
- Sen, Guruprasad and Bose, Pramathanath INFLUENCES ON HINDU CIVILIZATION BUDDHIST AND MUSLIM. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1978, 73pp.
- Sharma, Jagdish S. SOURCES OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION. Delhi: Vikas Publ. House, c. 1974
- Sider, Ronald LIVING MORE SIMPLY. Inter-Varsity Press, 1980, 206pp.
- Smith, Preserved THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE REFORMATION. N.Y.: Collier Books, 1967, 320pp
- Smith, Timothy L. REVIVALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM. N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1957, 253pp.
- Snow, C.P. THE TWO CULTURES AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION. N.Y.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1961, 58pp.
- Spiro, Melford E. BUDDHISM AND SOCIETY. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1970, 510pp.
- Stott, John and Coote, Robert DOWN TO EARTH, "Studies in Christianity and Culture". Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1980, 342pp.
- Strom, Donna CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE MIZO TRIBES OF NORTHEAST INDIA. Deerfield, Ill., M.A. Thesis, 1980, 119pp.
- Suurmond, P.P. THE EVANGELISM AND SERVICE OF THE CHURCH IN AN ESTRANGED WORLD. Reformed Ecumenical Synod, 1965, 25pp.
- Tawney, R.H. RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM. N.Y.: Mentor Books, 1958, 280pp.
- Taylor, Richard A RETURN TO CHRISTIAN CULTURE. Minneapolis, Minn.: Dimension Books, 1975, 95pp.
- Thielicke, Helmut VOYAGE TO THE FAR EAST. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962, 269pp.
- Tillich, Paul THEOLOGY OF CULTURE. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975 (1959) 213pp.

- Toynbee, Arnold CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948, 263pp.
- A HISTORIAN'S APPROACH TO RELIGION. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956, 318pp.
- A STUDY OF HISTORY (Abridgement by D.C. Somervell). Oxford Univ. Press, 1947, 2 vols.
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh RISE OF CHRISTIAN EUROPE. N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1966, 216pp.
- Troeltsch, Ernest THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. N.Y.: Macmillan, 1931, 2 vols.
- Van Leeuwen, Arend T. CHRISTIANITY IN WORLD HISTORY. N.Y.: Scribner's Sons, 1964, 487pp.
- Van Riessen, H. THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE. Presbyterian & Reformed, 1973 233pp.
- Van Til, Cornelius COMMON GRACE AND THE GOSPEL. Presbyterian & Reformed, 1973, 233pp.
- THE DEFENSE OF THE FAITH. Presbyterian & Reformed, 1955, 436pp.
- Vickers, Douglas A CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO ECONOMICS AND THE CULTURAL CONDITION. Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1982, 198pp.
- Vos, Gerhardus BIBLICAL THEOLOGY. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1948, 453pp.
- Weber, Max THE PROTESTANT ETHIC AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM. N.Y.: Chas. Scribner's, 1958, 292pp.
- THE RELIGION OF INDIA, "The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism". N.Y.: The Free Press, 1958, 392pp.
- THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION. Boston: Beacon Press (c. 1922 in Germany), 1964, 304pp.
- Whitehead, Alfred North ADVENTURES OF IDEAS. N.Y.: Mentor Books, 1955, 302pp.
- Williams, Charles DESCENT OF THE DOVE. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1977, 245pp.
- Williams, Raymond KEYWORDS, A VOCABULARY OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY, Fontana/Croom Helm, c. 1976, 286pp.
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig CULTURE AND VALUE. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980.

Yamamori, Tetsunao and Taber, Chas. R., eds. CHRISTOPAGANISM OR INDIGENOUS CHRISTIANITY? Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1975, 262pp.

Zwemer, Samuel M. and Brown, Arthur J. THE NEARER AND THE FARTHER EAST. New York: Macmillan Co., 1909, 323pp.

Zylstra, Henry TESTAMENT OF VISION. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1958.

## DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPAEDIA

ABINGDON DICTIONARY OF LIVING RELIGIONS. Keith Crim, General Editor. Nashville: Abingdon, 1981.

A DICTIONARY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Gould, Julius and Kolb, William L., eds. Compiled under the auspices of UNESCO, copyright 1964.

THE HINDU WORLD. Walker, Benjamin, ed. N.Y.: Fred A. Praeger, Inc., 196 .

THE NEW ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1977 (15th Edition).

WORLD CHRISTIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA. Barrett, David B., ed. Nairobi: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982.

## BOOKS IN THE KOREAN LANGUAGE

김남식, 기독교에서 본 문화, 서울: 한국개혁주의 신행협회, 1972.

김득용 저, 기독교와 문화, 서울: 종신대학 출판부, 1979.

기독교와 문화연구모임편, 지성과 신앙, 서울: 성광문화사, 1982.

김명혁 편, 현대와 크리스찬의 삶, 서울: 성광문화사, 1982.

F. E. 존스톤, H. 쉴비, 현대문화인류학, 권혁구 편역, 서울: 탐구당, 1981.

하도례, 종교와 사회, 부산: 고신대 출판부, 1977.

한완상, 지식인과 허위의식, 서울: 현대사상사, 1977.

□ 요약 □

## 문화와 종교적 확신

- 문화, 종교적 공동체 내에서의 확신의 표시 및 척도 -

하 도 례 (T. HARD)

## ◇ 목 차 ◇

서 론

I. 문화-의미, 측면들, 평가

II. 필자의 전체적 입장 (기독교 관점에서)

III. 역사적인 문화들과 연관된 종교의 선택적이고 광범위한 개관

1. 소위 원시종교와 그들의 문화표현

2. 고대문명들

3. 힌두교와 그들의 문화표현

4. 불교와 그들의 문화표현

5. 인도의 소수 종교들과 그들의 문화표현

(자이나교, 조로아스터교도들, 시이크교도들)

6. 기독교

IV. 오늘날 기독교(개혁주의) 문화의 필요와 가능성

결 어

서 론

현대인은 고대의 왕들에게는 알려지지 않았던 엄청난 풍요로움을 소유하고 있다. 그러나 자기신뢰와 이 세상 중심으로 인해 인간은 무한에 대한 관심들로부터 돌아서게 되었다. Herman Dooyeweerd는 서양에 있어서 이러한 경향을 자연대 은총이라는 모티브 가운데서 그리스적 사유와 기독교적 사유를 종합하려는 중세 로마 카톨릭의 스콜라 철학에까지 거슬러 올라가서 기술하고 있다. 그러나 고전문화를 동경했던 르네상스 인문주의자들 가운데는 기독교 신앙을 깊이 신봉하면서도 문화 발전에 큰 공헌을 남긴 많은 사람들이 있었다. 그들 및 그 후의 유사한 인물들 가운데서 우리는 Bude, Calvin, Boyle, Pascal, Newton, Dante, Milton, Defoe, Rembrandt 등을 들 수 있다.