

Effects of Protestant liberal theology on contemporary Christian culture: theological reflections

DD Dei



orcid.org/0000-0003-4398-9608

Thesis submitted for the degree *Doctor of Philosophy* in *Ethics* at the
North-West University

Promoter: Prof N Vorster

Co-promoter: Prof AL Rheeder

Graduation May 2018

25727060



Acknowledgements

This thesis has become possible mainly due to the academic guidance, conversation, and encouragement of Professor Nico Vorster, my study promoter, as well as the timely academic counsels of Professor Al Reeder, my co-promoter. I express my heartfelt gratitude to them.

I also thank Annelize Liebenberg and Lee Trollip for their moral support and inspiration to me in various ways.

I express gratitude to Dr Lester Lombard for her swift response to my urgent request for information from the Library of North-West University, Potchefstroom.

Special thanks also go to the Head of the Department of Theology as well as to the entire team in the Department for the warm relationship they have created. The atmosphere of the Theology Department really expresses sincere Christian love and fellowship.

Abstract

This thesis is a theological-ethical study on the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture. It attempts to answer the question as to whether Protestant Liberalism has created a variegated Christianity in the same manner that political liberalism has contributed to the relativization of metanarratives of political philosophies. Protestant Liberalism describes the collective ideas within protestant theology that maintain loyalty to Jesus Christ but emphasize the existential value of the Christian religious expression to the welfare of humanity as well as the desire to make the essence of Christianity recognizable in the worldview of modern-scientific system.

The central theoretical argument of this thesis is that Protestant Liberalism has utilized key concepts in Classical Liberalism such as natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on Ethics to redefine central dogmas in the Christian faith. This has contributed to the reduction of Christianity to the here-and-now to the neglect of the here-after, the reinterpretation of key Christian doctrines to the extent that they have come to mean different things than their initial contexts indicated, the wanton abandonment of some key Christian concepts simply on the basis that the contemporary individual finds them unintelligible and irrelevant, as well as the reduction of the sacred nature of the Bible to the extent that it is viewed as another book of literature.

In order to substantiate the central theoretical argument of the thesis, the study probes the definition, origin, and historical manifestations of Protestant Liberalism. Starting as a social philosophy that focused on enhancing the autonomy of the individual in all matters that bear on self-preservation, Protestant Liberalism has been sharpened by historical movements such as the Renaissance, Reformation, and the three-integrated-stages of modernism. Of prime importance are the contributions of Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Herrmann, Harnack, Troeltsch, Rauschenbusch, Schweitzer, and Sölle. Again, the study compares Protestant Liberalism with Classical Liberalism. The comparison indicated some similarities on liberal notions such as natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on Ethics. Yet, sharp divergence can be observed from these same liberal notions.

An investigation of the tenets of Protestant Liberalism revealed some general teachings including an emphasis on the immanence of God, anthropocentrism, focus on Jesus as an ethical example, evolutionary view of the bible, optimism, salvation, the church as an instrument of social progress, the kingdom of God, religious authority, continuity, modernism, and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence. Further, an examination of present-day manifestations of Protestant Liberalism showed that it is present in some Contemporary Theologies such as Pentecostal theology, Servant Theology, Political Theology, Theologies of Liberation and the Jesus Seminar. The study recommends the essence of determining a working balance between the here-and-now and the here-after, between faith and human reason in understanding and interpreting God's self-revelation, and the assurance that new perspectives given to key concepts of Christianity will be true to their antiquary contexts and meanings.

Key Words: Protestant Liberalism, Classical Liberalism, Schleiermacher, Culture, Orthodox Christianity,

Natural rights, Social Contract, Individualism, Pluralism, Secularization

Table of Contents

Title page	
Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
Table of Contents	4
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
1.1	Background of Study 9
1.2	The Problem of Study 12
1.3	Aim 13
1.4	Objective 13
1.5	Central Theoretical Argument 13
1.6	Methodology 13
1.7	Ethical Considerations 16
1.8	Classification of Headings/Chapters 16
CHAPTER TWO: DEFINITION, ORIGIN, AND HISTORICAL MANIFESTATION OF PROTESTANT LIBERALISM	
2.1	Introduction 18
2.2	Definition of Protestant Liberalism 18
2.3	Origin and Historical Manifestations of Protestant Liberalism 19
2.3.1	Giannozzo Manetti's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 20
2.3.2	Leonardo Bruni's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 21
2.3.3	Marsilio Ficino's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 22
2.3.4	Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 22
2.3.5	Lorenzo Valla's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 23
2.3.6	Loni Coluccio Salutati's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 24
2.3.7	Poggio Bracciolini's Influence on Renaissance Humanism 24
2.4	The Spread of Renaissance Humanism 25

2.5	Effect of Renaissance Humanism on the Reformation	26
2.5.1	Martin Luther and Renaissance Humanism	27
2.5.2	Ulrich Zwingli and Renaissance Humanism	28
2.5.3	John Calvin and Renaissance Humanism	29
2.6	Humanism During the Period of Modernism	31
2.6.1	Rene Descartes' Influence on Rationalism	32
2.6.2	Baruch Spinoza's Influence on Rationalism	33
2.6.3	Gottfried Leibniz's Influence on Rationalism	33
2.7	Daniel Frederick Schleiermacher and Protestant Liberalism	36
2.8	Albrecht Ritschl and Protestant Liberalism	42
2.9	Adolph von Harnack and Protestant Liberalism	44
2.10	Ernst Troeltsch and Protestant Liberalism	46
2.11	Wilhelm Herrmann and Protestant Liberalism	47
2.12	Walter Rauschenbusch and Protestant Liberalism	48
2.13	Albert Schweitzer and Protestant Liberalism	50
2.14	Dorothee Sölle and Protestant Liberalism	53
2.15	Conclusion	55

CHAPTER THREE: PROTESTANT LIBERALISM AND CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

3.1	Introduction	57
3.2	Definition of Classical Liberalism	57
3.3	Origin of Classical Liberalism	57
3.4	Major Proponents of Classical Liberalism	59
3.4.1	Thomas Hobbes and Classical Liberalism	59
3.4.2	John Locke and Classical Liberalism	61
3.4.3	Montesquieu and Classical Liberalism	63
3.4.4	Voltaire and Classical Liberalism	64
3.4.5	Rousseau and Classical Liberalism	65

3.4.6	Adam Smith and Classical Liberalism	67
3.4.7	John Stuart Mill and Classical Liberalism	68
3.4.8	Hayek and Classical Liberalism	70
3.4.9	Milton Friedman and Classical Liberalism	71
3.4.10	John Rawls and Classical Liberalism	73
3.5	Strands in Classical Liberalism	75
3.6	Foundational Principles of Classical Liberalism	77
3.6.1	Erosion of Foundational Assumptions	77
3.6.2	Social Contract	79
3.6.3	Individualism	80
3.6.4	Liberal Pluralism	81
3.6.5	Natural Rights	83
3.6.6	Limitations on the Power of the Government	84
3.6.7	Utilitarian Ethical Foundations	86
3.6.8	Anti-Supernaturalism	87
3.7	Protestant Liberalism and Classical Liberalism: Similarities and Differences	87
3.7.1	The Issue of Natural Rights in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	88
3.7.2	The Concept of Social Contract in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	89
3.7.3	The Concept of Individualism in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	90
3.7.4	The Concept of Pluralism in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	91
3.7.5	Secularization in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	91
3.7.6	Utilitarian Ethical Foundations in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts	92
3.8	Conclusion	94
CHAPTER FOUR: TENETS OF PROTESTANT LIBERALISM		
4.1	Introduction	96
4.2	The Aim of Protestant Liberalism	96
4.3	Basic Teachings of Protestant Liberalism	97
4.3.1	The Immanence of God	97

4.3.2	Anthropocentrism	99
4.3.3	Jesus Christ as an Ethical Example	100
4.3.4	An Evolutionary View of the Bible	102
4.3.5	Philosophical Optimism	103
4.3.6	Salvation	105
4.3.7	The Church as an Instrument of Social Progress	107
4.3.8	The Kingdom of God	108
4.3.9	Religious Authority	110
4.3.10	The Philosophical Principle of Continuity	111
4.3.11	Theological Modernism	112
4.3.12	Reduction of Christianity to its Unchanging Essence	113
4.4	Conclusion	114

CHAPTER FIVE: PROTESTANT LIBERALISM AND CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGIES

5.1	Introduction	115
5.2	The Concept of Contextualization	115
5.3	Meaning and Origin of Theological Contextualization	115
5.4	Models of Theological Contextualization	117
5.5	Pentecostal Theology	119
5.6	Servant Theology	121
5.7	Political Theology	121
5.8	Theologies of Liberation	122
5.8.1	Black Theology	124
5.8.2	Latin American Theology	126
5.8.3	Feminist Theology	128
5.8.4	Asian Theology	131
5.8.4.1	Minjung Theology	131
5.8.4.2	Dalit Theology	133

5.9	Palestinian Liberation Theology	136
5.10	The Jesus Seminar	138
5.11	Conclusion	139

CHAPTER SIX: PROTESTANT LIBERALISM TODAY

6.1	Introduction	142
6.2	Positive Contributions of Protestant Liberalism to Contemporary Christian Culture	142
6.3	Negative Effects of Protestant Liberalism on Contemporary Christian Culture	147
6.4	Evaluation	149

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY

7.1	Summary	151
7.2	Recommendations	154

	BIBLIOGRAPHY	156
--	--------------	-----

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The term 'liberalism' suggests multiple meanings (Kloppenber, 1997; Gaus, Courtland, & Schmitz, 2015). Liberalism refers to a political belief stressing the point that all individuals are autonomous. In the words of John Locke, liberalism generally denotes “a *State of perfect Freedom* to order actions...as they think fit...without asking leave, or depending on the will of any other man” (cited in Schumaker, 2010: 31; Wade, 2015: 522). In this regard, Cranston (1967: 459) points out that a liberal regards liberty as the central point of departure for a peaceful co-existence. However, it is important to appreciate that liberalism describes a complex matrix of methods, policies, and attitudes within the framework of human liberty that can be widely shared among individuals. In this regard, liberalism (in its "classical political" sense) could be perceived as a body of methods and policies "valuing free expression of individual personality;" extolling the ability of human beings "to make that expression valuable to themselves and to society;" as well as the enhancement and sustenance of the "institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expression and confidence in that freedom” (Krieger, 2013: 39; Smith, 1968: 276).

Within the framework of classical liberalism,¹ there is a distinction between negative liberty/freedom and positive liberty/freedom. In the case of the former, liberty/freedom suggests that there are certain areas of life in which no human being ought to interfere with the liberty/freedom of another. Berlin (1969: 122) expresses it thus:

Political liberty in this sense is simply the area within which a man can act unobstructed by others.

If I am prevented by others from doing what I could otherwise do, I am to that degree unfree...I can be described as being coerced, or, it may be, enslaved.

By implication, therefore, negative liberty/freedom entails the right to be ‘free of’ religious coercion by the state, free of interference by the state in one's private life, etc. Positive liberty/freedom, on the other hand, entails ‘a right to self realization and self actualization.’ It usually refers to second generation rights such as right to housing, decent wages, education etc. According to Green (1986: 228), "self-direction" or personal autonomy is the sole determiner of positive liberty/freedom. Thus positive liberty/freedom depicts an individual who acts freely to actualize his or her personal self as well as determine his or her own pattern of life according to his or her own interests.

Marc Mulholland (2012: 21-22) and Lee Ward (2004: 14) identify this concept to have developed in England during the Glorious Revolution in 1688. In this period, individuals, such as John Locke, challenged the established notion of divine right of Kings by claiming that God owned all human beings and that every individual has a natural right to the means of survival—life, health, liberty, and property (Locke, 1988). From England, liberal views spread to other parts of the world with additional stress on specific patterns of thought such as liberty and property (in America), free market economy, stressed by Smith (1776) in his *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the Enlightenment tradition, a rationalist theory on the nature of humanity

¹ Though Wing-Men Yuen has attempted distinguishing between classical liberalism and political liberalism (cf. Yuen, 2017), the term classical liberalism is used in this study to refer to "classical political liberalism" (Krieger, 2013: 39).

stressed in Europe by Immanuel Kant, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Voltaire and Marquis de Condorcet, and the utilitarian conception of judging human actions emphasized by Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill. Eventually, political liberalism has come to stress two foundational themes: the "dislike for arbitrary authority" and the "free expression of individual personality" (Buss, 1979: 29; Ansell-Pearson, 1994: 9; Hamilton, 2000: 13). Consequently, political liberalism seems to have induced, in some of its extreme expressions, a narrow-self-interest that reduces the meaning of human life to the pursuit of individual interests and the actualization of individual self (Murtaza, 2011: 578). The following pronouncement of Mill (1989: 267) attests to this. He writes:

Individuality is the same thing with development, and...it is only the cultivation of individuality which produces, or can produce, well-developed human beings...what more can be said of any condition of human affairs, than that it brings human beings themselves nearer to the best thing they can be? Or what worse can be said of any obstruction to good, than that it prevents this?

The individualistic tendencies of classical liberalism seem to have contributed to isolating the individual from those social relationships and established social orders by which life achieves its intelligibility and meaningfulness. To this extent, one can describe the hyperplural nature of present-day society as incidental to classical liberalism. Gregory (cited in Yelle, 2012; 919) defines hyperpluralism as "the limitlessly individualistic and voluntaristic culture we inhabit." The individualism of liberal discourse has culminated into a hyperpluralism where society has fragmented to such a degree that commonly held beliefs and values seem to be no longer possible. Instead societies are forced to deal with the incommensurability of various moral discourses that exist side by side.

Hyperpluralism manifests itself in individuals exercising their freedom of opinion, expression, association, and movement in an unrestrictive sense. The extension of hyperpluralism into all areas of human life has placed a lot of pressure on metanarratives such as religious discourses. Otherwise known as grand narrative or master narrative, metanarratives are theories that offer all-embracing accounts of a variety of events and experiences of historical, socio-cultural, political, and religious nature. The foundations for such comprehensive accounts usually appeal to universal truths or 'universal laws' (Lyotard, 1979: 24, 25).

The hyperplural nature of our present-day society has generated an increasing skepticism toward metanarratives such that some have advocated for *petits récits* (meaning, little narratives) as a substitute. Hyper-pluralism seems to be the result of thought patterns where focus is placed on "specific local contexts and the diversity of human experiences" (Berterns, 1995: 124). Of prime importance is the notion that metanarratives should give way to "multiplicity of theoretical standpoints" (Peters, 2001: 7).

As a direct consequence, there is a surge in doctrinal, moral relativism, and moral subjectivism. Among other things, this has further led to heightened disagreement on doctrinal lines along with its diverse and indescribable social, moral, political, and religious implications. One dominant implication may be identified in the religious world. Religion has been given a private redefinition. At best, this private definition has turned religion into a shared religious motivation with individual definitions of the good and the pursuit of wealth at its core. In what

Gregory (cited in Yelle, 2012: 919) calls "characteristic of our contemporary scene," he notes the features of our present-day society as

the denial of God's agency in the world; the compartmentalization of Christian theology and its segregation from other modes of knowledge; the proliferation of different points of view and personal morality; and the ascendancy of rampant capitalism or "the good life," as opposed to a life oriented toward the substantive good that was formerly anchored in a broadly shared Christian culture.

In Christian Theology, liberalism appears to be a broad term connecting different philosophical and theological viewpoints within general Christianity. Evidently, there are many terms used in reference of it. Some of these are Theological liberalism, Theological modernism, and Protestant Liberalism. Theological Liberalism and Theological Modernism are used to refer to the phenomenon as it generally manifests in Christianity. Protestant Liberalism is used to refer to manifestations of this phenomenon in Protestant theological thoughts.

In Protestantism, Protestant Liberalism is an umbrella term that describes the quest of some individuals and churches to re-interpret and re-organize core principles of the Christian faith in such a way that they will remain relevant to current thought patterns. Its main purpose is the quest to accommodate core Christian religious themes to the "spirit of the age" (Richardson & Bowden, 1983: 325). Machen (2009: 3-4) has further observed that it is an attempt to incorporate modern thinking and developments, especially in the sciences, into the Christian faith. The philosophical and theological underpinnings of Protestant Liberalism have been influenced largely by Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Herrmann, Harnack, Coleridge, and Rauschenbusch. Basic to the teachings of these individuals is the practical idea that the locus of all scriptural interpretation and theological dialogue must be the human experience.

Modern Christianity is increasingly characterized by the same kind of diversity and pluralism that engulf broader society. In present-day Christianity, there are various versions and interpretations of key theological concepts or topics regarding Theology Proper, Christology, Soteriology, Hamartiology, Bibliology, Ecclesiology, and Anthropology. Additionally, there are various standpoints on contemporary social issues, such as abortion, marriage and divorce, euthanasia, and Christian standards of dressing, prayer, music, and worship. Often, the various viewpoints appear contradictory and confusing.

Since its inception in the 18th century when Protestant Liberalism arose with Schleiermacher, it continues to influence the culture of Christianity, though often subtle. This subtlety comes to the fore when one considers the difficulty of an exact classification of present-day Christian groups into which one holds or do not hold the tradition of Protestant Liberalism. The reason for this seems to be that Protestant Liberalism has become a theological or religious ideology held by some members of the present-day Christian church regardless of the denomination they may belong to. Consequently, members who share the teachings and beliefs of Protestant Liberalism may be found in various Christian groups or denominations be they mainline or new religious movements; fundamental or liberal. The spread of Protestant Liberalism in contemporary Christianity has led to various responses. A first position is held by adherents of Protestant Liberalism. This group suggests that the

usefulness of Protestant Liberalism lies in the fact that it reconstructs essential doctrines of the Christian faith in a manner that is relevant to the poor, oppressed, marginalized, and all who seek meaning in life in the present-day (Bowker, 1997: 577; Fiorenza, 2003: 544; Gutiérrez, 1999: 36; Mayhue, 2006: 194). Another position, held by critics of Protestant Liberalism, suggests that it has explained some key themes of the Christian faith in ways that depart from conventional Christian orthodoxy (Kierkegaard, 1992: 29-30; Machen, 2009: 4-5; Barth, 1961: 213; Bettis, 1967: 160; Muller, 1988: 155; Brunner, 1930: 21-22). This has resulted in an over-emphasis on activities in the human experience as the main determiner of how Christianity should look like in contemporary times. The kind of Christianity that Protestant Liberalism seems to offer would appear to contradict orthodox Christianity.

The expression "contemporary society," as used in this study, refers to democratic societies based on political liberal values. Accordingly, "contemporary Christianity" describes the form of Christian religious beliefs and practices that exist within these democratic societies. Like the wider democratic society, political liberal values majorly influence emergent Christian beliefs and practices.

Existing literature on Protestant Liberalism is yet to clearly point out the identifying marks of Protestant Liberalism. Additionally, existing literature on Protestant Liberalism is yet to describe the link between Classical Liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. In this regard, the present study seeks to provide key characteristics for identifying Protestant Liberalism. Also, the present study seeks to describe the relationship between Classical Liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. In addition, the present study seeks to deepen information on the differences between Protestant Liberalism and Orthodox Christianity provided by existing literature on Protestant Liberalism.

1.2 The Problem of Study

The question that this thesis probes is whether Protestantism Liberalism has had the same pluralizing effects on Christianity as classical liberalism had on society as a whole. Has Protestant Liberalism created a relativist or subjectivist understanding of major Christian doctrines and practices, in the same manner that Classical Liberalism contributed to the relativization of metanarratives? To this end, one may ask: what is the connection between classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism? The search for an appropriate answer to this question suggests a need to comprehensively study the relationship between classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism with a focus on the origin, nature, and the effects the latter brings to bear on contemporary Christian culture. Hence the relevance of this thesis.

Specific questions arising from the main problem are:

- What is the definition, origins and historical manifestations of Protestant Liberalism?
- What are the core tenets of Protestant Liberalism?
- What are the similarities and differences between Liberal Protestantism and classical liberalism as far as origin and underlying ideological presuppositions are concerned?
- What is the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture?
- How should we evaluate Protestant Liberalism theologically?

1.3 Aim

This research aims at conducting theological reflections on the effects of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture.

1.4 Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- Define and explain the origins and historical manifestations of Protestant Liberalism.
- Identify and discuss the main tenets of Protestant Liberalism, both in its classical and present-day forms.
- Identify and explain the similarities and differences between Protestant Liberalism and classical liberalism as far as origin and underlying ideological presuppositions are concerned.
- Describe the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture.
- Construct a theological appraisal of the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian Culture.

1.5 Central theoretical argument

Key themes, common to both Protestant Liberalism and classical liberalism, such as a dynamic understanding of history, instrumental rationality, human autonomy and the importance of the individual human will have been utilized by Protestant Liberalism to redefine central dogmas in the Christian faith. These themes also underpin the Protestant liberal hermeneutical approach that interprets central Christian theological concepts in a manner that sharply deviates, and sometimes contradicts, the classical interpretation of those same concepts by mainline orthodox Christianity. This has contributed to the variegated and plural nature of contemporary Christianity and the demise of some classical Christian doctrines.

1.6 Methodology

This study is a qualitative research that uses the technique of theological reflections. Focusing on the life orientation aspect of doing theology, Anselm saw theology as "faith seeking understanding" (cited in Williams, 2007: 13, 14). The core of Anselm's thought about theology seems to be that the efficacy of the enterprise of theology is observable in the way Christians live out their lives in the context of history and consciousness of human experiences. This means that the good Christian life is that life that models out a living understanding of cherished Christian virtues in the here and now. This makes true Nolan's statement that "theology has become a way of nourishing faith and strengthening hope by reflecting upon the presence of God in our context" (cited in Speckman & Kaufmann, 2001: 30). Thus the locus of theological-ethical reflections may be seen in the reflector's interaction between the present context of an observed human experience, the reflector's spirituality, and divine revelation, particularly the reflector's Christian tradition. The emergent insight from this interaction results in a deepened awareness of God's presence in the present human experience of the reflector. Further, the attained deepened awareness of God's presence in the here and now induces concrete decisions for life activity that is expressive of deep Christian understanding from the reflector's Christian tradition.

The technique of theological reflections could be "described as an effort to respond to the search for the living God and the faith questions arising out of the context of the world in which we live" (McAlpin & Leddy, 2009: 9). Reflecting theologically on an observed human experience in the here and now brings both spiritual meaning to

bear on the specifics of the human experience and reveals erroneous meanings embedded in the same experience. The intention of this endeavor is to search for in-depth spiritual meaning in the observed human experience, incorporate this meaning into the reflector's Christian tradition, and translate this spiritual meaning into decisions and actions in the context of the here and now. "Essentially theological reflection begins with a specific situation, examines it in light of Christian belief, and determines what the practical outcomes should be" (Himes & Waznak, 1998: 3). Theological reflections, therefore, analyzes current situations in the human experience from the outlook of Christian faith and tradition and translates the resultant meaning in the real actions and decisions made in the life of the reflector or those who benefits from the work of the reflector. It is a kind of theological thinking "that integrates faith and life." It may "confirm, challenge, clarify, and expand how we understand our experience and how we understand the religious tradition. The outcome is new truth and meaning for living" (Kinast, 1990: 3).

The technique of theological reflections is predicated on four assumptions. First, "human person is a hidden unity who discovers his or her identity in relationship" (Bevans, 1992: 145). This assumption serves to indicate that Christians "are generational people who discover ourselves and God in the people who have gone before us, in those with whom we share life, and in the people who come after us" (Bevans, 1992: 145). Hence, our conscious awareness of God is revealed in the ongoing conversation between the dynamics and impact of our relationships on our lives. Second, there is no separation between theory and praxis. "Every ordinary Christian believer who authentically tries to appropriate his or her faith is participating in the theologizing process" (Bevans, 1992: 145). According to Thieliicke (1969: 459), the subject-matter of theological reflections includes both "our confrontation with norms and the resultant tension between Spirit and flesh, morality and impulse, the intelligible world and the sensible world... [and] our confrontation with reality." This makes it possible for theological analysis to be made out of the human experience. Thus, one theologizes anytime one examines the particularities of human experiences from the angle of Christian faith and tradition.

Third, "theology is an activity of people" (Bevans, 1992: 146). This assumption focuses the attention of the reflector on the fact that "we are a covenant people who experience God within our history (action) and together in time recognize, retell, and celebrate (reflection) this presence together" (Bevans, 1992: 146). Therefore, recollecting and narrating human experiences within the life of the entire Christian community provides genuine avenues by which one gains deeper awareness of God. Thieliicke terms this idea "grenzsituationen." It means "borderline situations"-the real world situation "between the fall and the last judgment" (1969: 653).

Lastly, specific human situations in theological reflections are selected solely on the basis of theological considerations. The importance of this assumption is revealed in Thieliicke's idea that the strict theological systematics underpinning this approach offers the reflector the advantage and urge of taking "our various cross-sections from every area of human life" (1969: 653).

The approach of Theological Reflections (TR) involves ten sub-models. These are Lonergan's transcendental method; Green's cycle of theological reflections (1990); Killen and de Beer's Art of Theological Reflection (1994); Pattison's method of critical conversation (2000); Shea's narrative storytelling (1987); Holland and Henroit's

Pastoral Circle (1984); Delve, Mintz, and Stewart's the Service Learning model(1990); Groome's Shared Christian Praxis(1980); Browning's Method of Correlation (1983); Whitehead and Whitehead's Method in Ministry (1980).

Significant to this study is Killen and deBeer's Art of Theological Reflection or Movement toward Insight (1994). Within the method of theological reflections, Killen and deBeer's model represents one of the synthetic models. It involves four components. These are focusing on some aspect of experience; describing that experience to identify the heart of the matter; exploring the heart of the matter in conversation with the wisdom of the Christian heritage; and identifying from this conversation new truths and meanings for living (1994:68-69). Most importantly, it is an integrative model that strives to balance the "insights and sources of scripture, tradition, cultural information, and personal experience in a dialogical way." This model is "particularly useful in uncovering the imaginative and affective dimension of human experience" in the context of a group. This model suggests the need for

a high level of group facilitation skills, individual research of multiple theological sources, and a large amount of time for group processing (Trokan, 2013: 149).

Since the crux of the "theological reflection" is "bringing the resources of faith to bear on the situation" (Gula, 1996: 147), my intention of using this technique will be to examine the impact of the ideology of Protestant Liberalism (PL) on contemporary Christian experience. This approach is used to find answers to the various research questions. This is illustrated below:

- in order to define and explain the origins and historical manifestations of Protestant Liberalism, a literature analysis is conducted to determine and evaluate past and present viewpoints. Relevant literature will be analyzed, compared and evaluated.
- in order to identify and discuss the main tenets of Protestant Liberalism, both in its classical and present-day forms, a literature analysis is conducted to determine and evaluate past and present viewpoints on the teachings of Protestant Liberalism. Literature will be analyzed; evaluated, compared and integrated perspectives will be developed.
- in order to identify and explain the similarities and differences between Protestant Liberalism and Classical Liberalism as far as origin and underlying ideological presuppositions are concerned, a literature analysis is conducted to determine and evaluate past and present studies on both Protestant Liberalism and political liberalism. Literature will be analyzed, evaluated compared and integrated perspectives developed.
- in order to describe the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture, a literature analysis is conducted to determine the pervasiveness of this impact. Literature will be critically analyzed; evaluated, compared and integrated perspectives will be developed.
- in order to construct a theological appraisal of the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture, applicable parts of Scripture are identified and exegetically examined. The method used is the grammatico-historical method (Elwell, 1984). The hermeneutical rules according to which Scripture is interpreted are those formulated by Terry (1974) which intends to determine the simplest, "direct, and ordinary meaning of phrases and sentences" used by original Bible authors with a careful inquiry "into the

circumstances under which they wrote, the manners and customs of his age, and the purpose or object which they had in view" (1974: 101, 70).

1.7 Ethical Considerations

The author has acknowledged the academic work of others cited in this research. The method of referencing has been the Harvard style of APA (American Psychological Association's Publication Manual, 6th edition). This study is a literature study and does not involve human subjects.

1.8 Classification of Headings/Chapters

The results of the study have been presented as below:

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter one introduces the thesis. It provides background of the study, the problem of the study, the objectives of the study, the methodology of the study, and the organization of the study. It offers an avenue for the reader to grasp the thesis of this study that Protestant Liberalism has utilized key concepts in classical liberalism such as a dynamic understanding of history, instrumental rationality, human autonomy and the importance of the individual human will to redefine central dogmas in the Christian faith. This has contributed to the variegated and plural nature of contemporary Christianity and had a negative impact on some classical Christian doctrines.

Chapter Two: Definition, origin, and historical manifestations of Protestant Liberalism

This chapter defines Protestant Liberalism and traces its origins from the time of Latini, Dante, and Petrarch in the 13th and 14th centuries through the period of Italian Renaissance, Protestant Reformation, to the onset of the three-staged period of modernism. Special stress is placed on individuals whose teachings and theological thoughts significantly contributed to the development of the ideals of Protestant Liberalism during these stated historical periods.

Chapter Three: Protestant Liberalism and Classical Liberalism

This chapter briefly outlines the beginnings of Classical liberalism and compares it with the nature of Protestant liberalism. Discussion focuses on the similarities and dissimilarities between these concepts. An attempt is also made to delineate the point of departure or advancement of basic philosophical propositions between the two concepts. The central theoretical argument is that Protestant liberalism has incorporated some key elements of classical liberalism into its quest to redefine essential elements of the Christian faith in a manner that will appeal to the sense of the contemporary individual.

Chapter Four: Tenets of Protestant Liberalism

This section of the study contains information on the core teachings of Protestant Liberalism. By looking at Christianity from the perspective of Protestant Liberalism, one can see several deviations from orthodox Christian teachings. The purpose of this chapter is to determine Christian teachings that are basic to all strands within the Protestant Liberal tradition. These basic teachings are borne out of the Protestant Liberal notions of natural rights,

social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on ethics. The interplay of these underlining philosophies of Protestant Liberalism offers an avenue for presenting essential elements of Christianity to individuals from one generation to another. Discussions in this chapter focuses on Protestant Liberal views on the immanence of God; anthropocentrism; focus on Jesus as an ethical example; and evolutionary view of the Bible; optimism; salvation; the church as an instrument of social progress; the kingdom of God; religious authority; continuity; modernism; and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence as influenced by key exponents of the Protestant Liberal tradition.

Chapter Five: Protestant Liberalism and Contemporary Theologies

This chapter discusses some contemporary theologies that have been influenced by Protestant Liberal conceptions. It first describes the concept of theological contextualization with reference to its meaning, origin, and its models. This is followed by a discussion on selected contemporary theologies such as Pentecostal theology, Servant Theology, Political Theology, Theologies of Liberation and the Jesus Seminar.

Chapter Six: Protestant Liberalism Today

This chapter evaluates Protestant Liberalism in terms of its contribution to contemporary Christian culture. The main argument is that Protestant Liberalism has had both positive and negative effects on the manner in which the contemporary Christian thinks, behaves, and feels about existential and theological issues. An evaluation of the impact of Protestant Liberalism on present-day Christian culture is done in this chapter.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Recommendations

This chapter is a summary of the whole study. It provides a synopsis of the main argument of the research as well as recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINITION, ORIGIN, AND HISTORICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF PROTESTANT LIBERALISM

2.1 Introduction

This chapter probes the meaning and origin of Protestant Liberalism from the time of Latini, Dante, and Petrarch in the 13th and 14th centuries through the period of Italian Renaissance, Protestant Reformation, to the onset of the three-staged period of modernism. Special stress is placed on individuals whose teachings and theological thoughts significantly contributed to the development of the ideals of Protestant Liberalism. The gist of the argument is that Protestant Liberalism was neither a sudden development, nor was it framed within a theological or historical vacuum, but it originated as a result of gradual changing social environments and the ongoing reframing of intellectual traditions.

2.2 Definition of Protestant Liberalism

In Christian Theology, liberalism is a broad term connecting different philosophical and theological viewpoints within general Christianity. The stress in this tradition is on the importance of practicing a rationally acceptable theology that affirms the dignity and freedom of the human being. Hence, it exalts theological and intellectual liberty, often, at the expense of traditionally accepted theological and biblical doctrines (Rios, 2011:8). The broad nature of the liberal movement has made an exact definition of the concept very difficult.

Nonetheless, several authors have attempted definitions. MacIntyre (1998: 125), for example, suggests that liberalism refers to the unquenchable desire among some individuals to achieve an agreeable balance between correct scriptural interpretation and the skepticism of Enlightenment thinkers. Machen (1990: 2, 3) has observed that it is an attempt to incorporate modern thinking and developments, especially in the sciences, into the Christian faith. By this attempt, Lewis and Demarest (1996: 80, 81) view liberalism as assuming a “naturalistic, evolutionary view of the world, an optimistic view of [humanity] as inherently good, and a reductive view of Scripture as a diverse collection of material written and compiled by children of their respective times.” Dorrien (2001: 23) offers the following definition:

Liberal theology is defined by its openness to the verdicts of modern intellectual inquiry, especially the natural and social sciences; its commitment to the authority of individual reason and experience...and its commitment to make Christianity credible and socially relevant to modern people.

Donald Earl Miller and Donald Eugene Miller (1981:33) have pointed out that

Liberal Christians have characteristically sought to understand their faith with reference to their experience within contemporary culture...Liberal Christians view accommodation to culture as necessary and positive...They seek to understand God and their moral responsibility in terms of the best available scientific knowledge and social analysis.

Liberalism in Christianity has come to be known by various names. Some of these names are modernism, protestant liberalism, theological modernism, and theological liberalism. Regardless of the term employed in reference to the concept, one thing seems common to all—the desire to adapt theological ideas to contemporary culture and methods of thinking in a manner that enhances human culture, reason, and consequent progress. Welch regards nineteenth century liberalism as a theological framework that offers maximum acceptance and recognition for modern thoughts in Christian Theology (cited in Prasad, 2009: 94). Evidently, liberalism constantly strives to repackage Christian theological ideas so it will become meaningful in current cultural practices and patterns of thinking. Within this framework, the worldview of non-Christian scientific systems is utilized to provide new articulations of the Christian faith. The major premise of adherents of this framework is that Christianity can only reach contemporary society if it emigrates from its restrictive and out-molded pattern of thoughts to embrace modern understandings of reason and faith. It is believed that the essence of Christianity can be better served if perspectives of a modern-scientific reasoned system are accommodated (Hedstrom, 2012: 14-18). In Christian Theology, therefore, liberalism is an umbrella term that describes the quest of some individuals and churches to re-interpret and re-organize core principles of the Christian faith in such a way that they will remain relevant to current scientific thought patterns (Reardon, 1968: 9; Ottati, 2013: 246).

The question we are facing is whether Protestant Liberalism has not been so keen in accommodating the modern consciousness that it has eroded the core content of traditional Christianity? Could it be that the desire to appeal to the modern person, embedded in the concept of Protestant Liberalism, is the reason for the wanton disregard of the mood, methods, morals, and message of traditional Christian beliefs? Though liberal theology is an influential paradigm in both Catholic and Protestant theological discourse, this study analyses theological liberalism as it manifests in the theological thoughts of the latter. The term Protestant Liberalism is used in this thesis to reflect the collective ideas, within Protestant Theology, that maintain loyalty to Jesus Christ but stress the existential value of religion, both in doctrine and in practice, to the welfare of humanity as well as the desire to make the essence of Christianity recognizable in the worldview of modern-scientific system.

2.3 Origin and Historical Manifestations of Protestant Liberalism

Generally, it appears impossible to refer to any development before Daniel Frederick Schleiermacher in the 19th century as Protestant Liberalism. Yet some of the impulses for the later emergence of Protestant Liberalism, as developed extensively by Schleiermacher, can be traced to the period of Renaissance through the Reformation to the modern era. The Renaissance (1350-1600 AD) was a period in history that saw the revival of interest in classical learning and values. Several factors at the end of the Middle Ages, particularly at the 12th century A. D., induced social, political and intellectual developments that eventually culminated in the Renaissance. Classically, the period of the Renaissance had varying forms, but the most common feature of this period was the emergence of *humanism*. Humanism, from the Latin *humanitas* (originally *humanismus*, and coined from *Literoe humaniores* differentiated from *Literoe sacroe*, [Black, 2006:37]), was commonly used as a synonym for philanthropy—or kindness and benevolence toward one's fellow man (Mann, 1996:1; Norman, 2004). It offered guidance to both peasants and royals by revisiting classical poetry and rhetoric and their potential to effect changes in the future life of the individual and the state (Fubini, 2003: 320).

The beginnings of humanism could be identified with the writings of Brunetto Latini (c. 1220-1294). Brunetto was chancellor of the city of Florence who attempted to express classical thoughts in the local language (Grudin, 2012: 5). His influence remained alive through the writings of Dante (1265-1321) such as *De monarchia*, *De Vulgari eloquentia*, and *Commedia* (later known as *La divina commedia*). However, Dante appeared to have directed his writings to the pursuit of civil liberty (Caesar, 1989: 48). Humanism acquired its most enticing influence through Petrarch. As a theologian, priest, a political apologist, and a poet, Petrarch established new ways of thought that was different from the ways of learning in the Medieval period. He broached the idea that the teachings and practices of Christianity was never at variance with Greco-Roman classical writings such as Homer, Statius, and Lucan (Caesar, 1989: 48). Through his *Africa* (a Latin epic) and *Canzoniere*, Petrarch found a way to crystallize philological dynamics that would shape the content and writings of humanism in advance years (Fubini, 2003: 321). In Machiavelli, the influence of Petrarch becomes profound. Machiavelli's concept of humanism, represented in his usage of the term *umanità*, was underlined by the notion that an ultimate wisdom lay in antiquity that had the potential for generating a sort of enlightened policy for advancing civilization (Fubini, 2003: 320). In ensuing years, Michael Montaigne (1533-1592) advanced the views of Machiavelli (1469-1527) with a deep focus on individualism (Hartle, 2013: 29, 155).

As the concept of humanism became integrated in the thoughts of the scholars in Northern Italy, the expression *studia humanitatis* was adopted. *Studia humanitatis* referred to the antiquary studies in the 15th century that consisted of grammar, poetry, rhetoric, history, and moral philosophy. The discovery, rediscovery, as well as the subsequent imitation of classical works such as the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Livy fanned the flame that blew *studia humanitatis* to continental influence (Fubini, 2003: 320). With the contributions of scholars such as Gianozzo Manetti, Leonardo Bruni, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Lorenzo Valla, and Coluccio Salutati, humanism became a movement that developed and achieved influence first in Italy.

2.3.1 Giannozzo Manetti's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Giannozzo Manetti was an Italian economist, politician, humanist, and a scholar with in-depth religious fervor (King, 1986: 34; Debes, 2017: 139). He had a strong affection for Greco-Roman classics; consequently, he embraced and advanced the freedom of expression that these classics offered. Manetti was born in 1396 in Florence into a family that was affluent (Wittschier, 1968: 10). The teachings of Ambrogio Traversari influenced Manetti greatly. Seeing the Bible as the foundation of "life, scholarship, and knowledge" (Hann, 2016: 3; Linde, 2015: 265), Manetti studied the Scriptures in its literary format and stressed those scriptural points that served his interest of defending Christianity against Judaism (Biddick, 2003: 41). Perhaps this was the reason for his dying quest to retranslate the Bible.

Manetti was also a prolific writer. His style of writing followed the manner of Cicero. His method of writing revealed an attempt to link biblical faith and aesthetics with geometrical knowledge in a manner that would reveal the mystery of the scriptures. In later years, Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola would incorporate this style into their idea of "neo-platonic and magical traditions" (Goodrick-Clarke, 2008: 36, 39). His interest in humanism caused him to vehemently argue against the dominant pessimistic view of human being as a victim of suffering, pain, and hunger (Kleinig, Mameli, Miller, Salane, & Schwartz, 2011: 169). Manetti maintained that while the

unpleasantness associated with human life cannot be denied, humanity has some gifts that equally produced pleasure. He provided three reasons for his assertion. First, the gift of common sense offered pleasures that outweighed the afflictions and complaints of a painful life. Second, nature offered some remedies that when used in moderation provided humanity with the antidotes to heal the sicknesses caused by heat, cold, pain, suffering, and the disappointments prevalent in the world. Lastly, he saw the advantage humanity had over other creatures as an avenue that should constantly fill human beings with unsurpassed joy. He claimed that the excesses in using these aforementioned factors embedded in human life and nature causes the ravages of life. Manetti's book was well received to the extent that it became a source for understanding renaissance humanism (Maxson, 2014: 76). Even some regarded it as a humanist apology of Christianity (Stinger, 1998: 211).

2.3.2 Leonardo Bruni's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Also known as Leonardo Aretino, Leonardo Bruni was born around 1370 in Arezzo, a city in Tuscany probable perceived as one of the venues of the then Etruscan elite (Seigel, 2015: 99). As a result of warfare between Guelphs and the Ghibellines, Bruni and his father were incarcerated in 1384 (Hankins, 2000: 143). While in prison, the painting of Petrarch, the famous Italian poet and humanist, engendered in Bruni a love for studies in human endeavors (Kohl & Witt, 1978: 121).

Under the tutelage of Lino Coluccio Salutati and Manuel Chrysoloras, Bruni's love for humanities developed along the line of thought of Petrarch.² Bruni's training made him a translator and a renowned writer. Stephens (2012: 76) notes that Bruni's unique style of composing his republican ideas in his *Panegyric to the City of Florence* after the similitude of Aelius Aristides' *Panathenicus* (Panegyric to Athens) gave prominence to Aelius among the political philosophers of the Renaissance. However, the most notable of all his biographies was the one concerning Marcus Tullius Cicero, a Roman statesman (Bruni, 1987: 187). Bruni is acclaimed for his historical work on the Florentine people (Hankins, 2000: 143). In his *Historiarum Florentini populi libri XII* (History of the Florentine People, 12 volumes), Bruni employed a threefold standard division to portray the city of Florence as a continuation of the great ideals laid by Athens. His threefold historical division consisted of antiquity, the middle ages, and the modern era (Shaffer, 2001: 340). In pursuing this goal, Bruni ended up secularizing the study of history, though it was probably an unintended objective (Fubini, 2003: 184). Contrariwise, Bruni used Titus Livius as a model for language, format, and style (Knox & McKeown, 2013: 310). This Roman historian, Livius or Livy, had a unique style of referring to the writings of past authors. However, he shunned critical views on these materials (Knox & McKeown, 2013: 310). Rather, he picked those that appealed to him and employed them in his writings. His style³ was not a logical evaluation of his sources but a selection of sources based upon his preference for those that aided his moral praise of Rome (Bruni, 2008: 150).

Bruni has been credited with the establishment of a model of translation that offered the reader a seminal perspective on original texts instead of the obvious word-for-word translation (Stephens, 2012: 78). Owing to his threefold standard division of history, Bruni has come to be regarded as the father of modern history writing (Ianziti, 2012: 178). His remarkable work on the *History of the Florentine People* is acknowledged as the greatest

² Salutati represents the brand of scholars who heeded the counsel of Petrarch that scholars must study the writings of classical authors for inspiration.

³ Livy's style owed much to the writing style of Cicero and other Latin poets (Walsh, 1961; Dooley, 1971).

work on Renaissance Humanism (Ianziti, 2012: 178). Considering the successful combination of his literary assignments with his civic duties, Baron (1966: 7) and Jurdjevic (1999: 1011) used the term "civic humanism" in reference to all his contributions. The term humanist is derivative of Bruni's phrase "*studia humanitatis*" (Ianziti, 2012: 179).

2.3.3 Marsilio Ficino's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Known in Latin as Marsilius Ficinus, the Italian Marsilio Ficino was born on 19 October 1433 in Figline Valdarno, a community that lay southeast of Florence, a Republic of Italy. His mother was Alexandra and his father was Dietifeci d'Agnolo Ficino (Thomas & Chesworth, 2014: 497). Though an exact account of his training is dotted with uncertainties, it is possible that an early exposure to his father's occupation engendered in him a love for medicine (Arnold, 2011: 59). Marsilio Ficino was influenced by Comandino Comandi and Luca di San Gimignano (Arnold, 2011: 60).

Beginning as a public speaker lecturing on Plato's *Philebus*, Ficino's special style of writing became well-known in the city of Florence. Being among the first philosophers in Italy to come into contact with the original copy of Lucretius' *On the Nature of Things*, Ficino became the first among current philosophers to write a treatise on it. Eventually, Ficino dedicated himself to making the literary works of classical authors known in Latin. Porphyry, Iamblichus, Plotinus, Homer, Hesiod, Proclus, Hermetica, later referred to as the Hermetic Corpus – particularly the "Corpus Hermeticum" of Hermes Trismegistos were some Greek writers that Ficino translated (Yates, 2009). Foremost among these was his translation of Plato. His complete translation of Plato would later influence key players of the Reformation, Martin Luther and John Calvin, through the literary works of Desiderius Erasmus and Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples (Arnold, 2011: 59). Ficino's main object of translating Plato was that Platonism was the main source of calling current church and society back to the original sources of both theology and philosophy (Howlet, 2016: 8).

In Plato, Ficino saw rich deposit of important doctrines of the Christian religion—one immaterial God, a form of Trinitarianism, God as the creator of the universe, and the immortality of the soul. Using Platonism as a bond, Ficino merged Christianity and philosophy. By this means, he hoped that both civic and religious authorities would be united to spearhead a socio-religious order that will culminate in the promotion of comprehensive theological and political virtues (Collings, 2010: 28). For example, Ficino used ancient religious texts to claim that the fundamental doctrine of immortality of the soul finds fulfillment in Jesus Christ. Marsilio Ficino is remembered as a Christian Platonic humanist as well as a remarkable scholar among Renaissance humanist scholars (Grendler, 2010: 47). Of prime importance is his use of the phrase *platonic love*. This phrase became representative of a concept of spiritual or platonic love that dominated European literary thoughts in the 16th century. By separating ancient writings from paganism, Ficino synchronized love for classical culture and Christianity. His approach to theological interpretation could be described as an imitative exegesis (Collings, 2010: 28).

2.3.4 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was born on February 24, 1463 in Mirandola, a small territory located in the area of Modena in the Emilia-Romagna north of Tuscany. Giovanni was the youngest son of Gianfrancesco I. Pico, Lord of Mirandola and Count of Concordia (1415–1467), and his wife Giulia, daughter of Feltrino Boiardo, Count of

Scandiano (Footman, 2015: 82). Educated in Latin, Greek, jurisprudence, mathematics, theology, and other studies in humanity at home, Giovanni was sent to Bologna to study canon law (Martines, 2015: 86). His contact with Elia del Medigo, a Jewish Averroist, enhanced his knowledge and interest in Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic. Specifically, he was introduced to Hebrew Kabbalah, writings and interpretation of the mysteries of Judaism. He also had advanced studies in the classical works of Plato and Aristotle at the University of Padua. In the company of Angelo Poliziano, the poet Girolamo Benivieni, and the young Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola (Kristeller, 1964: 62), Giovanni was attracted to scholastic philosophy and theology as well as Averroism.⁴ More importantly, his association with Jews of the Renaissance and other Renaissance Christian and Judaist philosophers deepened his interest in Hebrew Kabbalism.⁵ Consequently, he began searching for a strand of thought that will culminate in blending truth from numerous sources. He started by merging philosophical thoughts from the schools of Plato and Aristotle. He thought that both used different languages to express the same view of reality. Again, he believed that all sacred books and traditions from various religious groups had same concepts of the Creator. His style of writing could be described as eclectic. By this approach, he conceived of authoritative conceptions of God from various perspectives and traditions. This was the reason for his nickname "Prince of Harmony" among his peers (Kristeller, 1964: 62). Giovanni is well known for his *900 Conclusions* and *Oration on the Dignity of Man*. This work has been generally regarded as the *Manifesto of the Renaissance*. Others have considered this work as a textbook of Renaissance humanism that served as starting point for understanding major concepts of Renaissance humanism.

2.3.5 Lorenzo Valla's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Lorenzo Valla was born in about 1406 in Rome to a family that traced their origin to Piacenza, situated in the Italian Alps (Ditchfield, 2015: 106; Kristeller, 1964: 72). His father was Luca della Valla. By virtue of his profession as a lawyer, Luca had good connection with the papal secretariat. This affinity offered Valla the opportunity to learn from renowned personalities such as Leonardo Aretino Bruni, Giovanni Aurispa, Vittorino da Feltre, Poggio Bracciolini and his uncle Melchior Scrivani (Blum, 2010: 33).

Upon the counsel of his friend, Panormita Antonio Beccadelli, Valla moved to Pavia. The intense humanist activities in Pavia might have stimulated Valla's passion for ancient moral values (Russo, 2010: 86). This passion found expression in his *On the True Good* (popularly known as *On Pleasure*), one of his earliest works. Upon the orders of king Alfonso (Ryder, 1976: 141), Valla's *De falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione declamatio* proved the forgery nature of the document that supported the papal claim that the whole of the western Roman Empire was gifted to them by an act of Constantine I in appreciation of his divine healing from leprosy through the ministry of pope Sylvester I (Pearl, 2004: 305; Janin, 2008: 105). Also, he criticized the apostolic origin of the Apostolic Creed claiming that the letter of Christ to Abgarus was forgery (Kelly, 2014: 5). His philological approach and the nature of his literary works caused much unpleasantness to him in the court of the king (Ryder,

⁴ Averroism, otherwise known as integral, radical Aristotelianism or Heterodox Aristotelianism, is a 19th century term given to the philosophical thought of the Medieval times identified in the method of interpretation and teachings of Arab philosopher, Ibn Rushd Averroës, by which he merges Aristotelian thoughts with the teachings of Islam (Fortin, 2007: 103-104). During the 13th century, Belgian philosopher, Siger of Brabant, and Swedish/Danish philosopher, Boetius of Dacia followed Averroës' method and reconciled Aristotelianism with the Christian faith and teachings. This became known as *Latin Averroism* (Akasoy & Giglioni: 2010: 281).

⁵ Kabbalism is a Jewish believe that each human being is a part of God (Lewis & Petersen, 2014: 103).

1976: 141). For this reason, he left for Rome when the rivalry between King Alfonso and the papal authority in Rome waned.

Lorenzo Valla contributed to the shaping of the content of *studia humanitatis* in an outstanding manner. Through his influence, for example, humanist scholarship delineated their style of Latin from the Latin of Medieval Europe. More importantly, Valla stands tall in preparing the grounds for Protestantism (Janin, 2008: 105).

2.3.6 Lino Coluccio Salutati's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Lino Coluccio di Piero Salutati was born on February 16, 1331 in Stignano (Sarton, 1948: 1815). Stignano was a small town situated close to Buggiano (modern day Pistoia), Tuscany. He lived in Bologna briefly where his family sought refuge from a Ghibelline coup in Buggiano (Witt, 1983: 5). In Bologna, Salutati was probably influenced by two prominent Florentine humanists, namely, Boccaccio and Francesco Nelli (Witt, 2003: 294). Soon, his artful usage of the Latin language earned him a place among Florentine scholars. He was nicknamed *Ape of Cicero* (Witt, 2003: 294). Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (2010: 138) have observed that Salutati's works provided evidence of being one of the first examples of the Italian semi-gothic script. This script provided insight into understanding the humanistic script (Wittkower & Hibbard, 1969: 75). Most of his treatises and private epistles followed the style of textual criticism. Also, most of his literary works are focused on issues of philosophical nature. Foundational to Salutati's interest in Renaissance humanism was the idea that by imitating scholars of antiquity, he could produce something new which would be relevant to his present-day society (Witt, 2003: 294). He is well remembered for tutoring other young humanist scholars such as Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Bruni through Manuel Chrysoloras.

2.3.7 Poggio Bracciolini's Influence on Renaissance Humanism

Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini was born on February 11, 1380 in the town of Terranuova,⁶ near Arezzo in Tuscany. He studied civil law (Oppenheimer, 2001: 26) and Latin under the tutelage of Giovanni Malpighino of Ravenna, Patrarch's protégé, and Greek under Manuel Chrysoloras' mentorship (Grafton, Most, & Settis, 2010: 719). His remarkable writing style, evidenced by the development of the humanist script (based on the Caroline minuscule), earned him a place among the company of scholars and influential persons such as Coluccio Salutati, Niccolò de' Niccoli, Lorenzo de' Medici, Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini (Carlo Aretino), and Cosimo de' Medici (Oppenheimer, 2001: 26).

Throughout his lifetime, Poggio believed that time spent in wars and church disputes could be directed productively towards bringing the lessons of ancient writings to light. For this reason, Poggio dedicated his time to the rediscovery and discovery of the writings of antiquity. Of prime importance was the recovery of the Lucretius's *De rerum natura*. This work presented the comprehensive worldview of the Greek philosopher Epicurus. Due to the influence of this work, Renaissance humanists came to possess a formidable tool that moved scholarly work from metaphysics to "focus on the things of this world" (Greenblatt, 2012: 10). This work also sparked renewed interest in the perception of "pleasure and beauty" as worthy human pursuit (Greenblatt, 2012: 8). Poggio is remembered for his pragmatic efforts in recovering forgotten ancient manuscripts (Greenblatt, 2012: 131, 180).

⁶ A town that was renamed Terranuova Bracciolini 1862, in his honor.

2.4 The Spread of Renaissance Humanism

From Italy, the ideas of Renaissance humanists spread to other parts of Europe between the 15th and 16th centuries. In England, the spread of the ideas of Renaissance humanism was mainly through the translations and lecturing activities of the Oxford scholar, William Grocyn (1446-1519), Thomas Moore's (1478-1535) *Utopia*, and Thomas Hobbes' (1533-1592) *Leviathan*. In France, the activities of Guillaume Budé (1467-1540) recorded in his *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* as well as the *Essais* of Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) facilitated the spread of the ideas of Renaissance humanism. Most importantly, the scholarly activities of Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), the Dutch scholar and priest, represented in his aim to merge Christian theological thoughts with the writings and thoughts of Greek philosophers coupled with his translation of the New Testament into the Latin language have been considered a bridge between the ideas of Renaissance humanism and the quest of the reformers in the 16th century (Shuger, 1994: 41). His *Encomium Moriae* (1509) and *Colloquia* (1519), in particular, had great influence on Martin Luther and Phillip Melanchthon (Erasmus, 2016: 35; Keen, 1966: 3).

Erasmus's decision to remain neutral attracted accusations from both sides of the theological battle between the Protesters and Catholics during the Reformation. Luther, for instance accused him of being an "atheist, viper, liar, and the Lucifer's mouthpiece" (Rupp & Watson, 1969: 12-13). The Catholic church also accused him of preparing a highway for Luther's dissension in the Church claiming that Luther hatched the eggs that had been laid by Erasmus (McDonald, 2016: 52-53). Even some modern scholars accuse him of cowardice (von-Wedel, 2013: 1513). This notwithstanding, Erasmus presents a distinct peace-loving character among scholarship (Mansfield, 1992: 123). Most of his writings were geared towards how peace could be sustained. He yearned to move humanity to the point when it would realize that the much sought after "peace and harmonious order" depended solely on "Christ's principle of brotherly love" (Fritz, 1947: 78; Gary, 1996: 95; Froude, 1894: 359). On July 12, 1536, Erasmus died in Basel in Froben's House (Bietenholz & Deutscher, 2003: 146). Though a committed humanist, Erasmus remained a Catholic to his death (Fisher & McGuinness, 2011: 54).

Like Erasmus, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples contributed significantly to the beginning of the Reformation. Lefèvre's aim seems to have been an attempt to distinguish religious studies from ancient learning. This attempt undercuts most of his literary works. Some of these include physics and mathematics manuals, translations of Aristotle's work in ethics, metaphysics, and politics, as well as his translations of the Bible into French from the Vulgate. Two main books that have been considered as contributing to the beginnings of Protestantism are *Psalterium quintuplex* (five Latin versions of the Psalms) and *De Maria Magdalena et triduo Christi disceptatio*. The *Psalterium quintuplex* has been taken as the main doctrinal stance of the Reformation (Cunliffe-Jones, 2006: 356; Thompson, 1996: 362).

As the ideas of Renaissance humanism spread to the rest of Europe, new forms of humanism began to emerge. Though largely Christian in its nature, new forms of humanism emerged during the Enlightenment. At the core of these emergent forms was the elevation of human reason, instead of God, as the point of reference. Humanism, during this period, can be considered as an ethical philosophy centered on humanity, without recourse to transcendence or supernatural. Basic to this ethical philosophy was the "...belief in the value of humanity and in

the revival of ancient learning" (Kristeller, 1961:9). Another feature of this system was the "...belief that the best guides to the good life are reason and nature" (Barzun, 2000:45). So remarkable was the emphasize put on humanity such that human beings were considered as the center of the whole universe, "limitless in [their] capacities for development" (Mustol, 2012: 242). As a result, human beings were encouraged to be the best they could be by "embracing all knowledge and developing their own capacities as fully as possible" (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2003: 1021).

The nature of Renaissance humanism in Europe from the 14th to the 16th centuries could be represented in six-fold tenets. These are exaltation of the abilities of human beings, optimism about life, preoccupation in antiquarianism/antiquary,⁷ the search for new knowledge through critical observation of the nature of life, extension of content of education and the method of educating to include arts, moral integrity, and courage, as well as a political quest for a new law that would form the basis of emerging nations. Together, these features induced a new spiritual and intellectual framework to knowledge. This consolidated knowledge further and aided humanity to embark on a system of free enquiry and criticism that reinstated confidence in the development and possibilities of human thoughts and innovations. It was this attitude that inspired the founders of Protestantism to break away from the formalistic piety and possible imposition of the religious order during the period of the Reformation in the 16th century.

2.5 Effect of Renaissance Humanism on the Reformation

Renaissance humanism inspired individuals to access new ways of thinking and learning that were independent of the traditional understanding of religion and life (Reventlow, 2010: 206). Influenced by the literary works of ancient Greek thinkers such as Plato, Aristotle, the playwrights, and the mathematicians, lovers of Renaissance humanism developed new forms of writing and interpreting the Bible (Reventlow, 2010: 206). Based on these achievements, Renaissance humanism gradually replaced ecclesiastical authorities which had hitherto served as guidance of the good life (Arts, Hagenars, & Halman, 2003: 73). The effects of the shift from the supernatural to the more human interest manifested in the acute stress on the human experience in the present life rather than in the transcendental life, the replacement of monastic lifestyle with active participation in the richness and beauty of family and communal life, and dependence on luck, skills, and competences of humanity rather than reliance on faith and God's providence (Willis, Inman, & Valenti, 2010: 9). It appears that Erasmus's translation of the New Testament had tremendous impact on the theological thoughts of Reformers such as Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli (Ludden, 2012: 326; Larsen, 1998: 152). His writings exposed the abuses within the church in a manifested manner. His exposure induced significant criticism against the Catholic church from various quarters. These criticisms were focused on simony (sale of ecclesiastical positions), pluralism (a person holding to offices both in the church and state), absenteeism (refusal and non-attendance of clergy in benefices), sale of indulgences (compulsory fee for accessing the opportunity for forgiveness in the church), nepotism (preference for family members in ecclesiastical appointments), moral decline of Renaissance popes (especially Alexander VI and Julius

⁷ From the Latin *antiquarius*, antiquarianism or antiquary is the present search for the meaning and richness of life through relevant ancient writings and thoughts (Trigger, 2006: 74).

II), and ignorance of the clergy (Cunningham & Reich, 2010: 329). In succeeding years, the reformers would advance arguments on each of these corrupt practices of the Catholic church to the point that split was inevitable. Foremost among these reformers were Martin Luther, Phillip Melancthon, Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, John Knox, and John Milton.

2.5.1 Martin Luther and Renaissance Humanism

Martin Luther was born on November 10, 1483 in Eisleben, Saxony in Germany (Grzonka, 2016: 63). His father was Hans Luther and his mother was Margaretha Lindemann (Hendrix, 2009: 304). Luther started his studies in Latin, logic, and rhetoric at age seven (7). One development that will forever influence Luther's theology was his familiarity with the theological and metaphysical discourses of William of Occam. But for a thunderstorm on July 2, 1505 followed by his vow to St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and the patron of the miners, Luther would have ended up as lawyer (Marty, 2004: 7). Under the tutelage of Johann von Staupitz in the monastery, Luther assumed the dean of biblical studies in the growing University of Wittenberg.

Working on his lectures through the biblical books of Psalm, Romans, and Galatians, his attention was directed to the righteousness of God. The biblical passage in Romans 1:17 (a text that has been considered as the text of the Reformation) convinced him beyond reasonable doubts that faith is the sole means by which justification comes (Marty, 2004: 38; Trigg, 2001: 4). This discovery turned Luther's life completely around (it has come to be known as "Revelation in the tower"). This revelation was to transform the person of Luther into an "explosive person" (Erikson, 1993: 206). Luther's conviction found expression in his writings dating from 1517. However, they were precipitated by both immediate and remote factors. Concerning the immediate cause, two instances may be cited. First, his visit to Rome in 1510 exposed the abuses within the Roman Catholic church. Secondly, he realized that the Catholic church was exploiting the common people through the sale of indulgences. Before this time, indulgence referred to the voluntary gifts members offered to the church for feelings of the remission of sin. In contrast to this, Luther observed indulgence had been abused to become a way by which the Catholic church solicited money for the construction of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome (Duiker & Spielvogel, 2006: 396; Brockman, 2011: 482; Ward, Heichelheim, & Yeo, 2016: 469; Estep, 1986: 118). The feelings of disillusionment within Luther as a result of these immediate circumstances found its antecedent in the works of the Renaissance humanists. Apart from highlighting internal abuses in the Church through textual criticism, philological styles and reasoning techniques, Valla's works seem to have removed the very clothe that covered the mischief of the then Church. His insightful discourses on the proper place that must be given the pope as spiritual leader coupled with his demonstration, through his historical critical analysis, that the acclaimed Donation of Constantine was a forgery confirmed the unfortunate current of disillusionment already boiling within Luther (Estep, 1986: 119). For the first time, Luther had ample reason to believe that the Roman Catholic Church forged this document as a means of usurping political power from the princes and kings of the western Roman empire (cited in Negru, 2016: 125; Whitford, 2017: 43).

Convinced that the Catholic Church needed urgent reforms, Luther presented 97 theses under the caption *Disputation Against Scholastic Theology*. The thrust of this work was its major opposition to the notion that human

works was one of the ways by which one became justified. This work was followed by his *95 theses*. This work steered the controversy which was to later divide the Western Christian Church into Catholics and Protestants. To press further reforms in the church, Luther composed threefold treatise in 1520 (Bayer, 2008: 271; Tomlin, 2013: 78). The first one presented his views about the theological concept of priesthood of all believers in his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. Contrary to established notions of the Catholic Church, Luther pointed out that baptism afforded all believers same rights before God and His church regardless of status as clergyman or layman. Also, Luther claimed that everyone has a right to reason on issues that concerned faith. In his second treatise, *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther identified baptism and the Eucharist as being the two sacraments among seven that had biblical references. In his last treatise, *The Freedom of a Christian*, Luther set out his moral conception of human nature. His chief stress was on the fact that human works contributed nothing in making humanity just and that it is faith in Christ that induced love for others in the form of acts of loving-kindness done for the welfare of others.

The aggravated tension that these writings sparked among ecclesiastical domains invited harsh measures from the Catholic Church. Pope Leo X dis-fellowshipped Luther on January 3, 1521 by means of a papal bull. Attempts to mitigate this harsh response from the Catholic Church ended up in the ecclesiastical conclave known as the Diet of Worms on April 16, 1521 (Bainton, 2013: 17). The Church through Johann Eck persuaded Luther to recant the content of all his writings. Luther responded in the negative claiming famously

Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by plain reason (for I believe in neither the pope nor in councils alone, for it is well-known, not only that they have erred, but also have contradicted themselves), I am mastered by the passages of Scripture which I have quoted, and my conscience is captive to the word of God. I cannot and will not recant, for it is neither safe nor honest to violate one's conscience. I can do no other. Here I take my stand, God being my helper. Amen (Woolf, 1956: 155; Bainton, 1995: 189).

Consequently, Luther was outlawed on May 25, 1521 by the Emperor through an Edict of Worms. However, the protection from Frederick the Wise saved Luther from the effect of this Edict. Luther was confined to the Wartburg Castle in Eisenach (Mansch & Peters, 2016: 123). By the name Junker Jörg (Hollingsworth, 2012: 21), Luther engaged in much correspondence with Wittenberg which was under the leadership of Philip Melancthon, Andreas Carlstadt,⁸ and Thomas Müntzer.⁹ Luther died on February 18, 1546 of chest pains in Eisleben.

2.5.2 Ulrich Zwingli and Renaissance Humanism

Ulrich (Huldreich) Zwingli was born on January 1, 1484 to Huldrych (Uly) and Margareta Bruggmann Meili in Wildhaus (George, 2013: 114), located at the valley of Toggenburg, Switzerland. His father was probably an "Amtmann" (chief local magistrate, Potter, 1976: 6). His education was made possible through the help of his

⁸ Carlstadt later rejected all formalities in worship. As he advanced his views, he eventually renounced the real presence of God through the elements of the Eucharist. This sparked tension between Luther and him (Estep, 1986).

⁹ Müntzer, later, came to believe in 'extreme spiritualism.' He believed that religious experiences such as dreams and personal revelation from God to individuals should replace the Scriptures as the sole authority in deciding matters of Christian concerns (Estep, 1986). Intending to found a Christian community based upon the beliefs and practices of the early church, Müntzer condemned Catholics and Lutherans alike and regarded them as hindrances to the manifestations of the Holy Spirit's 'inner word.' Thus, he proposed a sort of 'inner baptism' in place of traditional baptism.

uncle, Bartholomew (Whitford, 2015: 66). Beginning his education in Basel in 1494, Zwingli studied Latin as a protégé of Gregory Bünzli. His encounter with Heinrich Wölfflin, Conradus Celtes, and Thomas Wittenbach (Mansfield, 2014: 274) engendered in him a deep love for humanism.

After his ordination into the Catholic priesthood (Armstrong & Hamer, 2002: 28; Elwell, 2001: 38), Zwingli served both as a pastor and a chaplain of the Roman See in the battles of Ravenna and Pavia (1512), Novara (1513), and Marignano (1515). His love for humanism was kindled by contact with the writings and personality of Erasmus (McGrath, 1998: 219; Bagchi, 2001: 81). Eventually, he became convinced that the Catholic Church was full of internal abuses.

Basing his arguments solely on the teachings of the Bible in Grossmünster in Zurich (Baschera & Gordon, 2016: 24), Zwingli attacked and renounced the religious practices and ideas such as worship of saints, hellfire, tithing, the commercialization of indulgences, and the Church's power to dis-fellowshipped individuals from the church (Clarke, 2003: 154). Following series of tensions between the bishop of Constance and Zurich represented in the Affair of the Sausages (during Lent of 1522, Holder, 2009: 12) and the disputes over the stance of the Catholic Church on priestly celibacy (Kimry, 2006: 249; Weaver-Zercher, 2016: 11), the city administrators of Zurich organized a conclave in 1523.

At this meeting, Zwingli argued against the stance of the Church on issues that he found to be biblically baseless. The Catholic Church was represented by Johannes Fabri (Baschera & Gordon, 2016: 24). At the end of the meeting, Zwingli sustained an order from the city council to continue his public preaching. Zwingli's position was presented in his *Schlussreden* (Concluding Statements or the Sixty-seven Articles). Later in the year, another meeting was called in order to settle disputes that had arisen concerning the place of icons and statutes in Christian worship. Leo Jud's argument for the destruction of all icons from the church in Zurich sparked this tension. In this meeting, Zwingli defended the side of Jud against canon Konrad Hofmann. Again, Zwingli rejected Conrad Grebel's argument for the renunciation of infant baptism in favor of adult baptism (Baylor, 1991: 267). Zwingli's theological views were almost from the same perspective as Luther's. Yet, the two reformers failed to make any meaningful connection in the Marburg Colloquy¹⁰ in 1519. In the said meeting, Zwingli had held that the elements and practice of the Eucharist were commemorative. Luther, on the other hand, believed and taught the real presence of God through the elements and practice of the Eucharist. Zwingli died in his service as chaplain to the Zürich Christian Civic League (which comprised of Bern, Basel, Constance, Biel, Mühlhausen, Schaffhausen, St Gall, and Strassburg) in 1531 during the second battle of Kappel (Lindberg, 2009: 113). After his death, Zwinglianism spread to England through contacts between English refugees and Heinrich Bullinger. Zwingli is remembered for establishing Protestantism in Switzerland.

2.5.3 John Calvin and Renaissance Humanism

Known in French as Jean Cauvin, John Calvin was born on July 10, 1509 in Noyon near Picardy, France. Calvin was the fourth of five sons born to Gerard Cauvin and Jeanne LeFranc (Spijker, 2009: 110; Schelbert, 2014: 62). His contact with both the writings of Erasmus and the personal influence of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Sargent,

¹⁰ This meeting was organized by Philip of Hesse in his attempt to form an alliance between the Protestant movements in Germany and Switzerland. In attendance were Philipp Melanchton, Martin Bucer, and Johannes Oecolampadius.

2016: 138) drove him towards humanistic reasoning (Haas, 1997: 14). Warfield (1981: 9) describes Calvin as "the humanistically trained master." After experiencing a personal conversion, *subita conversione*, between 1531-1533 (van der Belt, 2013: 190), Calvin saw himself as God's instrument for calling the attention of Christians back to the wisdom of God as deposited in the Bible (Zachman, 2012: 10). Consequently, he became very critical of the internal abuses and corruption in the Catholic Church in France. Officially detaching himself from the Catholic Church, Calvin moved to Geneva to help Guillaume Farel (1489-1565) in the latter's work of reformation. Calvin's contribution enabled the city of Geneva to secure its independence from Dukes of Savoy and from the Bishop of Geneva. As a result, Geneva destroyed all monasteries, abolished Mass, and renounced papal control of the city (Benedict, 2007: 169; Hill, 2013: 189). Unfortunately, there was an ideological struggle between the Libertines (soft reformers who argued for a clergy supervised by state officials) and radical reformers (those who opted for a city controlled only by clergy, a sort of theocracy). Farel and Calvin were among the radical reformers (Olson & Hall, 2002: 76; Barth, 1995: 349). For this reason, the triumph of the Libertines over the radical reformers caused Calvin to move from Geneva to Strasbourg in April, 1538. Upon his return to Geneva, Calvin's teachings on worship styles, church administration and doctrine, and Christian morality shaped Protestantism in Geneva greatly. His thoughts on Church polity were specifically published in his *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* (Spijker, 2009: 110; Schelbert, 2014: 62). Weakened by periodic illness, Calvin died on May 27, 1564, in Geneva.

According to Cunningham and Reich, (2010: 330), John Calvin was the only "professional humanist" among the proponents of the Protestant Reformation. They note that all other proponents came into contact with Renaissance humanism in an informal way. Nonetheless, all of them "utilized its fruit" (Cunningham & Reich, 2010: 330). Perhaps this explains the striking similarities between Renaissance humanist movement and Protestant Reformation. Both were critical of the numerous abuses within the church. All of them bemoaned the degenerated, quibbling arguments, and dry academic/spiritual programs that were characteristic of the present scholasticism. Consequently, both aimed at fostering a biblical comprehension and interpretation that depended on close examination of scriptural texts and passages as far as their original languages were concerned. This move eventually promoted the three biblical languages to unprecedented heights that they became common subjects of learning in almost every University in Europe in the 16th century. For this reason, Cunningham and Reich (2010: 330) believe that the Protestant Reformation was plausible because it built on the accomplishments of a "generation of humanist philologists" and thinkers. Yet, one could also see striking differences between Renaissance humanist movement and Protestant reformation. One of such differences existed in the conception of the nature of humanity. Whereas the humanists mainly exhibited a positive understanding of the abilities of humanity, the Protestants held that it's only the grace of God that could lead humanity into perfection. Another way in which these differences showed was the emphasis placed on the benefit of education to humanity. The humanists believed that true learning had the potency of improving and ennobling human nature. In contrast, the reformers argued that it is only when true learning is pursued along the context of divine redemption that humanity could be cured of its wretchedness.

However, these differences did not distort the strong bond between humanism and the Reformation (Spitz, 1996: 215). The stress on human beings that Renaissance humanism had created seems to have influenced the reformers to a certain degree. The reformers held on to this view but underlined such belief with an uncompromising loyalty to Jesus Christ, especially, in His pre-existent divinity. Spitz (1996: 215, 384) notes that the reformers considered

"Christ" as the epitome of God's will and purposes for all human beings. With their seminal view that 'no one has a right to tell you how to read your Bible,' the reformers attacked the very core of established religious order and sparked a society that would be built on free enquiry. This impetus made them interpret the Bible and other religious truths in their own way creating new doctrines and beliefs in the process. In addition, it encouraged mass literacy, critical reasoning, and higher education in the area of Christian thought and practices. These factors would contribute greatly to expanding the impact of humanistic thoughts in the years building up to modernism.

2.6 Humanism During the Period of Modernism

The years ensuing after the period of the Reformation have been generally referred to as the Modern period. But a closer look at the events culminating into it appears to lead one to conclude that "three" main movements¹¹ influenced its development—rationalism (Enlightenment), Romanticism, and Modernism (Dillenberger & Welch, 1954: 18). From the Latin *ratio*, rationalism (also known as the Age of Enlightenment (1750-1800AD) is a body of philosophical ideology that stresses that reason is either the supreme means among other ways of knowing (such as empiricism¹²) or that the sole means of knowing is "intellectual and deductive" (Audi, 1999: 771). Though Bacon was the first to use the term *rationales* to refer to medieval scholasticism in his *New Organon* (1620), the term is used to refer to the *a priori* philosophical principles that characterized the opinions of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz on the source of knowledge in the latter part of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries. By means of a converging philosophical thought pattern, usually referred to as 'continental rationalism' (Stremba & Bisson, 2009: 119; Cohen, 2010: 125; Mullarkey & Lord, 2009: 307), that characterized the discourses of these scholars, Pythagoras' "mathematical concepts"¹³ (Herz-Fischler: 2013: 63), Plato's "Theory of Forms/Ideas"¹⁴ (Welton, 2002: 259), through his "*Meno*" and "*The Republic*," and Aristotle's "categorical syllogisms"¹⁵ (Alexander, 2014: 7), through his "*Prior Analytics*," found fresh expression that was further espoused to form the basis of rationalism. This intellectual revival is a subtle indication of the connection between Renaissance humanism and rationalism. The present meaning attributed to the term is based on Hegel's differentiation of rationalism and empiricism in his *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* (Hegel, 1986). However, Burczak (2006: 6) thinks that the term rationalism has come to acquire a "pejorative" connotation today (just like related terms such as humanism and materialism) in that it has moved from its innocent reference to the writings and discourses of non-clerical individuals to describing counter-supernatural views as well as promoting non-religious worldviews.

Though variations in the manner in which various rationalists emphasized reason as sole determiner of the distinction between *ordo essendi* (order of objects) and *ordo cognoscendi* (order of knowing) may be realized, some common traits converge to highlight the significance of rationalistic thoughts. These include the three main theses: the intuition/deduction thesis; the innate knowledge thesis; and the innate concept thesis (Asante, 2007:

¹¹ Welch's (1954: 18) three movements are Schleiermacher's subjectivist/immanentist and Ritschl's moralism, the biblical criticism, and the stress on science and the scientific method enhanced by Darwin's concept of evolution in the 19th century.

¹² A philosophical perspective of knowledge acquisition that identifies human experience (for example pain and pleasure), either by means of internal or external senses, as the only source of knowledge (Hergenhahn, 2008: 131; Meyers, 2014: 5). Popularized by Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, empiricism is an epistemological expansion of the Aristotelian idea that experiences through the human senses is the only source of knowledge (Granger, 2013: 5).

¹³ His Pythagorean theorem indicates a mathematically-induced laws that control reality (Herz-Fischler: 2013: 63).

¹⁴ The Theory of Forms/Ideas stress non-material forms over material forms as the ultimate type of reality (Gorton, 2006: 32).

¹⁵ In Aristotle's conception, syllogism is considered as "a discourse in which certain things having been supposed, something different from the things supposed results of necessity because these things are so" (Lagerlund, 2000: 3).

142; Kleinman, 2013: 106). To these may be added two other doctrines: the doctrine of indispensability of reason; the doctrine of superiority of reason (Asante, 2007: 142; Kleinman, 2013: 106); and the doctrine of epistemic foundationalism. The thesis of intuition/deduction holds that "some propositions in a particular subject area, S, are knowable by us by intuition alone; still others are knowable by being deduced from intuited propositions" (Rini, 2010: 20). Intuition is considered as a reason-based intellectual grasping of a proposition without explainable premises. Deduction is a coherent process by which conclusions are derived from obvious premises. Together, these theses suggested that one can draw valid propositions about reality from intuited premises. Since this knowledge or proposition is independent of experience, then, it is *a priori*. Using this model, rationalists include ethical, mathematical, and metaphysical propositions in this category. The innate knowledge thesis states that "we have knowledge of some truths in a particular subject area, S, as part of our nature" (Rich, 2010: 172). From this thesis, rationalists asserted that knowledge is part of the very existence of human beings. Either such knowledge has been part of humanity from earlier existence, natural selection, or God-placed during creation (Asante, 2007: 142; Kleinman, 2013: 106). The rationalist thought that all forms of knowledge are discoverable. It has always been with humanity either through conscious or unconscious means. Rather determining knowledge, experience serves as a trigger. Experience only brought into focus what has been latent within the very constitution of humanity. Thus the best form of education is that which establishes an appropriate atmosphere for drawing out latent knowledge from students.

The rationalist believed that sense experience was inadequate in determining some concepts within which knowledge was gained. Since there are some concepts outside the realm of sense experience, rationalists argued that some concepts were part of the constitution of humanity. Concepts that are claimed to be innate are usually those that are further apart from sensory experiences. The indispensability of reason thesis suggested that sensory experience could not account for innate-based knowledge that was acquired through intuition and deduction (Asante, 2007: 142; Kleinman, 2013: 106). This thesis sets a dichotomy between reason-based knowledge and experience-based knowledge. In this vein, the thesis claimed that while reason could be an alternative experience-based knowledge; experience could not substitute reason concerning the domain of knowledge claimed by reason. This thesis implied the supremacy of reason over experience in comprehending reality. The thesis of epistemic foundationalism puts forth the view that certain truths are determined on grounds independent of other truths (Asante, 2007: 142; Kleinman, 2013: 106). Once these truths are determined, they further served as appropriate grounds for determining other truths. Of these six tenets of rationalism, the first three are relevant to be included among the rationalistic school of thought. The last three are optional to holding up a rationalistic view of reality. Yet, rationalism is incompatible with skepticism. Skeptics generally argue that reality cannot be adequately comprehended because there is not enough evidence to ascertain it or refute it.

2.6.1 Rene Descartes' Influence on Rationalism

René Descartes was born on March 31, 1596 in La Haye within the Touraine region in France (Yan, 2016: 57; Saxena, 2015: 54). Besides Aristotelian philosophy, Descartes probably was introduced to Platonic philosophy as well as stoicism and skepticism (Cottingham, 2013: 8). Together with the influence from the discoveries of Galileo in 1610, Descartes developed interest in ancient knowledge such that his main aim in life would later be determined on the course of reforming philosophy. By inspiration from this dream (Heijnen, 2014: 44), Descartes

set out to reconstruct the study of philosophy (Vihalemm, 2001: 126). He thought that, he could alter the complete field of education, especially science, if he were successful in reconstructing philosophy. This was because he believed all other types of education and subjects have emanated from philosophy. Until he died on February 11, 1650, in the service of Queen Christian of Sweden, this aim of philosophical reconstruction characterized his career. His progression towards the realization of his goal is presented in some of his writings. These include the *Discourses on the Method*, the *Dioptrics*, *Meteorology*, and *Geometry*, the *Meditations on First Philosophy*, the *Passions of the Soul*, *World, or Treatise on Light*, and the *Rules for the Direction of the Mind*. Though his writings were remarkable in various fields of study such as physics, philosophy, and theology, it is in the area of epistemology that his legacy is highly regarded (Abu-Rabi', 2006: 289; Cottingham, 2013: 7). Jacques Rohault and Pierre Regis were among his protégés.

2.6.2 Baruch Spinoza's Influence on Rationalism

Born in Amsterdam in 1632, Bento (sometimes referred to as Baruch or Benedictus in Hebrew and Latin respectively). Spinoza achieved academic laurels at an early age (Levene, 2004: 81). Though reasons for issuing this harshest writ to Spinoza remain a matter of speculation, it is likely to have been the results of his denial of immortality, the time-bound nature of God's Law, as well as doubts about divine providence (Nadler, 2014: 167; Morgan, 2002: 560). *Ethics*, *Theological-Political Treatise*, and the *Compendium to Hebrew Grammar*, finished after his death in 1677, are among the chief works that were composed by Spinoza (Nadler, 2002: 226, 227). In his *Ethics*, Spinoza exalted reason as the sole framework within which humanity's highest ideals—pleasure and welfare—could be attained (Nadler, 2002: 226).

The thrust of Spinoza's philosophy lay in his rationalistic way of organizing his ideas within the framework in which reason is used to logically resolve life's most puzzling dilemmas (Nadler, 2014: 176). In his quest for logical explanation of religion, Spinoza concluded that "God exists only philosophically" (Mason, 1997: 41; Nadler, 2001: 35; Jarrett, 2007: 40). Some scholars have identified Descartes (Coulter, Myers, & Varacalli, 2012: 349), Euclid (Harris, 2012: 29), Thomas Hobbes (Preus, 2009: 30), and Maimonides (van Bunge, Krop, & Steenbakker, 2014: 75) as scholars whose writings had tremendous impact on Spinoza.

2.6.3 Gottfried Leibniz's Influence on Rationalism

Known in French as Godefroi Guillaume Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz was born on July 1, 1646 in Leipzig, Saxony, Germany (Weber & Arfken, 2013: 175). His father was Friedrich Leibniz, a professor of moral philosophy at the University of Leipzig, and his mother was Cathrina Schmuck, a Lawyer's daughter (Jolley, 1995: 18). Influenced by Jocaob Thomasius, Leibniz followed the pattern of thoughts of ancient Greek and Roman thinkers (Keller, 2015: 270). This induced a love for humanism in Leibniz. For this reason, his main focus in life was to iron-out perceived differences between the thoughts of ancient and modern philosophical thoughts.

In his lifetime, Leibniz presented his views in several compositions. Foremost among these are *Meditations on Knowledge, Truth, and Ideas*, *Discourse on Metaphysics*, *Primary Truths*, *On the Ultimate Origination of Things*, *On Nature Itself*, *New Essays on Human Understanding*, *Theodicy*, *Monadology*, and *Principles of Nature and Grace* (Leibniz, 1989: 9). Noting his underlining principles as the "principle of contradiction," the "principle of sufficient reason," the "principle of the best," the "predicate-in-notion principle," the "principle of identity of

Indiscernibles," and the "principle of continuity" (Jolley, 1995: 18, 19; Anapolitanus, 2013: 58), Leibniz proposed that the universe is as perfect as God can make it and that humanity is as perfect as it can be. Extolling reason as the sole determiner of knowledge, Leibniz advocated that any Christian religious teaching that was inconsistent with humanity's reason was false (Strickland: 2016: 317; Savage, 2012: 6). Leibniz's views were influential in the academic disciplines of philosophy, philology, logic, mathematics, physics, and technology.

Together, the writings of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz were so electrifying that philosophical thoughts were focused mainly on reason-based knowledge. The rationalists provided threefold base for their assertion. These were: the possible existence of innate knowledge; possibility of other forms of knowledge, though not innate, that could be acquired through reason rather than through sensory experiences; and the possibility of other types of knowledge that were dependent on both reason and sensory experience. Perl (1984: 150) suggests that rationalism ushered in neoclassicism—a resurgence in the literary thoughts of the Greco-Roman world. Valuing reason and debasing emotion, neoclassicism presented itself in the desire for order, logic, balance, and decorum in all discourses. The influence of the rationalism of the Enlightenment was so pervasive that it engendered absolute "confidence in human reason" as the obvious and effective means to discovering truth, conception of the idea that natural religion was beyond "Christianity and paganism," and the quest to re-order or restructure "society" through reason (Sykes, 1971: 2, 3).

Immanuel Kant linked rationalism and empiricism. Kant's works showed subtle influence of many scholars. Among these were Leibniz, Wolff, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Isaac Newton, Francis Hutcheson, Crusius, and Johann Heinrich Lambert (Gerard, 2005: 48; Wayne, 2014: 25). Finding a mid-way between rationalism and empiricism, Kant explored the world of knowledge from the perspective of "human freedom" (Lakshmipathy, 2009: 92). He identified two types of knowledge—sensibility and understanding. While the former aimed at experienced-based knowledge, the latter aimed at reason-based knowledge. Kant proposed that these two types of knowledge culminated in the search for *noumenal perfection*. This *noumenal perfection*, symbolized as God, was a moral perfection that served as the ground for evaluating all realities. Kant, however, described sensibility as being the source of knowledge since human understanding, that shaped sensory experience, was itself limited to sensibility. It was the *noumenal* world that remained unknown to humanity as far as sensibility was concerned (Olson, 2012: 39). In this regard, Kant established his idea of moral perfection as that which was beyond the call of both reason and sensory-experience. By this means, Kant set a limit on the extent at which reason could be relied upon in humanity's quest of attaining ultimate knowledge.

In reaction to this, a group of scholars appeared in the late 18th century with a quest to exalt emotion by unseating reason as the sole determiner of knowledge. This movement has been generally referred to as romanticism. Beginning in Germany (in the *Sturm und Drang* movement) around the 1770s (Murray, 2004: 1101), and spearheaded by the French Revolution (1789-1799) and the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 (Lee, 2008: 251), romanticism established human emotion, imagination, liberty, and individualism as superior to reason (Young, 2014: 88). The term *romanticism* has come to mean many things in contemporary literature (Guy & Small, 2011: 116). Tracing its history to the medieval period, the term referred originally to the indigenous languages as opposed to the official language of Latin (Fishman & Garcia, 2010: 54). To this end, variants of the term (*enromancier*, *romancar*, and *romanz*) described vernacular translations of works composed originally in Latin or

Greek (Fishman & Garcia, 2010: 54). Eventually, the term was used to refer to works composed out of the author's imaginations or freedom. In the 17th century, the term acquired dual meanings—*romanesque* and *romantique*. While the former referred to a derogatory and fanciful literary work, the latter denoted a literary work of gentle or sentimental nature. The latter was used mostly in England in the 18th century. However, the German term *romantisch* reflected the French *romanesque* until it adopted the meaning of *romantique* during the mid-18th century (Fishman & Garcia, 2010: 54). The definite use of the term in relation to literature could be attributed to Friedrich Schlegel and August Schlegel (Donnachie & Lavin, 2004: 220; Millan-Zaibert, 2012: 2). Today, the term romanticism is mainly used in reference to emotionally imaginative or liberal writings or paintings that began in Germany (Rutven, 2001: 91), and spread to other parts of Europe (France and England), from 1770 to 1850. Geisler (2002: 321) has described Romanticism as a movement that stressed “great people and heroic movements of the past rather than ideas and institutions.”

This movement highlighted human emotions and imagination as the sole means to ultimate knowledge. Romanticism broadly described literary works and philosophical pattern of thoughts that were produced from a group of thinkers, poets, and artists whose worldview was founded upon deep emotions and wide imaginations—a sort of spiritual sense. It probably found greater expression in the philosophical art of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (Murray, 2004: 181; Hamilton, 2016: 310; Hoffmann, 2016: 116). Born in Stuttgart in 1770, Hegel studied philosophy and theology in Tübingen. In Tübingen, he came into contact with Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) and Friedrich von Schelling (1775–1854) (Hodge, 2008: 315). He considered himself as a modern reformer after the similitude of G. E. Lessing and Schiller of German Enlightenment fame (Park, 2002: 297).

Through works such as *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, and *Encyclopedia of Philosophy of Spirit*, Hegel¹⁶ sought to use logic to explain the supremacy of sensory-based knowledge (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1991: 721). His goal can be termed rational empiricism. By this term, I mean the search for a reasonable basis of sensory knowledge acquired through emotions and imaginations. The thrust of his writings could be understood within the context of his usage of the term *Aufhebung*.¹⁷ By this term, Hegel proposed a sort of panentheism in which humanity's major preoccupation in life was to restore its unity with God as it had always been in times of pre-creation. This theme of humanity's return to its original estate permeated many romantic writings and discourses. William Wordsworth¹⁸ (April 7, 1770-1850), in particular, picked up this theme and developed his own version of cosmic unification between God and man. After Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge¹⁹ (1772-25 July, 1834), Lord George Gordon Byron²⁰ (January 22, 1788-April 19, 1824), Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Keats, and William Blake²¹ (November 28, 1757-August 12, 1827) continued discourses in

¹⁶ Rockmore (2013: 147) suggests that Hegel was highly influenced by Winckelmann, Kant and Schiller.

¹⁷ Hegel's idea of transcendental thought involving the unity of God-man in a cosmic blob was a concept that was influenced by "Schelling" (Bramson, 1961: 30).

¹⁸ Poems written by Wordsworth include: *Anecdote for Fathers*; *By the Sea*; *The Green Linnet*; *I Wondered Lonely as A Cloud*; *Ode to Duty*; and *To the Daisy*.

¹⁹ Poems by Coleridge include: *The Pain of Sleep*; *The Rime of Ancient Mariner*; *Dejection*; *Duty Surviving Self-Love*; *Fears in Solitude*; and *Work Without Hope*.

²⁰ Poems by Byron include: *Child Harold's Pilgrimage*; *A Spirit Passed Before Me*; *Darkness*; *She Walks in Beauty*, *Solitude*; and *When We Two Parted*.

²¹ Poems written by Blake include: *The tiger*; *Songs of Innocence*; *Cradle Song*; *Hear the Voice*; *Jerusalem*; *The Little Black Boy*; and *Love's Secret*.

the pantheistic millennialism of Wordsworth. This resulted in the development of a kind of theology that diverted from orthodox theological methods (Hass, Jasper, & Jay, 2007: 116).

From England and Germany, the waves of romanticism spread to other parts of the world. In France, it was disseminated through the works of Alexander Pushkin, Victor Hugo, Mikhail Lermontov (greatly influenced by Lord Byron), and Fyodor Tyutchev (Prickett, 2014: 55; McGann, 2002: 51). Romanticism in Poland was mainly through the works of Adam Mickiewicz (Segel, 1997: 19). Notable romantics in America include Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, and Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boyer, Clark, Halttunen, Kett, Salisbury, Sitkoff, & Woloch, 2010: 322, 324). Romanticism enjoyed center-stage in poetry, music, visual arts, and religious/philosophical thoughts until it was unseated in the middle of the 19th century by a movement later known as realism.²² Generally, Romanticism emphasized nature, emotions, the imagination of individuals, nationalisms, exoticism, and transcendentalism (Forster & Gjesdal, 2015: 2; Nassar, 2014: 1). Romanticism advanced the stress on humanity, also prevalent in Renaissance philosophy, but also contained a strong individualist stance in holding that individuals, were driven by emotions and the power of human imagination. Panentheistic ideas were prevalent in the Romanticist movement. It is within this philosophical context that Daniel Frederick Schleiermacher added on to the concept of Protestant Liberalism.

Protestant Liberalism emerged as a Christian response to the nihilism inherent to rationalist and romanticist thought. As stated already, rationalism distinguished between sense-based knowledge and experience-based knowledge, claiming the subjection of the latter to the former. As it advanced, religious claims were increasingly subjected to the realm of experienced-based knowledge, threatening its relevance in the contemporary society. This is because sense-based knowledge could not adequately comprehend, let alone explain, some elements of religion, and specifically the Christian faith. In Kant, the elements of Christianity (and religion) saw the hope of survival. Yet, the stress on human emotions, imagination, liberty, and individualism sparked by the rapid current of romanticism casted doubts on the relevance of religion in the contemporary society. In response to this threat, some religious free-thinkers attempted repackaging the vital elements of Christianity in a manner that would appeal and be relevant to the sensibility of members of contemporary society whose thought patterns, conducts, and feelings were driven by the currents of rationalism and romanticism. Thus, Protestant Liberalism attempted to revitalize Christianity and to make it more relevant to modern society.

2.7 Daniel Frederick Schleiermacher and Protestant Liberalism

Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher was born in Breslau in the Prussian town of Silesia on November 21, 1768. His father was Gottlieb Schleiermacher and his mother was Katharine-Marie. Both parents were from family of clergymen. Friedrich's paternal grandfather, Daniel Schleiermacher, served as a reformed pastor in Elberfeld until he fled the town to Holland as a result of parishioners accusing him of witchcraft and sorcery (Friess, 2002: 14). Redeker (1973: 6-7) has indicated that, Friedrich's maternal great-grandfather and grandfather served as chaplains in the "Reformed cathedra in Berlin."

²² The philosophical view that conceptual schemes, perceptions, observations, and worldviews about the way in which humanity feels, thinks, and behave towards reality are just an estimate of ultimate reality and that any discovery of reality connects the human mind to ultimate reality-truth (Moore, 2003: 1).

While serving as chaplain to the soldiers in Gnadefrei, in 1778, Gottlieb became interested in the Moravian pietistic thoughts. This was a timely event in Gottlieb's life (Shantz, 2014: 242; Carlson, Gehrz, Winn, & Horst, 2012: 136). He was entangled in the tension between the Enlightenment ideals of rationalism and the religious practices of the Reformed church. Gottlieb decided to train all his three children along the Moravian educational system (Shantz, 2014: 242). Consequently, Friedrich (along with his two other siblings (Charlotte and Carl) found himself in the Moravian school of Niesky, near Upper Lusatia, on April 5, 1783. In this school, Friedrich was introduced to the pietistic stress on personal inner religious experience. Additionally, he was awakened to the ideals of Renaissance humanism through the study of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, mathematics and Botany (Friess, 2002: 15-21). In 1785, Friedrich continued his formal theological education in the Moravian Brethren's Theological seminary in Barby, in Magdeburg. However, his disillusionment with the Moravian emphasis on doctrines coupled with specific doubts about the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus Christ on behalf of humanity caused his voluntary exit from Barby to the University of Halle in 1787. His disenchantment with orthodoxy could be observed from his correspondence with his father on January 21, 1787 (Kelsey, 2003: 24; Vial, 2013: 6). Being more liberal, the University of Halle abandoned pietism in favor of the rationalism of the Enlightenment. Here, Friedrich was highly influenced by Christian Wolff, Johann Salomo Semler, and Johann Augustus. Through the influence of Wolff and Semler, Friedrich developed interest in the method of historical criticism of the New Testament. His love for antiquarianism (especially Platonism and Aristotelianism) and the writings of rationalists such as Immanuel Kant was stimulated through the influence of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi Eberhard (Klemme, & Kuehn, 2016: 678). Tamilio (2002) has indicated that Romantic ideas subtly influenced Friedrich's life through his reading of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. As a result, Friedrich began analyzing Kantian idealistic philosophy through the lenses of Platonism and Aristotelianism (Brandt, 2001: 44). This led to his rejection of Kant's idea of the ultimate good, represented in his works: *On the Highest Good*, *On What Gives Value to Life*, and *On Freedom* (Dorrien, 2012: 87; Jodock, 2000: 93; Niebuhr, 2009: 94). Instead, Friedrich supported Spinoza's monism, represented in his work: *Spinozism and Brief Presentation of the Spinozistic System*.²³

After staying with Samuel Stubenrauch, a maternal uncle who was a scholarly pastor, Friedrich passed his denomination exams. After completion of his education, he taught the family of Friedrich Alexander Burggraf und Graf zu Dohna-Schlobitten situated in East Prussia in French, Mathematics, History, Geography, Ethics, Philosophy, and Religion (Brandt, 2001: 16). During these years, he developed his idea concerning the relevance of friendship and family in religion. His success at a second examination offered by his denomination qualified him as an assistant pastor in Landsberg (Evans, 2014: 547). Later in 1796, Friedrich served as chaplain in the hospital of Charité in Berlin.

In Berlin, Friedrich's quest to find a philosophical framework for Christianity led him into joining a company of Romantic scholars who met regularly in the house of Henriette Hertz to discuss emerging ideas in the arts and culture. His contact²⁴ with Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel was very influential on the latter works of Friedrich. Through Schlegel, Friedrich became acquainted with German Romanticism (Mahoney, 2004: 71). He probably conceived of his idea of the supremacy of feelings in both individual and corporate experiences from the

²³ From Jacobi's work, Friedrich found an intellectual conceptualization for his Moravian-adopted intimate experience of God.

²⁴ In addition to Schlegel, Friedrich met Dorothea Veit, composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt, sculptor Johann Gottfried Schadow, and Danish-Prussian statesman, Count Christian Bernstorff (Mahoney, 2004: 71).

romantic ideals of emotions, imaginations, and mystery. The stress Romanticism placed on individuality, emotions, mystery, and imagination afforded Friedrich an opportunity to present religion to his romantic friends who regarded religion with contempt at this time. His attempt produced one of his most cherished works, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*. His main aim was to present the relevance of a feeling-based religion over a reason-based religion. In light of this, Friedrich claimed that a feeling-based religion was basic to the human predicament that it afforded itself the only genuine means of experiencing God (Sockness & Gräb, 2010: 40; Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 267).

Acknowledging that religion involved both rational aspects and affective dimensions, Friedrich argued that the "affective" aspect superseded the rational aspect (Schleiermacher, 1958: 27; Maddox, 1999: 86). Friedrich also composed other writings during this period. Among these are *Monologen*, *Letters on the Occasion of the Political-Theological Task* and the *Open Letter of Jewish Householders, Toward a Theory of Sociable Conduct*, and a review of Kant's *Anthropology*. These works were later followed by the *Outlines of a Critique of Previous Ethical Theory* and *Confidential Letters Concerning Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde*. Owing to rumors concerning his intimate relationship with two married women in Berlin, Henriette Herz and Eleonore Grunow, Friedrich left Berlin to Pomeranian in Stolp in 1802 (Brandt, 2001: 25; Fahlbusch, Lochman, Mbiti, Pelikan, Vischer, Barret, & Bromiley, 2005: 851). In Pomeranian, he served as a pastor. He finished his translation of *Plato*, independent of Schlegel, and composed his *Outlines of a Critique of the Doctrines of Morality* during his years in Pomeranian.

Leaving Pomeranian, Stolp, in 1804, Friedrich lectured in ethics and pastoral care briefly in the University of Wurzburg (Brandt, 2001: 25; Fahlbusch, Lochman, Mbiti, Pelikan, Vischer, Barret, & Bromiley, 2005: 851). Upon the orders of the Crown, Friedrich was appointed the first Reformed lecturer at the University of Halle (Dawson, 2013: 28; Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 375; Schleiermacher, 1999: 41). At the University of Halle, he lectured in ethics and hermeneutics. During his days in Halle, he composed his short book *Christmas Eve* (Vial, 2013: 17). Napoleon's defeat of Prussia in the Battle of Jena in 1807 forced Friedrich to return to Berlin. In Berlin, he accepted the call to minister in the Holy Trinity Church. He married Henriette von Willich, the widow of his friend Johann Ehrenfried Theodor von Willich on May 18, 1809 (Vial, 2013: 20).

While serving as pastor, Friedrich was appointed as a lecturer and dean of the "newly founded faculty of theology at the University of Berlin in 1810" (Lawler, 1991: 26, 27). As a lecturer, he lectured in many theological and philosophical areas such as New Testament exegesis, philosophical and Christian ethics, dogmatic and practical theology, Church history, history of philosophy, psychology, dialectics, and translation (Reed, 2004). Of much importance is his influence in structuring teaching and learning at the University of Berlin. Redeker (1973: 94) has noted three significant areas of which Friedrich's influence was poignant. These were the inclusion of a "department of science in the academic divisions of the University," stressing "research" as integral part of lecturing, and the maintenance of the independence of the lecturer from "state influence" in the conduct of research. His motivation was that the university could serve the state better if it were allowed to carry out its search for "truth" without state interference (Redeker, 1973: 94). His ideas of theological education in the University of Berlin were represented in his *Brief Outline of the Study of Theology* (Lawler, 1991: 26, 27).

His dedication to academics soon made him the secretary of the Berlin Academy of the Sciences in 1811 (Schleiermacher, 1999: 41). While serving in this office in Berlin, Friedrich composed two important books. These

are *On the Different Methods of Translation* and *The Christian Faith* (Reed, 2004). Christian (1979) has compared the latter book to the *Speeches* in terms of relevance. He claims that whereas "*The Christian Faith*" reveals Schleiermacher's ideas on the dogmas of Protestantism, the "*On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*" presents Schleiermacher's defense of Christianity amidst the tension between the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the stress on deep emotions and wide imaginations of Romanticism (Christian, 1979: 35, 36). He died of pneumonia on February 12, 1834 in Brandenburg, Berlin (Kelsey, 2007: 64; Olson, 2013: 134; Grenz & Olson, 2010: 42).

While Schleiermacher composed many books and essays in his lifetime, his two books *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* and *The Christian Faith*, have received much fame. Within these writings, his notion of the source of religion stands out. Intending to offer a systematic account of the principles of Christian faith from the perspective of the "evangelical (Protestant) Church" (Schleiermacher, 1999: 6), he casted his idea of religion in *Einfühlung*²⁵ ("in-feeling" or "feeling-into"). Rejecting the rationalist view that religion is based on reason and expressed in terms of morality (sets of dos and don'ts [Niebuhr, 2009: 94]) and the Hegelian view of religion as a set of beliefs or knowledge (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 267), or the romantic notion that God can be known through human history and its varied expressions through human imaginations (vial, 2013: 14), Schleiermacher claimed that religion is a feeling of humanity's absolute reliance upon "the Infinite and Eternal" (Schleiermacher, 1966: 36). Thus he conceived of the right religion as a "sense and taste for the Infinite" (Schleiermacher, 1996: 39). Schleiermacher's held that *einfihlung* transcends *knowing*²⁶ and *doing*²⁷ (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 267). Located in the realm of speculation, knowing depended on scientific articulation to explain the religious experience. Since piety did not depend on theological knowledge or belief, Schleiermacher stated that religion was neither knowledge and science, nor of the world or of God" (Schleiermacher, 1966: 36, 102).

In the same vein, Schleiermacher takes religion out of the realms of morality. He claimed that "religion" was not action-oriented (Schleiermacher, 1966: 27, 57). Religion involved "surrender" while morality concerned "self-control" in the realm of pietism (Schleiermacher, 1966: 37). Yet, he averred that it is inconceivable for one to be moral or scientific without being religious" (Schleiermacher, 1966: 38). He expressed his opinion thus "I do not mean...a man might have religion and be pious, and at the same time be immoral. That is impossible" (Schleiermacher, 1966: 38). For him, religion was a state of being characterized by the immediate perception of one's consciousness of the Divine, without mediation of the mind (Schleiermacher, 1966: 106).

The feeling of absolute dependence, accordingly, is not to be explained as an awareness of the world's existence, but only as an awareness of the existence of God, as the absolute undivided unity" (Schleiermacher, 1999: 132; Green, 2012: 18; Swinton, 2012: 13).

²⁵ Though first used formerly by Robert Vischer in his doctoral thesis, *On the Optical Sense of Form: A Contribution to Aesthetics* (1873), it is likely Schleiermacher borrowed the usage of *einfihlung* from the writings of Herder (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 267).

²⁶ Christian (1979: 81) has termed this *Insichbleiben* (abiding-in-self).

²⁷ Christian (1979: 81) has termed this *Aussichheraustreten* (passing-beyond-self).

It was a sort of innate, inner, interior, or personal experience of the Infinite in metaphysical terms that found embodiment in the material realm of knowing and doing (Schleiermacher, 1999: 132). This feeling also represented the ultimate involvement of the Holy Spirit in the affairs of humanity (Schleiermacher, 1999: 132). Within this feeling or experience (*das gefühl*) laid the relevance of Christianity (Nix, 2010: 22).

From the standpoint of *einfihlung* (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 267), one may understand Schleiermacher's conception of key theological issues that concern the Christian Church, Scripture, Jesus Christ, the Trinity, Ethics, and Hermeneutics. He conceived of the Christian church as a fellowship of individuals with subjectively identical feelings concerning their absolute need of God (Kunnuthara, 2008: 116). This self-identical feeling induced individuals to seek fellowship with others of same feelings. Claiming a sort of hierarchy among the various religious groupings from idolatry/polytheism on the lowest ebb, to monotheism on the highest ebb, Schleiermacher claimed that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam represented the great monotheistic exhibition of human communions that revealed feeling of absolute dependence upon the Infinite. Of these three religions, Schleiermacher stressed Christianity as the most advanced form of religion. In light of this, he stated that the true Christian communion was that of the invisible Church. This was because, the true church would ultimately involve the experience of the feelings of God-consciousness of Christian communities through the centuries (Kunnuthara, 2008: 116).

Schleiermacher considered the Scriptures as the temporary expression of the Christians who lived in primitive times. It was valid in terms of it being an expression of the one Christian church of the apostolic period. However, it was limited in its relevance within the context of present-day society. For this reason, Schleiermacher proposed that Christian communities in every generation ought to construct their unique expressions of the feelings of God-consciousness. By asserting the limited essence of the Scriptures, Schleiermacher rejected all creeds (for example: Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, Augsburg Confession, etc) as falling short of the truth to be used to determine the faith expressions of future generations. These doctrines were the "accounts of the Christian Religious affections set forth in speech" (Schleiermacher, 1999: 76) during the period in which these Christians lived.

Schleiermacher rejected the notion that the concept of trinity refers to the three-in-one- God. Couched within the framework of the affective nature of Christianity, he was of the view that the concept of the trinity should appropriately refer to the threefold-division within the feelings of God-consciousness.²⁸ In light of this, he conceived of the Father as the "whence," implying the metaphysical source of religious feelings. Similarly, he perceived the Son as the one in whom this religious feelings found embodiment in terms of knowing and doing. This thought of knowing and doing were communicated from Jesus to the Church through the Holy Spirit (Niebuhr, 2009: 94). Schleiermacher's thought on Christ was equally a deviation from mainstream Protestant Christology. He saw Christ as a human being who possessed perfect consciousness of the Infinite (Schleiermacher, 1999: 738). The essence of Christ to the human religious experience was that communion with Him produced "grace" that enabled humanity to sense their sins (Schleiermacher, 1999: 262; Livingstone, 1997: 102).

²⁸ Schleiermacher's idea of the Trinity seems to be an advancement on Johann Semler's Trinitarian thoughts, of which a theology of the Godhead and Jesus Christ was non-essential for lively "participation in the Christian religion"(Pelikan, 1989: 27).

In his attempt to rectify the pitfalls in the ethical constructions of Kant and Fichte, Schleiermacher thought of ethics as reason-based expressions of the human beings and the natural world. Being mainly descriptive in form, Schleiermacher's ethics aimed at a physical construction of one's cognition of the unity of one's material and immaterial world. Within this context, Schleiermacher presented *Güter* (the highest good) as the sole aim of ethics. He divided the *Güter* into three parts. These were teachings of moral ends, teachings of virtue, and teachings about duty. Schleiermacher's view of interpretation showed influence from both Schlegel and Herder (Cercel, & Serban, 2015: 108). Basing his idea of Herder's notion that human thought relies on language, the essence of meaning was realized in the usage of words, and that various people revealed varying differences on the level of language and mental conceptions about reality, he proposed an approach that may be termed "semantic holism" (Cercel, & Serban, 2015: 108). Through this approach, Schleiermacher suggested that the proper interpretation of another's text or statement could only be attained through acquisition of the historical context of the subject, an understanding of the linguistic-psychological dynamics of the subject and its author or speaker, awareness of the comparative and the divinatory method, and knowledge of the nature of holistic activity that plays in on the subject. His hermeneutical approach enhanced the historical-critical approach to biblical study (Kelsey, 2007: 99; Porter & Adams, 2016: 115).

Schleiermacher's thoughts on various fields, especially theology and philosophy, have accrued for him much credence in these academic disciplines (Schleiermacher, 1999: 11). Through his notion of a feeling-based religion, he set the philosophical background for Protestant Liberalism. As far as his theological thoughts were concerned, Schleiermacher considered himself as continuing the Protestant Reformation. Evidently, his unique Protestant consciousness is the basis of his theological investigations (Gerrish, 1984: 32). However, his approach was different from the Reformed pattern of theological thought in that it was subjectively couched within the feelings of individuals rather than believe in official statements of faith. In this, Schleiermacher distanced himself from the "old expressions of Protestant consciousness (Gerrish, 1984: 32). His tremendous influence on modern theology may be seen in the accolade "father of modern theology" (Kierkegaard 1946, 18). Welch (1974: 61) has considered him the "Father of mediation theology." Other scholars have considered him as a precursor of practical theology²⁹ (Anderson, 2001: 24; Gerrish 1984: 20, 21).

Schleiermacher attempted to protect the foundational doctrines of Christianity against critical rationality. Yet, in order to make Christianity appealing to his friends from Romantic background, Schleiermacher used resources from both rationalism and Romanticism to develop his intuitive-based version of Christianity by reinterpreting Christian doctrines along the lines of experiential Romantic rationality. Influenced by Kantian rationalism and the Romantic stress on human experience and imagination, Schleiermacher (2006: 28) asserted that the Christian "religion...in its own original, characteristic form, is not accustomed to appear openly, but is only seen in secret by those who love it." Such assertion generally led to his subjective conception of religion as a personal sense of one's feelings of absolute dependence upon God. This was because the human mind appeared to be the only conscious way of ascertaining the reality of God. After Schleiermacher, several scholars have contributed immensely towards

²⁹ Practical theology makes inquiry into the feelings, thought -patterns, and behavior of people from varying cultures revealed in their "ultimate concern" of relating formal and informal religious thoughts to their life situations (Burch, 1999: 19).

shaping the idea he developed. Foremost among these were Albrecht Ritschl, Adolph von Harnack, Ernst Troeltsch, Walter Rauschenbusch, Wilhelm Herrmann, Albert Schweitzer, and Dorothee Sölle.

2.8 Albrecht Ritschl and Protestant Liberalism

Albrecht Ritschl was born on March 25, 1822 in Berlin, Germany. His patrilineal line followed a generation of clergymen. His grandfather, George Wilhelm was a pastor and professor of Gymnasium, Erfurt (Ritschl, 2005: 3). His father, George Carl Benjamin Ritschl held a doctorate in theology and also served as a pastor of the Church in St. Mary in Berlin. Later, his father became the general superintendent and evangelical bishop of Pomerania (Ritschl, 2005: 3). Ritschl's mother was Auguste Sebald, a daughter of the commissioner of Justice of Berlin. Ritschl was trained in philosophy and theology from the Universities of Bonn, Halle, Heidelberg, and Tübingen (Smith, 2014: 24). Beginning at the University of Bonn, at age 17, Ritschl was highly influenced by the Lutheran party. Due to this influence, Ritschl integrated Lutheran family morality and the spirituality of the Reformation into his personal conception of theology. His contact with scholars such as Julius Schaller, Johann Erdman, and Ferdinand Christian Baur, at the University of Halle, focused his attention on the scholarly works of Hegel. Baur influenced him in a significant way towards Hegelianism. Evidently, his viewpoint that the gospel of Luke was derivative of the gospel of Marcion, an apocryphal, in his work *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lukas* revealed some Hegelian influence. His association with Karl Immanuel Nitzsch seems to have influenced Ritschl towards Kantianism and the teachings of Schleiermacher (Ritschl, 2005: 4). As a result, he gradually began distancing himself from Hegelianism. This showed in his works *Die Entstehung der alt-kathol. Kirche*.

Between 1852-1864, Ritschl became a professor of New Testament, history of doctrine, and dogmatics at the University of Bonn (Ritschl, 2005: 3). During this period, Ritschl finally shifted his attention from Hegelianism unto Kantianism and the teachings of Schleiermacher. By the time he moved to lecture in the University of Göttingen in 1864, Ritschl had moved very close to Kantianism. Through the influence of R. Hermann Lotze, he came to subscribe to 'value philosophy.' This type of philosophy was the basis of Ritschl's 'value judgment' idea. It was this idea that influenced his Christian theological perspective. Two important works were composed by Ritschl during this period. These were *Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, in 3-volumes, and *Die Geschichte des Pietismus*. Of this two works, the former represents theological idea.

Ritschl's method of theology was that of historical criticism. His version of this method showed a combination of ideas from Kant's rationalistic humanism and moral commonality, revealed in Kant's conception of the ethical freedom of the matured individual, and the theistic emphasis of Pietism (Williams, 2016: 4). His was a theology that was founded upon value judgments (*werthurtheile*). He differentiated between two types of value judgments— independent and concomitant value judgments (Locke, 2012: 467). While the former comprised of individual expressions of all religious and moral statements, the latter was a composite of all religious and ethical statements expressed by corporate membership of the Christian community. Consequently, he argued that Christian theology should be described within the Christian historical manifestations of the God-human relationship. In his conception, the essence of religious constructs and concepts were determined by the scale of their relevance to the realization of humanity's spiritual and ethical well-being or enhancement. Purging the kingdom of God as a point of convergence for the realization of humanity's spiritual and ethical welfare, Ritschl indicated that religion should

practically improve the life of individuals in the Christian community towards a positive relationship with the kingdom of God (Ritschl, 2005: 17). Accordingly, any theological concept or teaching that had no direct enhancement towards the kingdom of God was of no relevance to the Christian faith.

In contrast to Orthodox conception of the Kingdom of God as passive and remote transcendent reality, Ritschl perceived the kingdom of God as an immanent moral reality. The kingdom of God was an active and concrete reality that God intended for humanity in the here-and-now. It was presented as a community of moral Christians, redeemed from sin, and characterized by the political independence and general well-being of all the members of the community under the just reign of God in the here-and-now (Bavinck, 2012: 152, 153). Membership in this community was beyond the limits set by human relationships. It aimed at exhorting members into a moral community after the similitude of Jesus Christ, the great moral example. Accordingly, Ritschl understood sin to be a natural and sensual tendency to be individualistic and work against the building of a community under the Lordship of God in the here-and-now. To heal humanity of this tendency, Ritschl described redemption and renewal through Christ as a way by which Christ exemplified the ethical lifestyle that enabled one to gain admission into the kingdom of God in the here-and-now. His was an ultimate example of a lifestyle that was in strict fidelity to God. By imitating Christ's example in the here-and-now, believers regained the social-focus of Christianity. A lifestyle fashioned after the similitude of Christ purged the believer of sin and restored the believer into the moral independence that willingly contributed to fellowship with God and other human beings. Ritschl presented this idea by his conception of justification and restoration. Thus the essence of Christianity was the realization of moral community under the righteous leadership of God in the immediate world.

In light of his theological viewpoint, Ritschl's concept of God excluded classical arguments for the existence of God, the attributes and nature of God, trinity, and the dual nature of Christ. Concerning God, Ritschl indicated that the only means for knowing God's existence was through the ethical impacts of the notion of God on humanity's move towards the kingdom of God (Ritschl, 2005: 17). For this reason, he construed God's love as His intention to actualize His purpose in the kingdom through His righteousness, which was steadfastness towards the kingdom-purpose. In this vein, Jesus Christ was thought of as an ethical model of newness of life fashioned along the values of God's kingdom (Ritschl, 2005: 17). Ritschl rejected traditional or orthodox understanding of Jesus, as embedded in the Gospels, claiming that they were void of Christ's moral impact on the members of His contemporary community as well as on the members of later Christian communities (Olson, 2013: 155). For him, the theory of value judgment was the sole locus of understanding Jesus Christ as an historical entity. Through value judgments, one can understand the religion of Jesus and not the religion about Jesus.

Concerning the notion of original sin, Ritschl indicated that orthodox Christian teachings missed the point on the basis of its comparison with Adam (Olson, 2013: 155). Contrariwise, Ritschl suggested that the practical model of Jesus should be the point of comparison. Thus, he described sin as an ignorance-induced obstruction of the realization of the purpose of God's kingdom. It was in this context that Christ's work, Christ's moral influence, became very significant. Because Jesus maintained his steadfastness to the kingdom of God, believers who followed Jesus' example obtained a divinely-mediated way to have restoration. Hence, Ritschl conceived of salvific terms such as redemption, justification, regeneration, adoption, forgiveness, restoration, salvation, and

reconciliation as referring to the same reality, that is, the process by which a Christian was restored to the family of God, kingdom of God. The personal effort of humanity was vital for this process to be complete.

Ritschl's theology had the ethics of the kingdom of God as its core. Through concomitant value judgments, one came to an accurate understanding of the historical Jesus. By modeling one's life after the moral influence of Jesus, one could live a life that was based on the ethical concepts of the kingdom of God. His system of theology influenced theological discourses for many years (Chung, 2008: 29). This was mainly due to the fact that Ritschl provided a theological system that intended to preserve the essence of Christianity from the Christian ideological conflict caused by Aristotelian philosophy, represented in the scholasticism of Protestant theology, Hegelian idea of rationalistic explanation of all theological concepts, Schleiermacher's subjective theological construction of Christian religious experience, and Kantian construction of morality as the ultimate end of religion, represented in his idea of categorical imperative (Ritschl, 2005). Ritschl died of cardiac arrest on March 20, 1889, in Göttingen (Kurian & Smith, 2010: 539). Among the scholars he influenced, Adolf von Harnack, Wilhelm Herrmann, Ernst Troeltsch, and Walter Rauschenbusch stand out.

2.9 Adolph von Harnack and Protestant Liberalism

Carl Gustav Adolf Harnack was born on May 7 1851 in Dorpat, present-day Tartu, in Livonia, now Estonia (Porter & Adams, 2016: 168). Together with his twin, Axel, Adolf Harnack was among five siblings born to Theodosius Andreas Harnack and Anna Carolina Maria Ewers (Fouse, 2005: 72). Theodosius held a doctorate degree in pastoral theology. His father's professorial duties in the area of homiletics and Church history in the Lutheran University of Dorpat, coupled with his tremendous predisposition towards Lutheranism, had a lasting impact on Adolf Harnack (Porter & Adams, 2016: 168). As a result, Adolf Harnack was introduced to the ideas of Luther, "church history," and languages such as Greek, Hebrew, and Latin at an early age (Bammel, 1968: 54). Having secured an admission to the theology program in the University of Dorpat, Adolf Harnack determined to gain personal understanding of theology in a manner that was independent of "ready-made statements of faith" (Rumschaidt, 1989: 11). While in the University of Dorpat, Moritz von Engelhardt introduced him to the processes of textual criticism and the course of studying original languages of the Bible. Engelhardt's influence on Harnack became noticeable after 1872 when Harnack continued his studies in the University of Leipzig. In his dissertation on Gnosticism, Harnack showed his favoritism towards the historical critical method of Ritschl and Baur as well as his support of the ideas of Marcion (Roth, 2015: 31).

Graduating in 1874 with a doctorate in theology, Harnack accepted his maiden academic position at the University of Leipzig serving as a *privatdozent*. In this first appointment, Harnack taught Gnosticism and Apocalypse. His outstanding academic success during these years earned him the rank of professor *extraordinarius* (Porter & Adams, 2016: 168). One of the most significant contributions of Harnack in the University of Leipzig was the 1877 edition of the Apostolic Fathers. This smaller book was jointly published by Harnack, Oscar Leopold von Gebhardt, and Theodore Zahn. In 1879, he accepted a lecturing position in the University of Giessen where he served as professor ordinarius of Church history. Harnack made significant publications during his years in Giessen. One of his first works was his joint irregular periodical with Gebhardt in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*. He published *Das Monchtum*, 'On Monasticism,' in 1881. Later in 1882, Harnack collaborated with Emil Schurer as editors of *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. Most importantly, Harnack

began work on *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* in 1885 (Magill, 2014: 1558). Adding two main volumes to this maiden volume, Harnack employed the historical-critical methodology of theological study to understand traditional Christian doctrinal development beginning from the 4th century through the period of the Reformation. His underlining notion was that basic Christian teachings of Jesus Christ have been influenced by the Hellenistic culture so much so that the result has been a description of faith and practices that were unlike true Christian faith and practices. To get to the pure faith of the early church, Harnack advocated a rejection of these long-standing dogmas of the Hellenized Christian church. His ideas in this work caused him to break with Lutheranism (Helmer & Holm, 2015: 113).

He moved to the University of Marburg in 1886. Two years later, Harnack received an appointment in the University of Berlin to lecture in theology and church history. Despite strong opposition from the Prussian Evangelical Church, Harnack secured this position with help from Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft, acting through Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. In Berlin, Harnack advanced his academic discourse. Among his many works during this period were *Early Christian history through Eusebius of Caesarea*, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das neue Testament*, and *The Sayings of Jesus*. His "quest for the historical Jesus" (Richardson, 1947: 148) became a common theme in his works. Developing the idea of 'value judgments' of other liberalists such as Schleiermacher and Ritschl, Harnack constructed the ideas of liberalism in an easily understood manner (Dorrien, 2003: 27). His emphasis on the ethical component of Jesus' message brushed aside the supernatural conception of the personality of Jesus.

Accordingly, he perceived the message of Jesus in threefold. These were: the "kingdom of God and its coming;" "God, the Father and the infinite value of the human soul;" and "the higher righteousness and the commandment to love" (Brown, 1984: 127). In the context of his threefold understanding of the Jesus' message, Harnack posited that Jesus' religion could be well understood through objective modern historical research. Consequently, he called for the rejection of the Nicæan Creed, the Chalcedonian Creed, myths, miracles, Pauline letters, and the gospel of Luke (Harnack, 1997: 76). Differentiating the 'religion of Jesus' from the 'religion about Jesus,' Harnack argued that Paul's version of Christology had overcrowded the moral teachings of Jesus Christ concerning the oneness of God. As such, delineating Jesus' message, the true gospel, from the unessential components expressed in authoritative ecclesiastical polity was the sole means of making Christianity meaningful to modern humanity (Holmes & Bawulski, 2014: 189). By means of his influences, Harnack served as General Director of the Royal Library of Berlin from 1905 to 1921.

His subtle political desire showed in his relationship with Kaiser Wilhelm (Röhl, 2014: 1349). He wrote Wilhelm's speech 'Call to the German People' in August 6, 1914. Again, Harnack lent his public support to the German course during the First World War. His political support was the main cause of the separation between Karl Barth and him (Marsh, 1996: 4). In his twilight years, Harnack became the first president of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Foundation, now Max Planck Society for the Advancement of Science. Harnack died on June 10, 1930.

2.10 Ernst Troeltsch and Protestant Liberalism

Ernst Troeltsch was born on February 17, 1865 in Haunstetten near Augsburg, Bavaria. He was the eldest among five siblings born to a Lutheran family. His father was a renowned physician (Olson, 2013: 171). Through his father's influence, Troeltsch developed an interest in using the scientific framework for evaluating the challenges of civilization at an early age. Though a Lutheran, Troeltsch's early days at school began in a Catholic institution. After his earlier studies in the classical languages and literature at the gymnasium in Augsburg, he was admitted into the theology program in the University of Erlangen in 1884. His rejection of the conservative ideas of the professors of the University of Erlangen caused him to move to Berlin to further his studies. After spending a year in Berlin, he moved to the University of Göttingen to complete his education. At the University of Göttingen, he imbibed Ritschlian thoughts on history, together with his friend William Bousset (Chapman, 2001: 20; Pauck, 2015: 57). This was largely through the efforts of Paul Legarde.

After his ordination in 1889, Troeltsch began his career in lecturing in 1891. Starting as a *privatdozent* of theology at the University of Göttingen, he accepted a lecturing appointment at the University of Bonn in 1892. At Bonn, he served in the rank of associate professor of theology. He attained his full professorial rank in systematic theology at the University of Bonn. Later in 1894, he moved to the University of Heidelberg serving in the same rank as he did at the University of Bonn. During his 21 years stay at the University of Heidelberg, he came into contact with Max Weber, and Georg Jellinek. These colleagues engendered in Troeltsch a love for academic knowledge from the disciplines of sociology, Jewish History, and Calvinistic theological thoughts. The result of this academic peer influence was the publication of several books and articles. Among these were *On Historical and Dogmatic Method in Theology*, *Fundamental Problems of Ethics*, *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions*, *What does the 'Essence of Christianity' Mean?*, *The Significance of the Reformation for the Rise of the Modern World*, *Faith and History*, and *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*. In 1912, he became a ranking member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences.

In 1915, he accepted the lecturing appointment at the Humboldt University of Berlin. In the Humboldt University of Berlin, Troeltsch served as professor of philosophy and civilization until his death on February 1, 1923. Also, he became involved with the political activities of the Weimar Republic, first as a member of the "Grand Duchy of Baden" (Wilhelm, 2015), a member of the German Democratic Party (DDP), and an associate secretary of state in charge of religious affairs, in the years following the defeat of Germany in the First World War. During his years in Berlin, he attained his lifelong urge to blend religion and philosophy. This showed up in his publications within the period. Among these were *Der Historismus und seine Probleme*, *Historiography*, *My Books*, *The place of Christianity Among the World Religions*, and *The Christian Faith*.

Much of Troeltsch's ideas on religion and philosophy were represented in his seminal book *The Social Teachings of the Christian Church*. In his quest to make the Christian religion relevant in a period of new realities presented through industrialization, urbanization, the rise of nation-states, and advancement in scientific and historical approaches to academic work, Troeltsch adopted an approach to theology that could be described as *theological inclusion*. Poignantly, his approach to theological studies revealed a perfect amalgamation of liberal religious ideas, sociological ideas, and neo-Kantian philosophical ideas. Accordingly, he perceived Christianity as having relative supremacy over other forms of religions in that the Christian religion comprehensively embodied

experiences and reason acquired through the years of humanity's existence on earth (Nix, 2010: 70). As such, he rejected inflexible teachings of Lutheranism, positivist reductionism, and absolutist Christian claims.

Troeltsch understood the life and personhood of Jesus Christ from the perspective of social theory. Consequently, he claimed that the greatest contribution of Jesus Christ was the formation of a group of people who affirmatively responded to his teachings and subsequently passed on Jesus' message to succeeding generations (Nix, 2010: 53). In order to make this position glaring, Troeltsch avoided the mystic aspect of Christianity. Hence such issues bothering on miracles, virgin birth, the expiatory sacrifice of Jesus, resurrection, and the advent of Jesus found no place in his strand of theological thoughts (Nix, 2010: 53). By means of the historical method, Troeltsch identified threefold stage through which one could understand the development and usefulness of religion in the society. He described these epochs of religious history as ancient, medieval, and modern. He earmarked the beginnings of the Reformation as the border between the medieval period and the modern period. Troeltsch claimed that the beginnings of Renaissance in Italy and the scientific advancement were the true starting point of the modern period. According to him, the Reformation, which was a mere improvement of "Catholicism" retarded the fast development of the modern period (cited in Rubanowice, 1982: 21). Troeltsch is remembered for his quest to combine the aspects of faith verses science; idealism verses empiricism; philosophy verses theology; and religious absolutism verses historical relativism.

2.11 Wilhelm Herrmann and Protestant liberalism

Johann Wilhelm Herrmann was born in Melkow, near Magdeburg in Prussia on December 6, 1846 (Gregory, 1992: 204). His father and grandfather were all clergymen (Gregory, 1992: 204). His father was fond of the teachings of Schleiermacher (Gregory, 1992: 204). Herrmann began his early education at the gymnasium of Stendal. In 1866, Herrmann enrolled at the University of Halle. Throughout his four-year studies, he was drawn towards the teachings of Fredrich Tholuck, Julius Müller and Martin Kähler. Of these three, Tholuck was the most influential on Herrmann. His objective approach to the study of theology had a lasting impact on the theological conceptions of Herrmann (Welch, 2003: 44). After his education, Herrmann served as a Prussian soldier in the battle between France and Prussia. At the end of the war, Herrmann secured a teaching job at Magdeburg.

In 1874, Herrmann accepted a lecturing position at the University of Halle serving as a *privat-docent* in 1875. Welch (2003: 44) notes that Herrmann encountered Ritschl at the home of Tholuck during this period. Later in 1879, Herrmann accepted a call from the University of Marburg, serving as a professor of Systematic Theology. He remained in this position until his retirement in 1916 (Gregory, 1992: 204). During his days in Marburg, Herrmann impressed all who came into contact with him such that his "glowing spirit," creative thought, and commitment became easily recognizable (Van Pelt, 1922: 972).

Apart from his attractive character, Herrmann published several works. Among these are *The Communion of the Christian with God*; *Religion in Relationship to Knowledge of the World and Morality*; *Ethik*; and *Christlich-Protestantische Dogmatik*. In a significant way, his *The Communion of the Christian with God* is representative of his views. Following the theological thoughts of Kant, Schleiermacher, and more importantly Ritschl, Herrmann considered the main task of Christianity as a means of enhancing individual experience with God. He proposed that by following the example of Jesus, humanity was able to perceive the ultimate goodness. In light of this,

Herrmann's notion of theology could be described as practical. He established individual experience of God as foundational to true Christian faith. Herrmann suggested that such personal experience had the potential of drawing an individual closer to God (Bromiley, 2000: 397). Consequently, Herrmann rejected creeds and other forms of authoritative ecclesiastical expression of the Christian faith as the personal religious expressions of other believers. He sustained the authoritative view of the Bible as long as it facilitated personal religious experience between individuals and God. Any viewpoint that raises Scripture above its mediating role made Christianity a cheap religion (Herrmann, 1971: 77). Herrmann died on January 22, 1922. Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultman were among his students.

2.12 Walter Rauschenbusch and Protestant Liberalism

Walter Rauschenbusch was born on October 4, 1861 in Rochester, New York. He was the fourth child of August Rauschenbusch and Caroline Rumps (Demers & Kindell, 2014: 594). August began as a Lutheran clergyman but later switched to Baptist in 1850. This was as a result of his perception that Baptist teachings were perfectly in accord with the doctrines of the New Testament (Demers & Kindell, 2014: 594). It is probable that Walter developed his interest and knowledge of the German and English languages from his father. Beginning with his education at the German gymnasium in Gütersloh near Westphalia, Walter attended periodic lectures on economics, theology, and industrial relations at the University of Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, and Berlin (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2014: 377; Dorrien, 2003: 76).

At age 17, he repented from his wayward lifestyle. In 1883, Walter enrolled at the Rochester Theological Seminary where he became a protégé of Horace Bushnell and Frederick W. Robertson. Through their influence, Walter came to admire the theological methodology of higher criticism. Using this theological methodology, he rejected orthodox teachings concerning the "substitutionary" atonement and the doctrine of the infallibility of scriptures (Bawer, 1997: 93). After his graduation in May, 1886, he secured his first pastoral duty among the congregations of the Second German Baptist Church in New York City on June 1, 1886 (Magill, 2013: 3125). As a pastor, he came into direct contact with the ravages of poverty among his pastorate. This experience had a long-lasting impact on Walter's conception of true Christianity. A headway for his theological concepts began crystallizing after contemplating on Father Edward McGlynn's usage of the theological clause 'thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth.' By 1892, his nine-month stay in Germany had provided him ample time to organize his theological thoughts around the theme of God's kingdom. His contact with the socialism of the Anglican Church, British social Christianity, and the municipal socialism of Birmingham helped shaped his notions of using the message of Jesus to resolve the social challenges of humanity (Lippy, 2006: 144).

Rauschenbusch's return to New York in 1892 saw the formation of the brotherhood of the kingdom. The brotherhood of the kingdom was a group of clergymen who assembled to offer reciprocal support to each other so they could enhance the actualization of God's kingdom in the human society. Generally, the members of this brotherhood perceived the main task of the Christian church as concretely living-out the principles of God's "kingdom" in the here-and-now (Bawer, 1997: 95). In 1897, he accepted a lecturing position at the Rochester Theological Seminary. After five years in the seminary, Walter accepted an offer to lecture in Church history.

Apart from lecturing, Walter made a number of academic publications. Some of these publications are *Christianity Revolutionary*, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, *For God and the People: Prayers of the Social Awakening*, *Christianizing the Social Order*, *The Social Principles of Jesus*, and *Theology for the Social Gospel*. Of all these publications, it is his *Christianity Revolutionary*, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* that is most popular. For ten years after its publication, this book was the center stage of theological discourses. Together with his *Theology for the Social Gospel*, Walter claimed that the death of Jesus Christ was to redeem society from both private sins and evils caused by unregenerate human institutions (Smith, 2000: 167). He identified these sins as 'social sins' comprising of religious bigotry, the combination of graft and political power, the corruption of injustice, the activities induced by mob mentality, militarism, and social discrimination (Rauschenbusch, 1997: 77; Marty, 1986: 2). He averred that four main institutions of organized society lent support to the deprivation of humanity. His listings of these institutions were militarism, capitalism, individualism, and nationalism. In place of these evil-perpetuating entities, he found solution in the implementation of the ideas of pacifism, collectivism, socialism, and internationalism (Rauschenbusch, 1997: 25, 20, 29).

Conceiving Jesus' message as the establishment of the institutions that facilitated the total good of humanity, Walter claimed that the Christian church, dating from the first century, had substituted the authentic message of Jesus' message regarding God's kingdom with long-lasting ecclesiastical teachings about Jesus (Rauschenbusch, 1997: 12). This ecclesiastical teaching about Jesus replaced the true conception of both the moral principles and the practices of the Jesus' message about the kingdom of God. Accordingly, he called for a return to the teachings of God's kingdom. Following the thoughts of other liberals such as Ritschl and Harnack, Walter considered the message of God's kingdom as the sole means of correcting the Church from waywardness in order to perfectly perform its task of resolving the socio-economic and political challenges that confronted humanity (Rauschenbusch, 1997: 139, 131, 140, 226).

Walter died of cancerous colon on July 25, 1918. He is renowned for his imminent contribution towards the development of the theology of the *Social Gospel* (Rauschenbusch, 1996: 146). The Social Gospel was descriptive of an American movement in the early 20th century that sought to use the ethical principles of God's kingdom to establish a "just society" by resolving social problems such as "unemployment, discrimination, malnutrition, poverty, alcoholism, crime, racial tensions, slums, unclean environment, child labor, inadequate labor unions, poor schools, and the danger of war" (Evans, 2001: 6). His theological thoughts influenced individuals such as Martin Luther King Jr., Desmond Tutu, and Richard Rorty (Vischer, 2012: 203; Tippett, 2008: 21).

The liberal theological viewpoint of Ritschl, through his students such as Harnack, Hermann, and Troeltsch spread through the third stage of Protestant Liberalism. This stage occurred during the period of modernism (1900-1945 AD). The underlining concept of modernism was to integrate modern knowledge into theological thought in a manner that equipped religion to solve issues presented by contemporary culture. This movement was spearheaded by Darwin's publication, *Origin of Species*, in 1859. Darwin proposed an evolutionary theory that merged two main contradictory theories. These were *catastrophism* and *uniformitarianism*. While the former term held that frequent occurrences of "upheavals and cataclysms" produce "new species," the latter term posited that new species came into being through the gradual and natural processes of evolution (Murray, 2007 : 20). Within the context of

contemporary culture and scientific advancement, proponents of Protestant Liberalism attempted to revise the basic doctrines of the Christian faith so it could fit into the thought patterns dictated by current ideologies and methodologies. This quest led to the marriage between Protestant Liberalism and Darwin's biological evolution. Based on Darwin's model of non-supernatural development of humanity from simple species, Protestant liberals came to conceive of society as enroute an upward moral advancement that would inevitably result in "improvements in human culture and society" such that humanity would attain the "good life" during the "Christian century" (Kinghorn, 2003: 16). Consequently, most liberals anticipated an impending "human civilization" that was free from the ravages of War and social injustices (Kinghorn, 2003: 17). The aftermath of the two World Wars left trails of dire circumstances that the optimism of Protestant Liberalism could not resolve (Murray, 2007: 54). Regardless of this short-comings, the religious ideas of Protestant Liberalism spread to Britain (mainly through the works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Huxley) and America (mainly through the works of Harry Emerson Fosdick and Horace Bushnell).

2.13 Albert Schweitzer and Protestant Liberalism

Albert Schweitzer was born on January 14, 1875 in Kaysersberg, Alsace-Lorraine, Germany, now Haut-Rhin, France. His father was Ludwig Schweitzer and his mother was Adele Schillinger. Ludwig was a Protestant minister serving the local Lutheran-Evangelical Church, EPCAAL, in Günsbach in the Münster Valley, and Adele was the daughter of a protestant minister (Worsley, 1957: 40). Günsbach, the home of Schweitzer's childhood was a town of good religious relationship between the Roman Catholics and Protestants (Rud, 2011: 109). They all shared the same parish during different times of the day. At an early age, Ludwig exposed his son to playing music. Beginning his education at the Gymnasium of Müllhausen, Alsace, in 1885, Schweitzer, among other things, studied music (Meyer & Bergel, 2002: 102). He passed his end of secondary education examination in 1893. For a brief period in Paris, he enhanced his love for music under the mentorship of Munch and Widor in 1893. By this time, he had mastered the life and music of Johann Sebastian Bach. In an attempt to imitate his father as a minister, Schweitzer enrolled at the Kaiser Wilhelm University of Strasburg in October of 1893. Under the mentorship of Henrich Julius Holtzmann, Schweitzer continued his research in Theology and Philosophy. However, his ideas about the eschatological views attributed to Jesus in the Bible deferred from that of Holtzmann. Whereas Holtzmann taught that these were original to Jesus, Schweitzer saw these eschatological references to Jesus as an imposition by the early church (Schweitzer, 2001: 477). The one-year compulsory military training in 1894 afforded Schweitzer an opportunity to organize his thoughts on the genuineness of the eschatological theological views traditionally ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

His analysis of Matthew chapters 10 and 11 led him to the conclusion that the real Jesus of history varied from the picture of him given by Protestant Liberalism. Contrary to conventional understanding of the life and person of Jesus, Schweitzer believed that the real Jesus of history was driven by an imminent realization of the kingdom of God on earth (Schweitzer, 2001: 478). The early church had recorded this in the garb of Jewish apocalypse. Yet, Schweitzer claimed that the supporting events described by the early church are historically doubtful (Schweitzer, 1931b: 18). Suggesting a sort of consistent or thorough-going eschatology, Schweitzer pointed out that Jesus' teaching and life revealed that he believed the world had a short time to exist. For this reason, all his moral

demands should be understood as interim ethical viewpoints. This implied that Jesus expected the world to end during his time on earth (Schweitzer, 1931b, 49-50). Consequently, Schweitzer concluded that Jesus erred in this (Worsley, 1957: 42). By means of this error, Jesus intended his death would provide an escape route for humankind. Schweitzer claimed that the picture of Jesus given by first-century theology is not compatible with the view of Jesus held by orthodox Christianity (Worsley, 1957: 42). From biblical passages such as Matthew 24:34; Luke 21:32; Rev 1:3; I Co 7:29; Heb 1:2; Matt 16:28; Mk 9:1; Luke 9:27, Schweitzer inferred that words like "near," "soon," and "quickly" and clauses such as "do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book," "But the end of all things is at hand," "surely, I come quickly," and "all these things shall come upon this generation" logically suggested the imminent annihilation of the world. The results of his studies would later be presented in his seminal book *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1906), translated into English in 1910 (Worsley, 1957: 39).

After completing his dissertation on the philosophy of Immanuel Kant, Schweitzer earned his Doctor of Philosophy degree in July 1899. Schweitzer was appointed as deacon at the St Nicholas' Church in Strasbourg in 1899. During a brief stay in Berlin, Schweitzer came into contact with Adolf von Harnack. It is probable that this connection deepened Schweitzer's liberal conception. Schweitzer's completion of another dissertation on the communion enabled him to earn the degree in Licentiate of Theology in 1900. After receiving his licentiate in Theology, Schweitzer was ordained a curator. Late in 1901, His *The Secret of the Messiahship and the Passion: A Sketch of the life of Jesus* earned him the position of a lecturer at the Kaiser Wilhelm University of Strasburg in 1901. This work was translated into English in 1914 under the title *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*. In this work, Schweitzer rejected all conventional understanding of the life and teachings of Jesus. In place of this, he posited that Jesus' understanding of the kingdom of the "Son of man" was far from being spiritual. Instead, Jesus continually admonished his disciples to be ready for the manifestation of the impending judgment. Schweitzer termed his approach *eschatological-historical*. This approach was powered by Jesus' personal and powerful moral conduct that went beyond the character of the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Scribes altogether. Schweitzer believed that believers showed evidence of their inclusion in the kingdom of God through lives consistent with the ethic of Jesus (Schweitzer, 1931b: 50).

Schweitzer considered the apostle Paul as capturing the whole idea of the mystery of salvation. He claimed that the sort of sonship that humanity earned through salvation was neither "one with God" nor "being in God" (Schweitzer, 1930: 30). Rather, it was acquired through a mysterious union with Christ. Thus, instead of God-mysticism, Schweitzer saw Paul's stress on Christ-mysticism (Schweitzer, 1930: 30). Stated differently, believers connected with the transcendent through their connection with Jesus. Further, Schweitzer noted that connection with Jesus made the believer partaker in the death and resurrection of Jesus. Through his death, believers died to sin and gained freedom from sin as a result of Jesus' resurrection. For this reason, Schweitzer saw in Christ-mysticism a far greater theme in Pauline theology than Luther's concept of 'justification by faith.' In a much broader view, the doctrine of justification by faith subsisted in the concept of Christ-mysticism (Schweitzer, 1930: 115-116).

Moreover, Schweitzer debunked the idea that Paul Hellenized the Gospel. Admitting the high probability that Paul's discourses on salvific themes might have easily harbored inherent bend towards Hellenism, Schweitzer argued that it was the authors of the New Testament text who actually Hellenized the Gospel. Schweitzer cited

John's Gospel as evidence of his viewpoint. He actually saw John's Gospels as derivative of Paul's mysticism. Hence, he posited that all Greek analysis of Christianity as far as Hellenistic influences were concerned were all substandard to Paul's writings. He identified Paul's mysticism as the mid-point between primitive mysticism and developed mysticism.

In 1905, Schweitzer responded affirmatively to the call for medical missionaries to French colony of Gabon by the Society of the Evangelist Missions of Paris. In preparation to follow his desire, Schweitzer enrolled in the university as a student of medicine. By a dint of personal motivation, he completed his dissertation, the *Psychiatric Study of Jesus*, in 1911. After obtaining his Doctorate of Medicine degree, Schweitzer and his newly wedded wife, Helene Bresslau, left for Paris Missionary Society's mission at Lambaréné on the Ogooué river, in what is now Gabon, to work as a medical Doctor. His mission was self-supported.

While in Gabon, Schweitzer developed his ethical concept around the theme 'reverence for life' (*Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben*). This theme was an expression that flowed directly from his philosophical conceptions of morality. This philosophy is developed in his *Decay and the Restoration of Civilization* (1923), *Civilization and Ethics* (1923), and *Reverence for Life* (translated in 1965). Schweitzer renounced Western philosophy developed from Descartes through Kant for its idealistic views of the world that left humanity without any meaning or purpose in life. He also rejected the rationalistic view of the world for its unrealized optimism presented by the Age of Enlightenment. The succeeding philosophy, scientific materialism, represented in Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin widened the gap between the knowable world and ethics, the will to live. Schweitzer's solution to the moral problem posed by these preceding philosophies was based on the proposition that "I am life which wills to live, and I exist in the midst of life which wills to live" (Meyer & Bergel, 2002: 72, 242). He claimed this proposition stood in sharp contrast to the ways of nature. Naturally, preying on another creature for survival was necessary. However, by means of moral consciousness, the individual became sympathetic to the plight of other lives that struggled to live. Hence the way of ethics was the way of tolerance. It emanated from the moral desire to respect or give credence to the wishes of other human beings to survive just as any other individual would want to. Practical expression of this desire would resolve the difference between altruism and egoism. It would be the principle that drives individuals to respect and enhance the development of one another.

In light of this, Schweitzer proposed a sort of functional religion. For him, religion was far from questions of worship forms, doctrinal propositions, or creedal formulations. Rather, true religion performed an ethical function. It led to moral thoughts, behaviors, and feelings. True religion generated universal principles that defined how human beings made choices and evaluated the consequences of their choices on the world, including them. In this vein, Schweitzer inferred that any human action or inaction that affirmed life by contributing to realizing the wish of the life of another to exist was ethical (Cahill, 1965: 2). On the contrary, any human action or inaction that hindered the will of another life to subsist was evil. Worsley (1957: 44) described Schweitzer's ethical principle as pure idealism—in that "he lives with and loves his fellow-men...because his faith [in God] tells him he should" (Worsley, 1957: 44). Albert Schweitzer died on September 4, 1965. He is remembered as the modern prophet of liberal religion (Cahill, 1965: 1, 3).

2.14 Dorothee Sölle and Protestant Liberalism

Dorothee Sölle was born on September 30, 1929 in Cologne, West Germany. She is from protestant parentage. However, her parents maintained distance from both the Church and Nazist entities (Sölle, 1978:1). Unlike her parents, Sölle became interested in Theology and the affairs of the Evangelical Church of the Rhineland during her high school days (Sölle, 1978:1). Following her heartfelt desire, she studied philology, philosophy, theology, and German literature at the University of Cologne, Freiburg as well as in the University of Göttingen. She was under the tutelage of Friedrich Gogarten and Ernst Käsemann. She earned her doctoral degree in 1959. Hawkins believes she held two doctoral degrees (2005: 87).

She began her career as a high school German and Theology tutor in 1954. In 1960, she was employed as a research assistant in the Philosophical Institute of Aachen. Later in 1962, she accepted a lecturing position in the Institute of Germanic Philology at the University of Cologne. From 1972 to 1975, Sölle served as an adjunct lecturer in the Faculty of Theology in the University of Mainz, Germany. Attempts to confirm her position as a lecturer in the University of Mainz failed on grounds of her political activities. For this reason, Sölle moved to New York to serve as a visiting professor of systematic theology at the Harry Emerson Forsdick Institute in the Union Theological Seminary (Hawkins, 1978: 88). Yet she did not cut ties with the University of Mainz. She spent six months every year in Germany and the other half in America (Hawkins, 2005: 88). Sölle married twice in her life time. From 1954-1964, she was married to the artist Dietrich Sölle. After a divorce in 1964, she married Fullbert Steffensky, a former Benedictine monk. With the support of Steffensky, Sölle organized Cologne's Politisches Nachtgebet (political night-prayers) from 1968-1972. In all she had four children. She had two daughters and a son with Dietrich Sölle and a daughter with Fulbert Steffensky.

Sölle composed many literary works. Her writings covered various subjects in the disciplines of theology, politics, and poetry. Among her works were *Christ the Representative: An Essay in Theology After the 'Death of God'* (1967), *Beyond mere Obedience: Reflections on a Christian Ethic for the Future* (1970), *Political Theology* (1974), *Suffering* (1975), *Death by Bread Alone: Texts and Reflections on religious Experience* (1978), *The Strength of the Weak: Toward a Christian Feminist Identity* (1984), *The Window of Vulnerability: A Political Spirituality* (1990), *Thinking About God: An Introduction to Theology* (1990), *On Earth as in Heaven: A Liberation Spirituality of Sharing* (1993), and the *Theology for Skeptics: Reflections on God* (1995).

Synopsis of her theological thought can be gleaned from some of her influential publications. In *Christ the Representative: An Essay in Theology After the 'Death of God'*, Sölle responded to the burgeoning influence of Friedrich Nietzsche's God is dead theology or the Death of God movement (Fahlbusch, 1999: 441). Her major theme was an attempt to explain the hardships that ensued during and after World War 2, as represented by Auschwitz³⁰ camp, against the backdrop of orthodox conceptions of God's attributes as presented in the imagery of "reified transcendence" (Oliver, 2006: 43). Unable to realize her dream, she renounced orthodox transcendental conceptions of God. Instead, she emphasized Christ who in his representative function suffered and died for human beings (Pinnock, 2003: 115). Again, Sölle, in her *Beyond Mere Obedience: Reflections on a Christian Ethic for the Future*, condemned the bent in fundamentalism to tolerate totalitarianism under the garb of faith in Christ. She

³⁰ Auschwitz was the biggest concentration camps of the Nazist (cf. Rees, 2005: 34, 54).

referred to such attitude as *Christofascism* (Driver, 1981: 2, 3; Ensminger, 2014: 214). In addition, she considered her theological thoughts, expressed in her *Political Theology* to be a continuation of the theology of Rudolf Bultmann. Agreeing with Bultmann on his notion that genuine theological construction should be done within the context of real human existence, Sölle argued that it was the social context of concrete human existence that must be the focus and not the individual human context (as suggested by Bultmann). She used the social dimension of forgiveness in Matthew 5:14 as evidence of her view. For Sölle, genuine Christian living showed up when the believer took concrete measures to resolve oppression, in all of its facets, and worked to transform those socio-cultural, political, religious, and economic institutions that initiated and sustained all forms of social injustices (Sölle, 1972: 132).

As Sölle advanced her theological thoughts, she stressed resistance. Two strands can be seen in her application of the term *resistance*. First, Sölle's usage of the term described theological means by which believers could meaningfully partake in the collective search for liberation in the individual and social context (Sölle, 1972: 132; Hawkins, 2005: 89). Second, her usage of the term portrayed ethical ways by which believers could resolve the prevailing social injustices caused and sustained by "evil and suffering" (Oliver, 2006: 89). She believed prayer must lead the believer to a spiritual understanding of resistance. Prayer ought to constitute a voluntary entrance into intimacy with God with the sole purpose of acquiring a "liberating message of the gospel" that had the potency to positively alter our lives and the lives of those around us (Sölle, 1985: 40). She perceived the possibility of positive relationship with God occurring in a persistent integration of theology with politics with a focus on true liberation (Sölle, 1972: 132; Hawkins, 2005: 87, 89). Perhaps this explains her misgivings about orthodox theology that employed "God-language" to unconsciously deploy hopelessness among believers (Hawkins, 2005: 89). Her unfortunate childhood experience of the Nazist domination (Sölle, 1978: 1) as a woman, coupled with her solace in the philosophical writings of Søren Kierkegaard (Sölle, 1972: 132), caused Sölle to conceptualize the causative relationship between "the symbol of all-powerful-male-father-God and "unjust and oppressive" socio-political institutions (Hawkins, 2005: 89). Consequently, she tilted her two-fold meaning of spiritual resistance towards reconstruction of religion that was void of orthodox male-father conceptions of God (Sölle, 2001: 183, 184; Sölle, 1990: 89; Hawkins, 2005: 89; Oliver, 2006: 43).

Sölle's idea of resistance found expression in feminism and Christian mysticism. Holding on to the classical understanding of mysticism as the *cognitio Dei experimentalis* (an experience-based knowing of God), Sölle's understanding of mysticism disconnected individualized religious experience of God from institutionalized religious teachings (Oliver, 2006: 34; Hawkins, 2005: 85). She asserted that experienced-based perception of God occurred in all religions and it involved all persons regardless of race, religion, gender, or social class (Sölle, 1984: 86-89). By means of these experience-based perception of God, an individual experienced oneness with God that had the potency of human-built socio-cultural, political, economic, and religious institutions that hindered the understanding, sympathies, and thought-patterns of human beings in their quest to understand God (Oliver, 2006: 34-36). In this mystical involvement with God, God required no obedience. Rather, He demanded "sacrifice" and self-denial as the major preoccupation of religion (Sölle, 1984: 89). Sölle's mysticism was fashioned along the mysticism of J Meister Eckhart (Hawkins, 2005: 85), Teresa of Avila, Thomas Müntzer and Daniel Berrigan (Hawkins, 2005: 93).

Sölle likened the mystical lifestyle to the rose flower. This mystical rose, in Sölle's conception, had no connotations of authority and abuse of power (Sölle, 1984: 114). Instead, it simply performed its God-assigned task of blossoming without recourse for recognition or admiration (Bohm, 1997: 104). It is this internal motivation that urged the mystical rose to flourish. This mystical rose performed its task conscious of the fact that its fruit would certainly be useful and meaningful in future. Sölle's recall of a conversation with her friend, in *Against the Wind: Memoir of a Radical Christian*, underscored the same point (Sölle, 1999: 121). Like the rose, therefore, believers were to draw strength from the inner peace that ensued from oneness with God through experience-based perception of Him (Hawkins, 2005: 93). All acts of spiritual resistance should flow from an attitude of contentment that aimed at meaningful performance. This performance may not gain recognition or appreciation in the interim, but posterity would acknowledge its worth (Sölle, 1990: 40).

Sölle used expressions from mystical consciousness as the arena for addressing the challenges of women in contemporary society (Hawkins, 2005: 90). She repudiated the oppression of women together with the issues that bordered on racism and the abuse of individuals located at the ebb of unfortunate social classifications. In light of this, Sölle perceived male domination in the society as the colonization of women as far as their freedoms and whole being were concerned. Her theological orientation began from the premise of the poor, oppressed, and marginalized. Consequently, she attacked socio-cultural, political, economic and religious institutions that caused and sustained all forms of exploitation in the society. Sölle saw the creation of a non-oppressive society as the main contribution of genuine Christianity in ushering in the kingdom of God. Dorothee Sölle died on April 27, 2003, at the age of 78 (Hawkins, 2005: 88). She is renowned for her radical theological stance.

2.15 Conclusion

Starting as a social philosophy that focused on freedom and the innate goodness of human beings and continuing through the Renaissance as a revival of interest in the writings and thoughts of antiquity, Renaissance humanism and later Enlightenment anthropocentrism created a firm foundation for the development of the ideas of Protestant Liberalism. In Protestant liberal concepts, the elements of Christianity were renewed in a manner that made them relevant to a contemporary society whose sensibility was tilted more towards scientific-based and emotion-based epistemology. As a theological viewpoint, Protestant Liberalism explicates biblical truth in a manner that extols dignity, freedom, and perfectibility of humanity. From its beginnings in the 18th Century AD, this theological philosophy (dominantly referred to as Protestant Liberalism in the circles of Protestantism) has been shaped in its present form by historical movements such as the Renaissance, Reformation, and the three-integrated-stages of modernism. Also, some individuals who lived within times of these movements have greatly influenced protestant liberalism in its present form. Foremost among these were Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Herrmann, Harnack, Troeltsch, Rauschenbusch, Schweitzer, and Sölle. Schleiermacher's view that the Christian religion was a feeling of dependence upon God altered the method of theological thoughts. After him, Ritschl emphasized the practical aspect of religion claiming that the main purpose of religion was to create values for humanity that culminated into the realization of the kingdom of God in the here-and-now. This view was refined by Harnack. His *liberal reductionism* proposed that Christianity could be reduced to the kingdom of God and its coming; God the Father

and the infinite value of the human soul; and the better righteousness and the commandment of love. Troeltsch and Herrmann further advanced Ritschl's idea of value judgment by using it as a locus for rejecting ecclesiastical creeds and limiting the absolute authority of the Bible. Rauschenbusch used a liberal notion of the kingdom of God as the sole anchor for creating a just society. Similarly, Schweitzer's reverence for life advanced Ritschl's idea of the essence of Christianity being morality. For Schweitzer, authentic Christianity was one that propelled individuals to enhance the personal and collective quest to exist. In a poignant manner, Sölle expanded the theology of Schleiermacher's experience, Ritschl's idea of building the kingdom of God in the immediate world, and Rauschenbusch's desire to build a just community of moral human beings. Sölle thought that sincere Christians were those who had entered into oneness with God through experience-based knowledge. Such oneness induced feelings of innate peace that empowered the believer to resist all socio-cultural, political, economic, and religious institutions that created and sustained oppression and exploitation of other human beings, especially women. Today, Protestant Liberalism exists in diverse forms such as evangelical liberalism and liberation theologies. Basic to these movements is the practical idea that the locus of all scriptural interpretation and theological dialogue must be in consonance with the contemporary human experience.

CHAPTER THREE

PROTESTANT LIBERALISM AND CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

3.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly outlines the beginnings of Classical liberalism and compares it with the nature of Protestant liberalism. Discussion focuses on the similarities and dissimilarities between these concepts. An attempt is also made to describe the point of departure or advancement of basic philosophical propositions between the two concepts. The central theoretical argument is that there are some interchange of ideas between Protestant liberalism and classical liberalism. These ideas underline the quest of Protestant Liberalism to redefine essential elements of the Christian faith in a manner that will appeal to the sense of the contemporary individual.

3.2 Definition of Classical Liberalism

Classical liberalism refers to the political doctrine that focuses on the existence, recognition, protection, and facilitation of individual liberty in the society (Krieger, 2013: 39; Cranston, 1967: 459). Maintaining individual rights and equal opportunity as priceless virtue for all human beings (Rawls, 1999: 220), classical liberalism emphasized that human beings hold inherent rights to think, behave, and feel in manners they choose without recourse to obtaining permission from anyone or any authority external to them (Locke, 1996: 287; Feinberg, 1984: 9; Rawls 2001: 44, 112). Gaus (1996: 162-166) terms this innate right as "fundamental liberal principle." Since this right to determine one's thought, behavior, and feelings were innate, classical liberalism generally concerned the quest of identifying justifiable grounds for setting limitations on individual liberty in the society where members have equal rights (Butler, 2015: 3). In this regard, liberty has been classified into three types. These are negative liberty, positive liberty, and republican liberty.

Negative liberty describes a state in which individuals have the opportunity to think, behave, and feel without external interference or obstruction (Berlin, 1969: 122). Positive liberty refers to an individual's capacity to think, behave, and feel in accordance with the actual desire or wish of the individual without any undue influence, either from another entity or from self (Green & Bosanquet, 1986: 228, 229). Republican liberty refers to a kind of liberty in which an individual operates in a self-determined manner without any obstruction (Pettit, 1997: 67). Regardless of the type, classical liberalism generally held that both property rights and liberty were different sides of the same coin (Robbins, 1961: 104). While liberty generated the existence and recognition of property rights, property rights, in turn, established the means for attaining liberty (Hayek, 1978: 149).

3.3 Origin of Classical Liberalism

The ideals that became foundational to classical liberalism in the 19th century had antiquarian antecedents (Butler, 2015: 14). The existence of the ideals of equality, democracy, and sovereignty in some ancient writings and practices³¹ indicated that ancient societies in Athens, Rome, and early England believed in "moral individualism"

³¹ These ideals were present in the Greek sophists' notion of equality, Aristotle's merge of democracy and oligarchy (Siegel, 2011: 27), the Epicurean and Stoic quest for personal "peace of mind" and equality amidst non-participatory state of affairs in the society (Siegel, 2011: 28), Cicero's stress on moral and political sovereignty for all persons in the society (Siegel, 2011: 29), the common law of Anglo-Saxons (Butler, 2015: 15), the superintendence of the selection and operations of kings by the *Witans*, Council of Elders (Butler, 2015: 15), the signing of the *Magna Carter* (Butler 2015: 16), or the creation of Parliament (Butler, 2015: 16).

expressed in terms of "free thought, republican self-government, and an independent civil society" (Siegel, 2011: 7).

Finding roots in the anthropomorphic stress embedded in Renaissance humanism in the 16th century and drawing resurgence from the Protestant Reformation commencing in 1517 (Butler 2015: 17), Classical liberalism began as a reactionary ideology against established hierarchical social order that apparently compelled all human beings into subjection to the prevailing authority. It was fueled by the industrialization of Europe that gradually gained momentum during the apex of the Middle Ages and the spread of Protestantism in the 16th century. These two events placed limitations on the domination of the landlords as well as the dominance of papal authority. The limit on papal authority, in particular, created a vacuum of authority in societies that needed guidance. Consequently, individual rulers in their local realm organized their societies in accordance with Roman Catholicism or a preferred strand of Protestantism.

Attempts by some individuals to create wealth through stringent governmental policies (mercantilism) sparked lots of warfare in some parts of Europe, particularly in England and France, in the 17th and 18th centuries. America had its own share of such warfare. One can think of the English Civil Wars (1642-1651), the Glorious Revolution (1688), the American Revolution (1775-1783), and the French Revolution (1789). The struggle that ensued between natural human rights and absolute right to rule culminated into classical liberal ideologies. Classical liberalism has always been opposed to the privatization of political power.

In Britain, the struggle between advocates of individual freedom and supporters of absolute powers exercised by kings and despots became profound with the passing of time. Notable among proponents of individual freedom were the Levellers. Led by John Lilburne, the Levellers became the main instrumental body in the advocacy of individual freedom in Britain in the 1650s. The Levellers argued that individual freedoms exist independent of kings, despots, or governments because these innate freedoms precede all forms of power. Consequently, the Levellers secured the bill of rights that ended privatization of power. Through the efforts of Richard Overton, the Levellers called attention to the need for a written constitution, a sort of social contract, between the government and the governed.

A number of political factors in England in the late 17th century dealt a deep blow to English monarchy and marked the beginning of a limit on government. First, the execution of Charles I, at the end of the English Civil War (1642-1651), for high treason terminated the unchecked rule of monarchy in England. Second, the truce between Charles II and Parliament before the former was accepted as ruler of England meant that monarchies, despots, and governments could only rule through the consent of the governed or their representatives. Third, the removal of James II from office and the subsequent selection of William and Mary by the British Parliament inaugurated the selection of government by the governed or their representatives. The effects of all these political adjustments resulted in the legalization of the Bill of Rights in 1689 under the reign of William and Mary. Among other things, the Bill of Rights consolidated individual freedoms and the possibility of removal from office in situations where governments or their representatives laid aside these individual freedoms. In subsequent years, America introduced a similar Bill of Rights.

3.4 Major Proponents of Classical Liberalism

The writings and thoughts of several philosophers from the 16th century through to the 20th century accounted for the rise of this philosophical and political doctrine. Some of these thinkers were Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Friedrich August von Hayek, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls, and Milton Friedman.

3.4.1 Thomas Hobbes and Classical Liberalism

Thomas Hobbes was born "prematurely" on "April 5, 1588, in Westport, Wiltshire, England" (Rosenberg, 2006: 23). This was during a time of great upheaval between Spain and England. He was named after his father, who was a clergyman serving the St. Mary's Church in Westport. His mother was from the Middleton family. A quarrel between his father and another parishioner resulted in an intense fight in front of the Church in Westport. After striking the parishioner in a moment of indiscretion, Hobbes' father fled the town and abandoned his wife and three children. From then on, the care of this abandoned family became the responsibility of Hobbes' uncle, Francis Hobbes (Marini, 2016: 93). Francis Hobbes sponsored the education of Thomas Hobbes, his nephew. Beginning school at the age of seven, Hobbes studied Greek and Latin under the tutelage of Richard Latimer. By age 14, Hobbes enrolled in Magdalen Hall, later Hertford College, in Oxford. Though scholastic method of education appeared unrewarding for him, Hobbes developed a private interest in Astronomy and Geography (Reik, 1977: 28).

Upon graduation in 1608, Hobbes secured a teaching appointment from the family of William Cavendish, Baron Hardwick (later to become the second earl of Devonshire). This was the result of the recommendation by the principal of Magdalen Hall. Hobbes' long association with this family and with the family of Welbeck Abbey, cousin to the family of William Cavendish, significantly impacted his life to the extent that it defined the path of his career throughout his lifetime (Höffe, 2015: 23). His connections with these two related families introduced Hobbes to renowned scholars such as Ben Jonson, Lord Falkland, Sir Robert Ayton, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Francis Bacon, and Edmund Waller. Of prime importance was the international exposure afforded to Hobbes.

On his first European tour through France, Germany, and Italy with the son of William Cavendish, Hobbes observed the harshness and brutality that society suffered from in a state of anarchy. This observation would become crucial in the formulation of his political thoughts. His second European tour through Paris, Orleans, Geneva, and Venice with the son of Sir Gervase Clinton in 1629 heightened Hobbes' passion for scholarship. During this tour, he familiarized himself with Euclid's thoughts on Geometry (Höffe, 2015: 24). Euclid's remarkable thoughts engendered in Hobbes love for systematic analysis. In 1630, he embarked on his third European tour through France and Italy while serving as tutor to the son of Welbeck Abbey, another branch of the Cavendish family. His contacts with Galileo in Florence, Marin Mersenne, Gassendi, Roberval, and Descartes in Paris, further developed Hobbes' passion for natural science that had already been sparked by the scientific activities of his employers. Later, Hobbes would channel this passion in his study of optics (Lloyd, 2013: 62).

Political disturbances between King Charles I and parliament caused Hobbes to compose the *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*. In this work, Hobbes made a strong case in support of the absolute power of the King. In anticipation of his seminal work on the *Leviathan*, Hobbes argued that since all the citizens had transferred their rights to the king in the form of a social contract, they ought to obey the king's laws. Though Hobbes intended to

explain the patrimonial prerogatives of King Charles I, the opponents of the king equally founded their arguments on Hobbes' work. As tension mounted, Hobbes left England for France (Dehsen, 2013: 88). Possibly, he anticipated an intense political unrest in the ensuing years. True to such perception, the execution of King Charles I and the subsequent declaration of England as Republic led to the English Civil Wars (1642-1651). During this period, Hobbes found refuge in France.

In Paris, Hobbes soaked himself in scholarly works. One marked point in his scholarly endeavor was his relationship with Descartes. Though the relationship between the two ended in 1648 upon a series of critique and responses centered on Descartes' *Meditations on First Philosophy*, Hobbes' personal political conceptions advanced. He expressed his political thoughts in the *Elements of Philosophy*. Later, this work was referred to as the trilogy *Of Body (De Corpore)*, *Of Man (De Homine)*, and *Of the Citizen (De Cive)* (Roenberg, 2006: 77). Hobbes' urge to respond to immediate crisis in England caused him to publish the last part of his trilogy first. Written in Latin, *De Cive* had a political focus. It dealt with issues regarding liberty, empire, and religion. An attempt to make his thoughts accessible to English folk led to the composition of *Leviathan (The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil)*.

Contrary to Aristotelian thoughts that human beings were best suited for life in the society (Medema & Samuels, 2013: 7), Hobbes' *Leviathan* sought a utilitarian basis for absolute power invested in a person or group of persons, referred to as government. Like Machiavelli before him, Hobbes painted an ominous picture of a perpetual pandemonium in the state of nature caused by a conflict between all against all. He observed that in the state of nature, human beings had equal rights. However, unlimited but insatiable wants weighed against scarce resources. Due to scarcity of resources, each person struggled with the other in an attempt to satisfy their desires (Hobbes, 1997: 129). Heightened by lack of law, each was unable to attain optimal satisfaction; consequently, there was no security and industrialization. In the context of insecurity and dissatisfaction, Hobbes posited that human beings form an imaginary contract out of necessity. By this contract, human beings resolved among themselves to create a harmonious society governed by common laws (Hobbes, 1997: 131, 132). In order to ensure that this contract was objectively observed, these contracting individuals transferred their resolution to an independent party, either an individual or a group of persons ((Hobbes, 1997: 132). Such an independent party wielded the power necessary to protect contracting individuals from harms that could possibly result from egoism. He also extended the supremacy of the independent party to religion. Hobbes claimed that in a state where each person or religion perceived personal interpretation to be right, only the interpretation determined by the independent party could stand (Hobbes, 1997: 137). Hobbes likened this independent body to the Biblical Leviathan (sea creature). According to Hobbes, individuals had the moral responsibility to disobey an independent party who failed to ensure the realization of the social contract (Hobbes, 1997: 136).

The widely published *Leviathan* induced fierce debates between royalists and anti-royalists. The royalists, who were mainly Catholics and Anglicans bemoaned the secular viewpoint Hobbes advocated by grounding the right of the monarchy in the consent of the governed rather than in a divine-right to rule. The anti-royalists, on the other hand, hated Hobbes for his notion that absolute power exists in the monarchy. Accordingly, Hobbes (who served as a tutor to Charles II then) was banished from the English colony in France. Hobbes returned to England in 1652. Upon his return, the Cavendish family welcomed him into their home in Chatsworth.

The latter days of Hobbes were fraught with controversies. In particular, his views expressed in the *Leviathan* involved him in much debates. His fierce opponents were Samuel von Pufendorf, James Harrington, John Bramhall, and John Wallis. He narrowly escaped a charge of heresy by the English Parliament. Accordingly, Hobbes was banned from publishing anything on religion and politics in England. Before his death on December 4, 1679 at age 91, Hobbes composed his version of Iliad and Odyssey.

Hobbes' political thoughts were instrumental to the development of classical liberalism. His hypothetical idea of the social contract established rationalist grounds for the exercise of absolute power, the right of individual, the natural equality of all humanity, the notion that the only legitimate political order was that which represented the consent of the governed and also ensured their rights of self preservation, as well as his conception of negative liberties. Significantly, his views on religious diversity reflected a pattern of thought that was peculiarly liberal (Zagorin, 2009: 122). In succeeding years, influential scholars such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau would develop their political philosophies around the Hobessian notion of the social contract .

3.4.2 John Locke and Classical Liberalism

John Locke was born on August 29, 1632, in Wrington, Somerset, near Bristol (Vaughn, 2012: 1). His father, John Locke, and mother, Agnes Keene, were both Puritans (Vaughn, 2012: 1). His father, Locke Sr., was famous for his function as captain of the parliamentary cavalry in the English Civil War. During Locke's childhood, his father was a lawyer who performed clerical duties to the association of lawyers known as Chew Magna. Together with his family, Locke spent his childhood years in Pensford. Beginning his education with sponsorship from Alexander Popham, a friend and former commander of his father, Locke attended Westminster School in London. Locke completed his education at the Westminster School in London with distinction. Consequently, he earned the appellation 'King's scholar' (Magill, 1999: 854). The honor associated with this appellation afforded Locke the opportunity to enroll in Christ Church, Oxford in 1652 (Moseley, 2014: 19). John Owen served as the vice-chancellor of the university at the time of Locke's admission.

Locke became weary of the boring nature of the academic schedule for undergraduates (Magill, 1999: 854). This caused him to delve deeper in the writings of modern philosophers. In particular, the writings of René Descartes appealed more thrilling to him. He earned his bachelor's degree and master's degree in 1656 and 1658 respectively (Russo, 2005: 104). His quest to study medicine was formally achieved in 1674 when he earned his bachelor of medicine degree (Hergenhahn & Henley, 2013: 126). Locke achieved this feat upon inspiration from his friends such as Robert Boyle, Thomas Willis, Robert Hooker, Richard Lower and Thomas Sydenham. In a more significant way, his encounter with Anthony Ashley Cooper, the later first Earl of Shaftesbury at Oxford, defined the directions of Locke's career and later life. Friendship between the two developed after Locke had contributed immensely to the healing of Cooper.

Following the plea of Shaftesbury to have Locke in his company, Locke moved to London to serve as the personal physician of Shaftesbury. Additionally, Locke served the Board of Trade and Plantations and the Lord Proprietor of Carolina in the capacity of secretary. His affiliation with Cooper got Locke involved in politics. With Cooper's fame waning, Locke accepted a job offer in France as both a tutor and a medical attendant in Caleb Banks (Henning, 1983: 590).

Locke returned to England in 1679. By this time, Cooper's influence started ascending. Upon his request, Locke authored the *Two Treatises of Government*. This writing was to serve as blueprints for governance for Shaftesbury and his political associates. In the *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke established individual consent, in the form of a social contract, as the only solid grounding for legitimate governance. Locke's view stood in direct opposition to absolute monarchy, as portrayed in the political conception of Filmer and Hobbes. Holding similar opinion as Hobbes on matters regarding humanity's innate conceit and its inability to appropriately and adequately protect itself in the state of nature (Zuckert, 1996: 73-75), Locke indicated that reason and tolerance were the traits that defined humanity (Locke, 2009: 81). Accordingly, revolution became obligatory in situations where humanity found out that a government, empowered by the social contract to which each individual was a party, operated in a manner that violated individual reason and tolerance (Locke, 2009: 81).

Alleged involvement in the *Rye House Plot*³² leveled against Locke in 1683 forced him into exile (Loconte, 2014: 218). For the next five years, Locke stayed in Holland. He associated himself with some scholars who aroused his interest in the rationalistic notions of political and religious accommodation as shown forth in the writings of Spinoza. Besides such involvement, Locke spent time on academic writing. His reflections produced works such as a revision on the *Essays* and a beginning of the *Letters on Toleration*. After the Glorious Revolution had ended in 1688, Locke returned from exile in the company of Mary II, the wife of William of Orange (Hansen, 2008: 164). In England, he found a home in the estate of Lady Masham in Essex. Locke published other writings during this period. The major ones among them were *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. In the *Letters Concerning Toleration*, Locke conceptualized a three-fold basis for religious toleration (Loconte, 2014; 212-214). The first was that no mortal, whether judge or political leaders, could authenticate religious claims concerning the truth. Granted the possibility that human beings could validate religious claims, Locke argued that the outcome of such enterprise would be wanton on grounds that such faith-based religious claims may not be able to explain insurgences within the society. From the premise of his argument, Locke claimed that imposing a narrow understanding of religious claims on others will only lead to societal pandemonium and diversity (Alister, 1998: 215).

In both the *Essays* and *Some thoughts Concerning Education*, Locke focused on understanding the human self and also ways by which the human mind could gain understanding. Describing the human self as a conscious thing with an awareness capacity for gratification and obnoxiousness and driven by a self-conceit outlook on reality, Locke argued that feelings and contemplation on reality in the encounter of the 'empty mind' (tabula rasa) were the only means for ideological conceptions within the human mind (Locke, 1997: 306, 307). Locke's tabula rasa idea ran in contrast to both the concept of original sin proposed by Augustine and the notion that humanity acquired knowledge through fundamental innate logical assumptions popularized by Descartes. By means of education therefore, Locke opined that the human mind may be tilted towards goodness or badness (Locke, 1996: 10).

In his latter days, Locke interacted with notable figures such as John Dryden and Isaac Newton. Locke's writings were very significant to the progress of the Whigs. Locke died on October 28, 1704. Some critics saw some of Locke's writing as supporting attempts to displace native Americans (Tully, 2007: 128). Other critics have also

³² An alleged murder attempt against Charles and James in 1681. Cleared by the jury, Shaftesbury sought refuge in Holland. He died two years later in Holland (Moseley, 2014: 47).

described him as obsequious on grounds that while he wrote against slavery and illegitimate monarchies, he advanced the course of English capitalists (Farr, 2008: 519, 520). These criticism notwithstanding, Locke's influence is still felt today.³³ His remarkable ideas on liberal political philosophy underline modern notions of political liberalism. In a significant way, his exposition on freedom, social contract as well as his epistemological conception of the human *self* influenced the thoughts of later remarkable scholars. Among these were Voltaire, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and David Hume.

David Hume, the Scottish philosopher, set the anti-religious stage for classical liberalism. Believing that human beings can only be certain of impressions from which their ideas of realities were derived, Hume argued for the renounce of elements of the Christian faith that had uncertain and unsubstantiated derivations. Upon his construction, ideas of God, angels, and miracles were discounted as myths. His fully developed philosophy, represented in his *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, substituted the worship of God in Christian religion with the veneration of humanity as far as its intellectual development and achievements are concerned. Hume's thoughts would influence Darwinian conceptions of natural human development-the theory of evolution.

3.4.3 Montesquieu and Classical Liberalism

Charles-Louis de Secondat, "Baron de la Brede et de Montesquieu," usually known as Montesquieu, was born on "January 18, 1689, in Château de la Brède, near Bordeaux" (Thackeray & Finding, 2012: 126). He was born into a prominent family. His father, Jacques de Secondat, was a soldier from a noble descent and his mother, Marie Françoise de Pesnel, was a heiress to the Barony of La Brède. The care for Montesquieu passed on to his uncle, "Baron de Montesquieu," after both of his parents died, (Baum, 2013: 17). Montesquieu was educated at the Catholic College of Juilly from 1700-1705. He graduated as law student at the "University of Bordeaux in 1708" (Thackeray & Finding, 2012: 126). Montesquieu would later inherit the office of Président à Mortier in the "Parliament of Bordeaux" after the death of his uncle in 1716 (Schultz & Vile, 2015: 635).

Montesquieu served in the capacity of the Président à Mortier for some time before he dedicated his time to scholarly works in 1721. This decision was probably borne out of his long standing desire to respond to great political transformations that persisted in Europe, mainly England, Scotland, and France during his early years. For example, England started a new political life of constitutional monarchy after the Glorious Revolution from 1688-1689. Subsequently, England affiliated with Wales and Scotland to form the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707 (Smith, 2008: 143). Political tones in France were also changing. With the death of Louis XIV in 1715, politics in France passed through a transition at the initial reign of Louis XV, who was five years old. These political events had tremendous impact on the scholarly activities of Montesquieu and he would refer to them in his writings.

Three of Montesquieu's writings that have gained prominence are *Lettres persanes (Persian Letters)*, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence (Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans)*, and *De l'Esprit des Lois (The Spirit of the Laws)*. In the *Persian Letters*, Montesquieu criticized social, political, cultural, and religious ills of the French society of his day through the lenses of two imaginary Persian visitors in Paris. In the *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and*

³³ His concept of the human self formed the basis of the modern concept of the human *self* (Alister, 1998: 214, 215).

Decadence of the Romans, Montesquieu assessed reasons that caused the demise of great governments and empires. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* is a political anthropology that used the inter-functional model to classify and compare institutions in the French society. Of these three scholarly works, *The Spirit of the Laws* is the most influential (Moe, 2002: 23; Pangle & Burns, 2015: 307).

Montesquieu focused on balancing the moral effects of wealth in the society by comparing three forms of government in the French society (Montesquieu, 1984: 58). He identified these forms of government as republic, monarchy, and despotism. According to him, monarchies were free governments under the leadership persons selected on hereditary lines. He described republics as free governments led by elected persons. He saw despotism as enslaved government under the leadership of authoritarians and totalitarians. In Montesquieu's conception, each of the forms of government was based upon a principle. The principle of honor undergirded monarchy; the principle of virtue undergirded republics; and the principle of fear supported despotism. He picked resources from each of this principle to construct a model of government that was based upon honor (Kingston, 2009: 54). In this honor-based governance, Montesquieu hoped that peaceful competition for resources of the society would be pursued harmoniously in ways that were not predetermined by any person (Johnson & Demetriou, 2016: 67).

Additionally, Montesquieu distinguished administrative powers of government from sovereign powers of government. He claimed that the former type of governmental powers had three sub-types. These were executive, legislative, and judicial (Richter, 1977: 246-247). He argued that the only way by which wealth could be prevented from corrupting society was when there was a clear independence and interdependence of these sub-types of administrative governmental powers (Germino, 1979: 172). Consequently, he advocated that each of these administrative powers of government must be separate and yet dependent on each other in a manner that no one subtype or two, in combination, will wield more powers than the other or others (Butler, 2015: 21). This notion was foundational to the twin- political-theories of separation of powers and checks and balances.

Apart from his scholarly activities, Montesquieu dedicated his life to touring major parts of Europe, including Italy, England, Germany, Austria and Hungary (Baum, 2013: 7). In England, in particular, he rose to the Horn Tavern Lodge among the Freemasons in Westminster. He settled in France where he died on February 10, 1755 (Boyd, 1999: 832). His scholarly activities had a tremendous effect on the development of classical liberalism. In subsequent years, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith would apply his theories to several spheres of societal life.

3.4.4 Voltaire and Classical Liberalism

Born on November 21, 1694 in Paris as François Marie Arouet, Voltaire grew as one of three other surviving children of François Arouet and Marie Marguerite d'Aumart (Young, 2006: 9). Between the years of 1704-1711, Voltaire studied Latin, Theology, and Rhetoric at the Jesuits' Collège Louis-le-Grand. The solid education made him conversant with Italian, Spanish, and English in his adult years (Young, 2006: 10). Despite his father's attempt to induce him towards the legal profession, Voltaire developed his cherished dream of becoming a man of letters. His introduction to the works of John Locke and Isaac Newton endeared him towards classical liberal thoughts (Quinones, 2007: 178).

Voltaire expressed his historical, political, and religious concerns mostly in the form of prose. Most well-known of Voltaire's literary works include *The Henriade*, *The Maid of Orleans*, *Oedipus*, *Mariamne*, *Zaire Mahomet*, and *Nanine*, *The Age of Louis XIV*, *Essay on the Customs and the Spirit of the Nations*, *Micromégas*, *Plato's Dream*, *Candide*, and *Dictionnaire philosophique*, an encyclopedic dictionary that embraced the concepts of Enlightenment and rejected the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church. *Candide* was Voltaire's most acclaimed work (Perry, 2014: 450). Using satire, Voltaire charted a middle course between Leibniz's philosophical stance that morality was independent of reason and Pascal's gloomy description of the nature of human beings. Voltaire claimed that human reason was capable of discovering moral values. His unique polemical style of calling readers' attention to the relevance of reason, tolerance, religious pluralism, and fairness created tension with the aristo-monarchs and the Roman Catholic Church. Others even claimed Voltaire was an atheist. On two occasions, for example, Voltaire was incarcerated in Bastille and subsequently exiled (Aldridge, 1975: 26).

Regardless of such fate, Voltaire remained a strong voice against tyrannical rule, either by aristo-monarchs or the clergy. His defense of the victims of the *Calas Affair* was another instance that tested Voltaire's struggle for freedom for all. In the said *Calas Affair*, a young man's suicide in his father's home in the Roman Catholic city of Toulouse in France led to a whole family condemned for murder. For three years, Voltaire directed his time and funds to defending the rights of the members of this condemned family until Parliament declared them innocent. Voltaire died on May 30, 1778 in Paris (Noble, Strauss, Osheim, Neuschel, Accampo, Roberts, & Cohen, 2014: 515). Voltaire's love for liberty evidenced by his harsh criticism of intolerance by organized religion and oppression by absolutist governments offered a certain tone and direction to the ideologies of classical liberalism. In this, Voltaire has come to be known as the "Conscience of Europe" (Cronk, 2009: 28; Aldridge, 1975: 288). His works influenced the American and French revolutions in no small measure.

3.4.5 Rousseau and Classical Liberalism

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born on June 28, 1712 into a family of *moyen order* in Geneva, Switzerland (Spirn, 2008: 17). His father was Isaac Rousseau and his mother was Suzanne Bernard Rousseau. The death of his mother, shortly after his birth, coupled with his father's abandonment of his elder brother, Francois, and himself left the two children in the care of their aunt and uncle subsequently. Rousseau began fending for himself at age 16 (Fremont-Barnes, 2007: 641). As a wanderer, Rousseau moved from place to place serving in various capacities as opportunities presented itself.

Regardless of his grim background, Rousseau rose to become the most renowned among the philosophers of the Jacobin Club. He was acclaimed for his numerous philosophical writings. Among his famous works are *Emile* (or *On Education* in which he posited that helping the pupil to reason in an experienced-based teaching and learning environment was the primary task of the teacher), *Julie* (or *The New Heloise*, a fiction that preempted later fictional compositions during the pre-romantic and the romantic eras), *Confessions* (an autobiographical composition that became antecedental road-map to modern autobiographies), *The Reveries of a Solitary Walker* (that stressed bias and introspection which later dictated the pace and direction of writing in modern times), *The Discourse on Inequality* and the *Social Contract* (both contain Rousseau's political viewpoints).

Though Rousseau presented some political viewpoints in *The Discourse on Inequality*, the *Social Contract* provided in-depth thoughts concerning Rousseau's political ideas. Like Hobbes and Locke, Rousseau believed that governments were formed upon the consent of the governed that empowered the government by means of the social contract. However, Rousseau's description of the state of nature differed from Hobbes' description. Perceiving the state of nature as containing "uncorrupted morality," Rousseau argued that humanity enjoyed its happiest moments in its existence in this state of affairs (Lopezina, 2012: 329). Guided by a sort of innate morality that develops empathy at the instance of an avid renounce of suffering, humanity, in the state of nature, avoided social vices. Humanity's motivation for shunning immorality was based on its self-sufficiency. According to Rousseau, the switch from the state of nature to the creation of the civil society produced a deteriorating change in the moral disposition and conception of humanity (Reisert, 2003: 122).

Rousseau claimed that the creation of civil society had given rise to several opportunities that had culminated into social classes of unequal reputations (Reisert, 2003: 122). Lamentably, the advancement of civil society, coupled with its progress in knowledge had persistently elevated and expanded the powers of the government above the liberty of the governed. Specifically, it had altered humanity's innate self-love (*amour de soi*) into love of material comfort at the expense of other individuals in the society (*amour-propre*). Consequently, the solidarity that humanity enjoyed in the state of nature has been replaced by jealousy, fear, and suspicion in the civil society (Neuhouser, 1993: 365-366).

Eventually, humanity voluntarily formed groups that later developed into the civil society by means of a social contract (Reisert, 2003: 122). By affiliating himself or herself to other individuals, each individual secured a certain means to self-preservation and enhancement of individual liberty. Rousseau terms this expectation the "general will." Like Aristotle's *summum bonum*, Spinoza's *mens una*³⁴, and *volonte generale* of Diderot and Montesquieu, Rousseau's idea of the general will contained the totality of all the individual expectations of creating the civil society (Neuhouser, 1993: 365-366). At best, it offered an avenue by which each individual submitted to an authority of beneficence without losing his or her sense of liberty or feeling subordinate to other members of equal standing in the civil society. Thus by heeding the dictates of the general will, each individual in the society obeyed himself or herself. Because the general will was capable of preserving each individual's liberty against the possibility of being ignored by the masses or the high probability of having an individual's liberty sacrificed for the welfare of the majority, Rousseau argued that the system of government whereby representatives of the governed decided on the masses' behalf was morally and politically defective. Such representatives were prone to advance their sectional interest to the detriment of those they purported to represent. Rousseau set the system of governance of Geneva as modern model of the city-states of the ancient Greeks.

Rousseau died of cerebral bleeding from an apoplectic stroke on July 2, 1778 (Leigh, 1982: 7). Though heavily criticized on various issues that range from being a primitivist (by Voltaire), elevating the collectivist will to absolutist state (by Benjamin Constant), and advocate of self-centered philosophy (by Edmund Burke) to propagating sentimental humanism (by Irving Babbitt), Rousseau's political and social thoughts have been praised for its influence on the development of classical liberalism (Carlisle, 2005: 376).

³⁴ This term refers to legally defensible common interest. It was the singular binding force of stability and political liberation in the civil society.

3.4.6 Adam Smith and Classical Liberalism

Much of the early personal life of Adam Smith remains unknown. However, most scholars trace his beginning to Kirkcaldy, a fishing community close to Edinburgh, Scotland (Ginzberg, 2002: 32; Campbell & Skinner, 2009: 10). His father named him after himself and his mother was Margaret Douglas. Beginning his elementary school in Kirkcaldy, Smith enrolled at the University of Glasgow, a famous center of later Scottish Enlightenment in 1737. He studied moral philosophy under the tutelage of Francis Hutcheson (Rothbard, 2006: 420). After his graduation in 1740, Smith earned a scholarship that enabled him to further his studies in classical and contemporary philosophical thoughts in the Balliol College of Oxford.

Smith started his career as a public lecturer under the sponsorship of Lord Henry Kames Campbell (Skinner, 2009: 228). He lectured on various topics ranging from rhetoric, history, to economics. His mastery over these subjects coupled with his cutting-edge presentations endeared him to his contemporaries. As a result, Smith was appointed professor of Logic at the University of Glasgow. At the University, Smith served in various portfolios—lecturer, dean, and rector of the University. His aptness connected him to several scholars of prominence. Among these were Joseph Black, James Watt, Robert Foulis, and David Hume (Otteson, 2004: 252, 243).

Smith's first philosophical composition was the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Like his lifetime tutor and friend, Hume, Smith saw the nature of humanity as a generalized and constant locus that generates social institutions and underlines social behavior. Smith ascribed the ability of constructing moral judgments to the role of the "impartial spectator" (Haakonssen, 2006: 182). He considered the "impartial spectator" as that innate capacity with potency of affirming or reproving all human actions both personal and public. He noted that the moral judgments given by this "impartial spectator" on moral actions could not be ignored.

In addition, Smith argued that humanity was composed of a dual-driven passion—the capacity to reason and the capacity to express sympathy (Haakonssen, 2006: 182). Such dualism subtly induced human thoughts and actions toward the attainment of the common good. The means of achieving this was through competition among human beings. According to him, all human beings were motivated by the quest to secure that which enhances their self-interest. This self-interest is couched within the egoistic framework "*give me what I want, and you shall have this which you want*" (Hosmer, 1994: 159). Smith recognizes that by pursuing their sectional interests, individuals unknowingly collaborated to produce the common good.

The publication of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* heightened the fame of Smith. Eventually, Smith accepted the job of tutoring the stepson of Charles Townsend, the young Duke of Buccleuch. This new job offered Smith the means of touring Europe. During his tour, he interacted with notable scholars such as Voltaire, Francois Quesnay, Andrew Cochrane, Edmund Burke, Samuel Johnson, Edward Gibbon, and Benjamin Franklin. While such contacts, especially with Cochrane and his team, might have endeared Smith to the study of trade and business in general, his connection with the French *Physiocrats*, through Francois Quesnay, appeared to have crystallized his philosophical ideas in economics that was presented in his seminal work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, popularly referred to as the *Wealth of Nations* (cf. Evensky, 2015: 4).

In the *Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued that humanity had evolved through a four-stage time period—the original "rude" stage of hunting, the nomadic agrarian stage, the feudal "cultivation" stage, and the stage of business

interrelatedness. Claiming that specific civil institutions emerged at any of these stages in order to protect the possible squashing of the system of human liberty, Smith advanced his notion that the social structure of his day called for a "market-determined" enterprise instead of a guide-determination by the government (Smith, 2011: 268, 285, 331). Unlike Marx's idea of human development sparked by the conflict of the various members of the social strata, Smith's market-determined enterprise was propelled by humanity's natural tendency to self-preservation within reasonable limits. Smith asserted that the interaction of humanity's natural quest for personal interest and the market-determined economic structure, working through the "invisible hands," would produce an ordered society. Such an ordered society would increase production through the institution of division of labor, an outgrowth of the dictates of the "invisible hands" (Smith, 2011: 268, 285).

In his later years, Smith served Scotland as commissioner for both customs and salt duties. He died on July 17, 1790 (Smith, 2011: 3). He is renowned for criticizing the monopoly of commerce by government. Instead of such monopoly, Smith advocated laissez-faire capitalism. David Ricardo, through his work *On The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (Ricardo, 2006: 19, 20-23), refined the ideas of Adam Smith in ways that appeal directly to contemporary societies.

3.4.7 John Stuart Mill and Classical Liberalism

John Stuart Mill was born on May 20, 1806 in Pentonville, London. He was the eldest son of James Mill, the English philosopher, and Harriet Burrow (Mathias, 2007: 5). James Mill, with periodic assistance from Jeremy Bentham, Samuel Bentham, and Francis Place as well as an occasioned influence by Jean-Baptiste-Say, educated his son (Baggini & Southwell, 2012: 104). James Mill and his associates intended to develop John Stuart Mill to the extent that he would become the greatest exponent of utilitarianism. Beginning from an early age till about 20 years, John Stuart Mill was introduced to acclaimed literary works of antiquary origin such as Aesop's fables, Xenophan's *Anabasis*, the complete works of Herodotus, Lucian, Diogenes Laertius, Isocrates, Plato's *Six Dialogues*, Aristotelian logic, Euclid's Algebra, and Demosthenes as well as the recent writings in utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo, and James Mill.

But for inspiration derived from the reading of the some of the works of William Wordsworth, John Stuart Mill would have abandoned his quest of being a herald of the creation of a just society. Encouraged by Wordsworth notion of the joy one accrued by contributing to the happiness of others and influenced by Auguste Comte's positivism (Wood, 1991: 443), Mill re-directed the focus of utilitarianism from the mercantilism that clouded Bentham's utilitarian propositions in his later days. He worked in the East India Company where he served in various capacities ranging from an official responsible for correspondence between the company and its relations, examiner of the Indian Correspondence to a colonial administrator of the British East India Company.

After he lost his wife, Harriet Taylor, in 1858, Mill accepted a call to serve the University of St. Andrews as Lord Rector. He served in this capacity from 1865-1868. During the same period, he was a member of Parliament of the Liberal Party for City and Westminster. While in Parliament, Mill became a strong advocate for "social reforms" (Calpaldi, 2004:1). His reforms concerned such issues as labor unions, farm cooperatives, as well as electoral reforms such as equal representations, single transferable vote, and the involvement of females in the electoral process.

Not only did Mill present his views orally in public debates, he composed various works on these subjects. Among these were *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*; *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative, and Inductive; Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence*; *The Methods of Scientific Investigation*; *On liberty*; *The Negro Question*; *The Subjection of Women*; *Utilitarianism*; *Principles of Political Economy*; and *Considerations of Representative Government*. In furtherance of the utilitarian agenda he inherited from his father and his associates, *On Liberty* and *Utilitarianism* became the most famous works among Mill's compositions.

In these two publications, Mill defended the locus of classical liberalism—liberty. Influenced by Joseph Priestly and Josiah Warren, Mill proposed that the individual must be free with regard to what each individual wished to do. He claimed that "over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign" (Campagnolo, 2016: 50). He applied the principle of utility to the society's welfare by arguing that a society constituted by free individuals who were unrestrained in the pursuit of their bodily health and happiness, be it mental or spiritual, in a manner that did not bereft others of their capacity to do same would be more orderly arranged and full of happiness than a society where individuals were coerced to pursue their interests in a predetermined manner.

However, Mill set some limitations on the liberty an individual enjoyed in the society. Firstly, he proposed that individual liberty be curtailed in an instance where the individual was capable of committing an extreme harm to himself or herself (Wood, 1991: 303; Dickson, 2014: 202). His reason was that since no individual was an island and that society was interdependent in nature, the instance of extreme harm done by a person against himself or herself would possibly affect other members of the society. Such occurrence ought to be stopped by the government because it had the potential to decrease the happiness of the majority in the society. Secondly, Mill suggested that individual liberty must be deprived in circumstances where an individual expressed, either by explicit or implicit means, the desire to cause possible harm to others in the society (Wood, 1991: 303; Dickson, 2014: 202). He claimed that such behaviors ought to be prevented by the government because it was a barefaced disregard of the liberty of others. Thirdly, Mill recommended that individual liberty was not to be extended to all individuals in the society (Dickson, 2014: 202). Restrictions on people's liberty such as the uncivilized members of society could become morally justified on grounds that the limitation on liberty would produce improvement of the lives of affected individuals to the extent that their happiness would be increased.

Regardless of his limits on liberty, Mill equally advocated a possible limitation on the powers of the government. He termed this limitation "social liberty." In his conception of social liberty, Mill suggested that the ruler or government ought to be confined to its legitimate scope of operation (Smith, 1998: 447). He described three ways by which such restrictions on the powers of the government or ruler could be achieved. These were the legalization of political rights, the institution of legally constituted checks and balances, and the establishment of moral institutions by the society itself (Dickson, 2014: 202). Such institutions were likely to prompt the ruler of the government in instances where it was acting beyond its legitimate scope of operations. In this direction, Mill preferred democratic system of governance. Yet he appealed for appropriate checks on the majority so it would not crush the liberty of the minority. In accordance with the quest for liberty in ancient times, he argued that neither the ruler, the government, nor the majority had the moral right to disregard the liberty of any individual in the society.

Mill died of erysipelas on May 8, 1873, in Avignon, France. He is remembered for being one of the most influential thinkers in favor of classical liberalism (Baggini & Southwell, 2012: 104). He revealed a lucid scholarly spirit that integrated knowledge from all spheres of learning to advance a preferred course.

3.4.8 Hayek and Classical Liberalism

Friedrich August von Hayek was born on May 8, 1899 in Vienna, Austria (Searing & Searing, 2016: 22). His father was August Hayek and his mother was Felicitas Jurascheck. After serving in the Italian Army during World War 1, Hayek studied law and psychology at the University of Vienna. During the last years of his doctoral studies in the University, Hayek became the protégé of Friedrich von Wieser (Wiker, 2010: 197). He also came into contact with Ludwig von Mises during his brief period in the government office (Stadler, 2015: 29). After his graduation, Hayek served as the director of the Austrian Institute for Business Cycle Research. He composed his *Monetary Theory* and *The Trade Cycle* during this period. In 1931, his presentation at the London School of Economics, upon the influence of Lionel Robbins, earned him the post of Tooke Professor of Economic Science and Statistics at the London School of Economics. He served in this capacity until 1950. While in Britain, Hayek engaged John Maynard Keynes in a heated debate over the extent of governmental intervention in a free society in a period spanning over a decade (Steele, 2006: 1, 20). Hayek published *Prices and Production* and *The Pure Theory of Capital* during this period. Other publications in subsequent years included his best seller, the *Road to Serfdom*.

Hayek was also active after World War 2. His organization of a meeting in 1947 gave birth to the Mont Pelerin Society, an organization that advocates the creation of free societies. In 1950, Hayek accepted a position in the Committee on Social Thought situated in the University of Chicago (Kaldis, 2013: 46). During his 12 years stay at the University, Hayek published *The Sensory Order*; *The Counter-Revolution of Science: Studies on the Abuse of Reason*; and his populous composition on political philosophy, *The Constitution of Liberty*. From 1962 through 1968, Hayek lectured at the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, West Germany. After his retirement, Hayek accepted professorship in the University of Salzburg in Austria in 1974. Hayek shared the Nobel Prize for Economics with Gunmar Myrdal. In 1977, Hayek settled permanently in Freiburg (Leeson, 2013: 105). His scholarly activities led to the publication of his three-part *Law, Legislation, and Liberty*; *The Denationalization of Money*; and the *Fatal Conceit*, which was edited by William W. Barthey III. Hayek died on March 23, 1992 in Freiburg.

In *The Constitution of Liberty*, Hayek explored the present shape of liberty in the society in which he lived. His quest to return to antiquary understanding of liberty is revealed in his perspective of liberty. Hayek described liberty as a situation where an individual was able to think, behave, and feel, and as well as become responsible for the effects of actions that followed from such independent thoughts, actions, and feelings without limitation from external entity (Hayek, 2010: 11, 71). Accordingly, he avidly advocated the need for state coercion in preventing some from limiting the liberty of other members of a given society (Hayek, 1960: 21, 138). Hayek, however, proposed that a political system in which rule of law determined acceptable and unacceptable thoughts, actions, and feelings was necessary for setting a legitimate check on governmental coercion (Hayek, 1960: 45).

Hayek claimed that "central planning, demands for social justice, and excesses of majority rule," aspects of the "better world" ideology embedded in the philosophical thoughts of later Western philosophical thoughts (Hayek, 1960: 1, 2, 6, 8), have contributed to the loss of the resilience associated with a sincere application of the principles of liberty (Miller, 2010: 29). In this regard, Hayek argued for a renewal in understanding the role of liberty in the cultural, social, historical, and political lives of members of the society. Stressing a comprehensive understanding aimed at a sort of "universal validity," Hayek called for a political and philosophical inquiry into the fundamental framework of the "principles of philosophy of freedom" (Hayek, 1960: 3). By this approach, Hayek held that liberty, in its twin core principles (freedom and rule of law), dated back to antiquity (Miller, 2010: 31). Such intellectual and practical renewal of such understanding held the potential of calling attention to the principles of liberty in a manner that objectively managed abstract ideas in a bid to reconstruct current majority opinion in the long run (Hayek, 1960: 112-113; Miller, 2010: 33).

3.4.9 Milton Friedman and Classical Liberalism

Milton Friedman was born on "July 31, 1912 in Brooklyn, New York" to Sára Ethel (née Landau) and Jenő Saul Friedman, "Jewish immigrants from Beregszász in Carpathian Ruthenia" (Rowley & Schneider, 2004: 146).³⁵ He started schooling in Rahway High School in the town of Rahway, New Jersey, where his family had moved. After graduating in 1928, Friedman continued his study at Rutgers University, specializing in Mathematics and Economics. At the Rutgers University, Friedman was influenced by Arthur F. Burns and Homer Jones, two renowned professors of Economics in the university (Dymond, 2015: 96).

Upon completing his undergraduate studies in 1932, Friedman was awarded a scholarship from two sources to further his education—one was for studies in mathematics at Brown University and the other was for studying Economics at the University of Chicago (Friedman & Friedman, 1999: 617). He selected the latter, thereby graduating with a Master of Arts degree in Economics in 1933. While studying at the University of Chicago, Friedman was highly influenced by the thoughts of notable professors such as Jacob Viner, Frank Knight, and Henry Simons. From 1933-1934, Friedman studied Statistics under Harold Hotelling in the University of Columbia. Upon completion, Friedman worked under Henry Schultz as a research assistant from 1934-1935. During this year, Friedman befriended George Stigler and W. Allen Wallis. Both were students of the university.

Friedman worked in a Hotelling-Wallis team tasked with the duty of developing statistics on weapon design, military strategies and metallurgical experiments from 1943 to 1945 (Friedman & Friedman, 1999: 622). After a brief stay in the University of Minnesota in 1945, Friedman joined the faculty of the University of Chicago as a lecturer of Economic theory. During his stay at the University of Chicago, Burns recommended Friedman for a position in the National Bureau. In the Bureau, Friedman was charged with studying the function of money in the corporate world (Friedman & Friedman, 1999: 622). He earned the Fulbright Visiting Professor at Gonville & Caius College of the Cambridge University between 1953 and 1954. Upon his retirement from active service at the University of Chicago in 1977, Friedman moved to San Francisco, where he became a visiting professor at the Federal Reserve Bank. Also, he maintained links with the Hoover Institution at Stanford University (Regnery, 2008: 309). In addition to serving as public speaker on Economics in the public domain, Friedman served as an

³⁵ Carpathian Ruthenia is now Berehove in Ukraine.

adviser on Economic policies during the Reagan Administration. His acumen for diligent services earned him many awards. Some of these include National Medal of Science, John Bates Clark Medal, Presidential Medal of Freedom, and the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics. He died of a heart attack in San Francisco on November 16, 2006 (Rowley & Schneider, 2004: 146).

Friedman is praised as one of the most notable economists of the 20th century (Nyoni, 2015: 1, 2). Some have referred to him as the main exponent of *monetarism*.³⁶ His contribution to scholarship is evidenced by his writings. Some of his sole-authored publications are *Essays in Positive Economics* (1953), *A Theory of the Consumption Function* (1957), *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), and *Price Theory: A Provisional Text* (1962). His co-authored publications include *Income from Independent Professional Practice*, with Simon Kuznets in 1945, *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960*, with Anna J. Schwartz in 1963, *An Economist's Protest: Columns on Political Economy*, with Glen Ridge in 1972, and *Free to Choose*, with Rose Friedman, his wife, in 1980.

Of all of these publications, *Capitalism and Freedom* was his most influential work. In this work, Friedman presented a 20th century justification for the economic and political views of classical liberalism. He expanded the modern conception of liberty to include the interdependency of economic and political freedom. He noted that where this interdependency applied, there was "increased prosperity" in all spheres of the life of free societies (Friedman, 2002:ix, 8). This was because liberal economic classical liberal economic arrangements directly stimulated both "economic freedom...namely competitive capitalism," and "political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in this way enables the one to offset the other" (Friedman, 2002:9). His work highlighted ways in which free individuals may use either the free market economic structure or governmental structure to advance personal interest (Friedman, 2002:13). In consonance with the classical liberal idea on liberty, Friedman noted that the use of either structures for personal advancement ought not to cause harm to other individuals in the free society (Friedman, 2002:14, 15).

As one of the means to advancing individual personal interest in a free society, Friedman underscored the importance of the existence of government. According to him, government is essential for the preservation of "freedom" (Friedman, 2002:2). Accordingly, the main role of government in a civil state is to safeguard "freedom" from both internal and external bodies or individuals who threatened the continual existence of freedom in free societies (Friedman, 2002:2, 15). To this end, government served as a means to determine the framework within which free individuals pursue their personal interests. It regulated, interpreted, and enforced the "rules of the game" such that there would be no "coercion of one individual by another, the enforcement of contracts voluntarily entered into, the definition of the meaning of property rights, the interpretation and enforcement of such rights, and the provision of a monetary framework" (Friedman, 2002:30).

³⁶Monetarism is the view that the best way the government can keep the economy in equilibrium is to control the supply of money and not increasing the expenditure of the government as advocated by Keynesian economic theories (Jansen, 2013: 105).

In order to eliminate the possibility of concentrating power in the government and propagating coercion of the individual in a free state, Friedman suggested that free market economic structures ought to interdependently exist side by side with government. The free market economic structure will serve two purposes. One, it would reduce vital areas that called for political intervention by government (Friedman, 2002:16). Two, it would be a guarantee against abuse of political power by government. It would accomplish this through the wider "diversity" it offered individuals to earn a "living" in free societies (Friedman, 2002:15). This implied that societies in which both political and economic powers were concentrated in a person, body, or group of individuals militated against individual freedom. In contrast, Friedman claimed that historical records attested to the fact that great feats have been choked by individuals who did not respond to governmental "directives" but followed their individual urges to succeed in a free society that allowed "variety and diversity" (Friedman, 2002:4). Thus the government ought to exist side by side with free market structures for the purposes of checks and balances, however, the powers of the government ought to be limited to the provision of things that the free market economic structure cannot do for itself.

3.4.10 John Rawls and Classical Liberalism

John Rawls was born as John Bordley Rawls on February 21, 1921 in Baltimore, Maryland to William Lee Rawls and Anna Abell Stump Rawls (Pogge, 2007: 4). He is the second of five sons³⁷ in the Rawls' family. His early school days were spent in the Calvert School in Baltimore, and later in the Kent School in Connecticut. Upon completing the latter school in 1939, Rawls furthered his education in Princeton University. At the Princeton University, Norman Malcolm influenced him greatly (Pogge, 2007: 10). After earning his Bachelor's degree in 1943, Rawls joined the Army in February of 1943, serving as an infantry man in the Pacific during World War 2. Due to a certain injustice he encountered in the army, Rawls opted out of the army and enrolled at Princeton University in pursuit of his doctoral degree (Cline, 2013: 312; Mandle, 2009: 177). He graduated in 1950 with PhD in moral Philosophy.

After his doctoral degree, Rawls lectured at the Princeton University for the next two years (Pogge, 2007: 198). In 1952, he moved to Oxford upon receiving the Fulbright Fellowship at the Oxford University. At Oxford University, he became a protégé of Isaiah Berlin and H. L. A. Hart (Holmes, 2016: iii; Maffettone, 2010: 7). He returned to America and accepted the rank of an assistant professor at the Cornell University. He rose through the ranks to become a full professor of philosophy at the Cornell University in 1962 (Fløistad, 2014: 312). Later in the same year, Rawls moved to Harvard University. At Harvard University, Rawls spent the next forty years of his life lecturing in Philosophy (Maffettone, 2010: 5). During these years, he mentored several students such as Allan Gibbard, Adrian Piper, Susan Neiman, Thomas Pogge, T. M. Scanlon, and Joshua Cohen (Maffettone, 2010: 8). Rawls died in Lexington on November 24, 2002 (Mandle & Reidy, 2014: 1).

Rawls is considered as one of the major thinkers of liberal political philosophy (Grose, 2008: 29). Rapaport considered Rawls as the sole "modern revisionist of classical liberalism" (Rapaport, 1977: 95). His famous publications include *A Theory of Justice* (1971), *Political Liberalism* (1993), *The Law of Peoples* (1999), *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy* (2000), *Justice as Fairness: A Restatement* (2001), *Lectures on the History of*

³⁷ Two of his brothers died when Rawls was &. They got the infection of diphtheria from him (Pogge, 2007: 5).

Political Philosophy (2007), and *A Brief Inquiry into the Meaning of Sin and Faith* (2010). Among these publications, *A Theory of Justice* contained his notable ideas on liberal political philosophy.

In his seminal publications, *A Theory of Justice*, Rawls observed that the contractarian and utilitarian ideas of classical liberalism needed to be revised in order to appear relevant to modern free societies (Rawls, 2003: 3). He described the modern free society as one in which there were diverse and incongruent, yet rational comprehensive views about the good life. Rawls described this diversity as "overlapping consensus" (Rawls, 2003: 340). In such societies, there should be neutral system of laws that would allow all free individuals, regardless of their views, to obey the common system of law. Basically, such neutral laws ought to set a framework of toleration within which all individuals would acknowledge the fact that he or she belongs to a pluralistic society and that all individuals have legitimacy to hold their views as much as he or she does.

Rawls attempted to offer a solution that was based upon theoretical experimentations of some principles. These included primary subject of justice, lexical ordering, justice as fairness, reflective equilibrium, and the principles on liberty. Rawls described the fundamental framework in which institutions in a free society decided basic rights and responsibilities as well as regulated merits derived from social cohesion as "primary subject of justice" (Rawls, 2003: 6, 73). Rawls focused on this structures because their impact were felt by the individual early in life and their effects were long lasting. Additionally, individuals do not have control on these social institutions. For example, no one decided who their parents would be or which country they will be born in (Rawls, 2003: 7). Rawls thought that social justice meant none of the primary subjects of justice would be used against the individual in determining privileges and opportunities in a free society (Rawls, 2003: 135).

By "lexical orderings," Rawls stated that "If one value has lexical priority over another, the first one trumps the second" (Rawls, 2003: 216; Davion & Wolf, 2000: 240). This implied that civilized societies should aim at attaining the lowest value provided it does not hinder it from attaining the topmost value. If it does, then the lowest value should be ignored. In contrast to utilitarian approaches to deciding what is good, Rawls described his "justice as fairness principle" as an approach that determined morality or social justice independent of that which produced good, happiness, or other desired value (Rawls, 2003: 96, 25). He thought that, if this principle was known, each individual in the free society would derive personal conception of the good in ways that did not lay it obsolete (Rawls, 2003: 79).

In order to maintain a balance between our set of moral values and all of our beliefs systems, Rawls proposed "reflective equilibrium" (Rawls, 2003: 43, 44). By this, he referred to an approach to ethical judgment that affirmed one's most desired internal principles which were congruent with our beliefs. He identified these internally desired principles as those that were consistent with "rights, liberties, and opportunities, and income and wealth" as well as an individual's conception of self-worth (Rawls, 2003: 79, 67). Rawls' principle of liberty was to be understood in two ways. First, he advocated that in a free society, all individuals ought to have access to optimal "equal right" as enjoyed by anyone else in the society (Rawls, 2003: 220). Second, social and economic arrangements in the free society were to be made such that it would benefit the less privileged or marginalized (Rawls, 2003: 53) and offer them privileges that would empower them to available offices and positions that were equitably accessible to all individuals in the society (Rawls, 2003: 72).

By applying these principles, Rawls hoped that social justice would be established and sustained in a "well-ordered society" (Rawls, 2003: 196). In such a society, there would be neutral laws for all, toleration for basic pluralism, respect for the dignity and value of all individuals, and an awareness that one's rights and responsibilities in the society were as important as the rights and responsibilities of any other individual in the society. It was only this society that can be described as liberal.

3.5 Strands in Classical Liberalism

Studies by Friedrich Hayek tends to classify classical liberalism into two main schools of thought (Levy, 2015: ix). These are the British type of classical liberalism and the French type of classical liberalism. Other studies prefer using the terms moderate classical liberalism and radical classical liberalism respectively. Common to the British brand of classical liberalism were developments of concepts that later culminated into empiricism, the common law, and other related conventions of the social and political life. These concepts often showed up in the thoughts and works of some British philosophers such as Mandeville, Hume, Smith, Ferguson, Montesquieu, Constant, Tocqueville (Hamowy, 2011: 8). The French brand of classical liberalism, on the other hand, followed the dictates of rationalism to the extent that proponents abhorred tradition and religion all together. Consequently, they favored a free economic system that was regulated by the invisible hands of demand and supply without either the existence of government or the intervention of government whatsoever. An economic system that has come to be described as *laissez faire*. This drive was enhanced by the writings of Rousseau, Condorcet, the Encyclopedists, the Physiocrats, Hobbes, Priestly, Price, Paine, etc.

In the current study, it is deemed more appropriate to classify the variant traditions within classical liberalism into three models. These models are libertarianism, anarchism, and social liberalism (Chomsky, 2003: 131-132). Libertarianism and anarchism reflects Hayek's British and French types of classical liberalism respectively. Social liberalism slightly diverts from the original idea of classical liberalism in its justification of the socio-economic roles of governments.

From the Latin *liber* (free), libertarianism represents a strand in classical liberalism that stresses the moral and economic essence of freedom in political and economic systems (Chomsky, 2003: 131-132). As such libertarianism continues the quest of classical liberalism to find a justifiable balance between the existence of state powers and private powers. In this attempt, libertarianism leans towards justifiable grounds to restrict the powers of the state. Rather than pin such quest in the social contract theories foundational to classical liberalism, libertarianism favors private power from the perspective of individual autonomy expressed in choices that are freely made at any point in time. This freedom of choice idea makes libertarians advocates of civil liberties that mainly border on free thought (a secular systematic and scientific basis for forming opinions) and free love (the view that personal autonomy includes free expression of sexuality). In its present form, libertarianism is the product of a conglomerate of political thoughts ranging from human rights theories to free-market economics.

The metaphysical writings of William Belsham in 1789 introduced the term libertarian into philosophical literature (Christian, 2015: 8). Within the context of its introduction, the term libertarian described an advocate of freedom. However, Joseph Dejacque's usage of the term libertarian in his correspondences with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in the middle of the nineteenth century gave a certain political undertone to the meaning of the term—anarchism

(Goodway, 2012: 339; Christian, 2015: 8). Libertarianism differ from anarchism in terms of the existence of government. While the former justifies the existence of government as a necessary evil, i.e. the role of government should be "limited" to the provision of essential functions consistent with the protection of "life and property" (Janda, Berry, & Goldman, 2008: 22), the latter is opposed to the existence of all forms of government in the society. Anarchists perceive the existence of government as a restriction on "personal freedom" (Janda, Berry, & Goldman, 2008: 22). At present, the term *libertarianism* generally refers to conservative economic ideas, liberal stance on socio-cultural ideas, and non-intervention foreign policies.

There are several variations within libertarianism. These include right-libertarianism, left-libertarianism, and socialist libertarianism (Forrester, 2002: 336). Right-libertarianism places political and economic importance on those political, social, and economic systems that enhance private ownership of the fundamentals of the economy and it abhors those political, social, and economic structures that boost state control of the determinants of the economy. Left-libertarianism is a type of libertarianism that argues for the collective ownership of all naturally endowed resources within the society. Socialist libertarianism is a type of libertarianism that rejects collective ownership of property, as suggested by communism, in favor of the idea that free market economy can efficiently and responsibly provide essential social services such as hospitals, roads, security, etc more than state monopoly (Prichard, Kinna, Pinta, & Berry, 2012: 13; Long, 1998: 305; Rocker, 2004: 65).

Anarchism is a philosophical term that originates from the Greek root *anachos*, meaning "one without rulers/authority." Though the writings of William Godwin and Wilhelm Weitling developed the foundational concepts that will become anarchism (Aydinli, 2016: 37), the term anarchism was first used by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to describe his concept of libertarianism (Christian, 2015: 8). Its antiquary versions may be traced to the works of Lao Tao, Zhuanzi and Bao Jingyan, the philosophical concepts of anarchism was crystallized during the period of the Enlightenment (Rapp, 2012: 9, 20, 111). Of significant notification was the writing of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

From its etymological basis, anarchism is considered as a radical political viewpoint that argues for the elimination of the state or hierarchical political, social, and economic structures in favor of stateless or non-hierarchical substitutes (Sheehan, 2003: 11). The basis of such argument is that the state has created hierarchical structures that impede optimal human development in all spheres of life. In light of this, anarchism favors economic structures erected on the principles of mutualism. Mutualism is a philosophical view that describes an economic system where economic participation is based upon an order achieved through positive anarchy (a political system that produces a tranquility from the decisions of individual choices without the existence of central authority). As a fluid philosophical construct, anarchism is classified into three main traditions. These are social anarchism, individual anarchism, and syncretic anarchism (Crofton, 2015: 129).

Social anarchism is a type of anarchism that prefers the communal ownership of natural resources based upon egalitarian political and social principles to private ownership of the means of production. It includes sub-philosophical concepts such as collectivist anarchism (associated with the view of Mihail Bakunin and Johann Most that private ownership of fundamental economic structures should be reclaimed by insurrection), anarcho-communism (the view that the state and hierarchical structures should be eliminated but personal ownership of property should be retained), and anarcho-syndicalism (an anarchist focus that holds that solidifying labor

movements will ensure employee liberation). Individual anarchism is the philosophical position that only personal autonomy has intrinsic economic and moral value. An underlining thought pattern forming individual anarchism is egoism (the philosophical view that personal decision (without recourse to secular or religious authority) not to achieve one's personal cravings is the only setback on individual autonomy). Syncretic anarchism draws together various philosophical constructs that determine the course of actions for human beings. In this regard, this type of anarchism describes various philosophical traditions that have emerged within anarchism. These include green anarchism (an anarchist stress on environmental issues), anarcho-feminism (uses the anarchist paradigm to disapprove of patriarchy), anarcho-pacifism (an anarchist position on non-violence in the bid to purge society of the state and hierarchical domains), etc.

Social liberalism has evolved from classical liberalism. It might be considered as the form of classical liberalism that responds to the ravages of war-the First World War and the Second World War. Social liberalism describes a political ideology that advocates the existence of a limited state in a limited sense. It argues that personal autonomy can only be fully realized when the state ensures social justice. While it upholds private ownership of the means of production, personal ownership of property, individual freedom and civil liberties, social liberalism holds that the need to ensure that all individuals have equal access to participate in the economic system, healthcare, and education is the only moral and legal justification for maintaining the state. In recent times, the thoughts of Rousseau, Roosevelt, Lincoln, and Rawls have oriented some modern governments towards social liberalism (Corning, 2003: 12-13). As a result, most governments have adopted policies that allow free-market economic operations, the existence of individual freedom and civil liberties, as well as the measures that ensure social justice for all.

3.6 Foundational Principles of Classical Liberalism

As may be inferred from previous sections in this chapter, classical liberalism has evolved into many variants. A common strand of the various forms of classical liberalism is the stress it places on individual freedom in social, cultural, economic, and political life (Butler, 2015: xviii). But regardless of the form it may take, one or more underlining philosophies can be identified. These foundational philosophies are erosion of traditional assumptions, social contract, individualism, liberal pluralism, limitations on the power of the government, a market economy, and utilitarian ethical foundations.

3.6.1 Erosion of Foundational Assumptions

Before classical liberalism arose in its earliest forms, most European societies were marked by morality based on divine command theory, centralization of religious and political powers, divine rights of kings and queens, absolutism, and primacy of traditions (Ethridge & Handelman, 2015: 134). The rules that governed concepts of right and wrong behaviors were derived from religion. Accordingly, morality was dependent on the will of God. God's dictates formed humanity's ultimate obligations. Hence the ethicalness of an action or inaction was evaluated on the premise of how such action or inaction adhered or diverted from God's commands.

Again, the Church and the State had a relatively friendly co-existence (Carley & Christie, 2000: 55). In this friendly co-existence, both ecclesiastical and state leaders used portions of scripture to justify the legitimacy of the powers they wielded in the society (Tierney, 2004: 2). In this friendly relationship between state and church,

essential activities and major decisions concerning state and religious affairs were invested in a specific geographical location, group, or an individual. However, defining the nature of this relationship has always been difficult. At one time, the church dominated the state by endorsing kings and queens before their right to rule could be regarded official. At other times, the state dominated the church by appointing the leadership of the church (Tierney, 2004: 3, 4). In the modern period, there have been attempts to draw a clear line of separation between the church and the state. Juergensmeyer identifies three types of the relation between church and state in Europe. These are "the state church," "the cooperative church," and the separated church (Juergensmeyer, 2006: 278).

Also, political power was invested in royal families based on the notion that the will of God was the sole factor that determined who ruled (Bower, 2013: 162). It was conceived that only God could judge an evil ruler by punishing him or her, restricting him or her, or dethroning him or her altogether. Apart from that, the ruler was subject to no individual or group in his or her exercise of political power. Rather, it was generally perceived that God had made everyone subject to the divinely mandated monarch. In line with this, rulers were enthroned based upon their affinity to specific families that have been considered as having the divine right to rule. Further, it was generally held that political decisions and activities from the ruler were absolute. This absolute view was driven by the notion that rulers possessed unlimited powers such that their activities and decisions were not subject to any authority external to the ruler. In this regard, their political, religious, and economic decrees admitted no exceptions.

Moreover, tradition became a focal point of reference in all religious, economic, and political matters (Foret, Aina, & Xabier, 2013: 50, 122, 226). Tradition involved the conventionally acceptable manner in which an identifiable group of people thought, behaved, and felt transmitted from one generation to another in the life of the given group. Such tradition was deemed to be prime among other types of authority. The primacy of tradition implied that other types of authority were reliable so long as they corresponded with the tradition of the group or society. Where there was contradiction between these types of authority and tradition, the latter took preeminence (Foret, Aina, & Xabier, 2013: 122).

Classical liberalism introduced a different paradigm for conceiving the human society. Its stress on the freedom of the human being became increasingly incompatible with the concepts on which society had been previously organized. In place of morality determined by the dictates of God, classical liberalism held on to a type of morality determined on the basis of shared human experience. From such realistic perspective, classical liberalism maintained that only rationally verifiable truth was objective. All else were subjective. Classical liberalism also replaced centralization of religious and political powers with decentralization of political and religious powers. Major activities and decisions of governance were no longer taken by religious and political powers invested in an individual, group or geographical location. Rather, governance was arranged that it involved the governed at the lowest ebb of political organization.

In addition, classical liberalism renounced the notion of divine rights of kings and queens. It replaced it with the notion that government was a form of contract between the ruler and the governed based upon some essential terms. As such, rulers were limited in terms of what their subjects wanted them to do or refrain from doing. Where there was a breach of contract, the subject had to renounce the ruler and not God. Further, classical liberalism substituted absolutism with relativism. It held on to the political doctrine that rules were effective as long as they

could identify with the geographical, time, and situational specificities of individuals and groups to which they apply. Where geographical, time, and situational specificities rendered them inapplicable, individuals and groups were at liberty to set aside these laws through their representatives in parliament.

Similarly, classical liberalism rejected the primacy of tradition. It considered traditions as those conventions that had temporary value. As such, the total way of life of a group of people in one generation did not automatically apply to another generation of the given group. This was because life situations came in different forms with the passing of generations. For this reason, classical liberalism propagated a fluid idea in which religious, economic, and political activities and decisions were continuously tailored along the needs of contemporary individuals and groups. As could be observed, the spread of classical liberalism eroded foundational assumptions regarding the organization of the society.

3.6.2 Social Contract

With the erosion of the assumption of divine rights of kings and queens, classical liberalism established the foundation of governance in its conception of social contract (Erckel, 2008: 3). Social contract, as espoused by earlier proponents such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, was a hypothetical form of agreement of governance between the ruler and the ruled that defined rights and responsibilities of each of the parties in the agreement. The social contract idea attempted to find moral, political, and rational justification for individuals' need of government in the society. It also attempted to set reasonable limitation on the power of the government. Though naturally free, the individual needed protection from injury and intimidation likely to come from both within and without society. In order to enjoy such protection, the individual morally made some compromises. He or she had to surrender some of his or her fundamental rights to power of the government. These surrendered rights involved the right not to be punished after committing a crime and the right to contribute meaningfully to the happiness and wealth of the society.

Since antiquity, the concept of "social contract" had been subtly suggested by notable philosophers such as "Socrates, Confucius, and Lao Tzu" (Bussanich & Smith, 2013: 358; Smith & Pittman, 1989: 39). During the period of Enlightenment, social contract ideas found expression in the writings and thoughts of philosophers such as Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, Samuel Pufendorf, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Immanuel Kant. In modern times, the idea of social contract has been sustained by the writings and thoughts of John Rawls and David Gauthier. However, notable strands in the concept of social contract are attributed to the conceptions of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The main difference between these strands within the social contract paradigm lays in variations in its purpose: justification of the power of government or the ruler; safeguarding individual interest by setting moral limitation on the power of government; preserving the interest of few property owners against those who lacked property but intended to usurp those of others. Regardless of internal variations, the notion of social contract is a justification of political authority on the basis of self-preservation and consent of free, rational, and equal individuals and groups.

Hobbes attempted to justify the power of the ruler in the society. According to Hobbes, the ruler received the mandate to rule free and equal individuals who needed peace and calm in the state of nature. The state of nature was characterized by brutal mentality. For the ruler to perform his or her task, Hobbes argued that the ruler must

possess absolute power in all matters concerning the individual in the society. With such power, the ruler was accountable to no one in the exercise of the invested power. This implied that the ruler shared no authority with either religious bodies or political entities like parliament.

Building on the Hobbesian idea of state of nature, Locke attempted to safeguard the interests of individuals against the abuse of power by the ruler in the society. Unlike Hobbes' brutal state of nature, Locke described his idea of the state of nature as one that involved free, equal and tolerable individuals who organized themselves under the law of nature. By voluntarily subscribing to the law of nature, individuals were able to pursue their interests freely. However, since the state of nature could easily lead to a state of war, there was a need to establish a civil power with the right to ensure tolerance by preserving individual rights and punishing offenders. Accordingly, free individuals and groups abandoned the state of nature and contracted with other free individuals and groups to invest some of their rights in a civil authority. This notion implied that the individuals and groups were at liberty to renounce the civil authority at the instance of breach of the contract on the part of the latter.

Rousseau's idea of social contract was a justification of civil authority on grounds of protection of private property. Perceiving the state of nature as a simplistic state of affairs in which free and equal individuals found essential resources to satisfy their needs, he held that increase in human population exerted much pressure on the few available resources in nature. This scarcity led to greed, comparison, and struggle. This state of affairs bred inequality by dividing society into the haves and the have-nots. Since those who did not possess the means of meeting basic human needs (have-nots) could seize these means from those who had, establishing civil authority became essential. Accordingly, free individuals contracted under the pretext that the establishment of civil authority will ensure equality for all. However, the ulterior motive was the protection of private property owned by a few individuals and groups.

3.6.3 Individualism

Individualism is a moral and political viewpoint that stresses individual independence and self-preservation in opposition to actual or latent interference from other individuals, groups or government (Hayek, 1994: 37-38). It argues for the primacy of individual interests above the interest of governmental institutions or the entire society (Wood, 1972: 6-7). It rejects the notion that strict adherence to societal rules and conformity to the thought pattern of social groups and institutions are the optimal manner to achieve happiness for all individuals (Butler, 2015: 5). Rather, individualism held that the individual is capable of determining his or her own happiness without recourse to external interferences. Its claim that no hindrance whatsoever should be placed on the path of the rational and free individual as he or she pursues his or her self-determined means of survival leans towards the ideas of social Darwinism. Consequently, the individual should be allowed to pick and choose from a wide range of options that best suits his or her personal interests (Reese, 1980: 251; Audi, 1999: 424). The concept of individualism formed a formidable framework within which classical liberalism found its greatest refuge. Being a political doctrine that esteemed individual interest above state and church interferences, classical liberalism extended the implication of individualism to thought patterns and personal relationships. By such extension, classical liberalism developed another major principle that influenced human thoughts and social relations in no small manner. This principle was *freethought*.

The principle of *freethought* suggests that truth in all aspects of life can only be determined on scientific and logical bases. Though it did not seek to replace religious enquiry with rationalistic forms of enquiry, it held that objective truth could be attained through systematic and rational inquiry independent of tradition and the authority of culture, religion, or state (Becker & Becker, 2013:4). It described a radical way of thought that strikingly deviates from conclusions arrived at by orthodoxy and conventional thought patterns. In its extreme opposition of religion, some advocates of *freethought* perceived essential religious truth as invalid and harmful to the course of reason (Schultz, West, & MacLean, 1999: 109). In line with this perception, *freethinkers* reject the existence of supernatural entities such as the Christian God. They consider the Bible and other religious creeds as possessing insufficient proof to sustain their fundamental claims. The principle of *freethought* further defined the stance of classical liberals on human sexual relationships. By and large, classical liberals argued that the legitimacy of sexual or emotional association and pleasure should be determined on the basis of individual interest and not by means of societal regulations (McElroy, 1996: 1).

3.6.4 Liberal Pluralism

Liberal pluralism is a moral and political view that aims at the peaceful co-existence of a diverse range of moral and political opinions in the society (Galston, 2002: 1, 2). The fundamental assumption of liberal pluralism is that free individuals are free to express themselves and associate themselves to any entity or group in ways that the individual deems fit (Berlin, 2013: 326). Like classical liberalism itself, liberal pluralism may be described from a range of perspectives. In its widest sense, it could be considered as a moral and political obligation to diversity that formed the basis for the parallel existence of multiple political parties, theories of right and wrong human behaviors, and cultural mores within the same society. As a norm, therefore, liberal pluralism offers a positive view of diversity. In one sense, diversity is a way to moderate various but competing political and moral opinions in a given political realm as James Madison pursued (Levy, 2015: 304). In another sense, it is a means of preventing a situation in which individuals or groups devote themselves to a given course and violently reject or despise other individuals or groups who hold dissenting opinions. In this way, liberal pluralism prevents factionalism by ensuring that political and moral entities in the society adjust to competing views as described by Edmund Burke (Levy, 2015: 178).

In his article *Two Conceptions of Liberal Pluralism*, Crowder (2007) identifies two paradigms within liberal pluralism. These are *pro-autonomy* and *pro-toleration* (Crowder, 2007: 122). The *Pro-autonomy* framework sees individual autonomy as the sole way to ensure that diverse views exist in the society. In this regard, any restriction on personal autonomy is seen as a direct affront to the course of classical liberalism. In contrast, the *pro-toleration* framework perceives the act of forbearing with the multiple moral and political opinions of diverse societal groups or associations as the sole aim of the liberal agenda. For this reason, the *pro-toleration* paradigm follows from the principle of individual autonomy. Toleration is set in motion the moment a person respects the autonomy of others as equally important. Common to all of these variants within liberal pluralism is the notion that through forbearance of dissenting views held by both individuals and groups within the society, the entire society attains the freedom ideal of classical liberalism.

In creating a society where individuals have the freedom to subscribe to any moral and political views of their choice, liberal pluralism attempts to create a society that is conditioned by the combined effects of toleration,

equality, and neutrality. Toleration is not the conscious omission to act for the sake of "a live and let live" agenda. Rather, it is a conscious effort to exercise restraint based on the moral or political idea that individuals or groups holding repugnant views are entitled to those opinions and as such they are not to be prevented to express them. It also describes a situation where one that has the power to coerce other individuals to conform to a given idea or behavior refuses to do so (Holówka & Jacórzyński, 2009: 157).

The earliest proponents of classical liberal notion of toleration sought many grounds to justify it. John Milton and John Locke attempted a rationalist justification. According to them, truth had the capacity to evolve by itself regardless of efforts by church or state. They observed that truth can only emerge within a society founded upon the tolerance of dissenting views. Consequently rational individuals should be left alone to make personal decisions on political, social, and moral issues that affect them. J. S. Mill advocated for an autonomy-based toleration. Conceiving of human beings as independent and self-determining individuals, Mill argued that individual autonomy can only be nurtured in an environment in which various competing views exist. Advancement in individual autonomy will lead to a sort of "free market of ideas" that sustains the health and happiness of the entire society (Klapp, 1991: 165).

While advocating the freedom to think, feel, and behave in whichever way the individual deems fit, classical liberals observed that certain limits had to be set on toleration. Without this limit morally wrong and politically incorrect means of suppressing the views of other vulnerable individuals in the society could not be prevented. Minority rights could be ignored by the views of the majority. Classical liberalism found such limit on toleration in Mill's "harm principle" (Mill, 2010: 10). According to this principle, individuals were free to express their feelings, thoughts, and behave in whatever ways they deemed fit provided it did not cause harm to another individual or group either within or without the society. By implication therefore, the free expression of individual autonomy would be curtailed at the instance of harm against others (Azam, 2014: 26, 34).

Liberal pluralism also thrives on the notion that all individuals are equal. With respect to essential needs, classical liberalism holds that all individuals are important to be respected as members of the society with equal rights to access the basic needs of humanity. However, classical liberals argue that individuals differ in the way each makes choices (Nagel, 1991: 67-68). For this reason, the society should be arranged in a way that makes such preferences possible. In other words, the same amount of allowance should be allowed to all individuals so they could express their views freely and access basic goods available in the society (Marshall, 2009: 149-150).

Closely knitted to the classical liberal idea of equality is the doctrine of neutrality. Neutrality is a classical liberal political and moral conception that in the promotion of equal rights for all individuals, individuals, groups, and governments must avoid the coercion of other individuals or groups within the society to conform to pre-determined thought patterns or behavioral patterns (Torrisco-Casals, 2006: 87). By implication, therefore, individuals, groups, or governments must refrain from using rewards, punishment, or their superiority in favor of particular views or groups. In all circumstances, the government appears as a referee ensuring that individuals, groups, as well as the government itself ensure engendering an environment where dissenting views can be pursued.

The existence of classical liberal conception of toleration, equality, and neutrality generates and maintains a state of affairs determined upon the notion of liberal pluralism. Such liberal pluralism manifests in the form of diverse theories of political administration, culture, deliberation, and associations (Galston, 2002: 9). In such society, there will not be only one way of doing things. Rather, there may be several legitimate ways of completing a given task. Also, personal autonomy cannot be legitimately curtailed because it expresses itself in ways that are foreign to established patterns. Rather, individual autonomy will be freely expressed in any form the actor deems fit once it does not present any harm to any individual.

3.6.6 Natural Rights

With the collapse of ruling institutions based on divine rights, classical liberals pursued the task of establishing a firm source of the power to rule. This task produced strong believe in the theory of natural rights (Finnis, 2011: 29). Natural rights theory is a philosophical notion that the ontological constitution of human beings entitles them to conditions or privileges that enable them to pursue fundamental ingredients for personal autonomy and self-preservation. These conditions are tied to the realization of the dignity of every human being. Because natural rights claim nature as its source, the privileges they offer the individual cannot be set aside by any entity. Rather, it enjoins rulers and governmental institutions to protect such privileges. Examples of these privileges include the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of religion.

Locke, a major advocate of natural rights, considers natural rights to be in full force in situations where individuals pursue the means of personal autonomy and self-preservation without intimidation and aggression from external bodies whether they be individuals or social groups (Locke, 2008: 3). He identified the law of nature as the only limitation to these privileges enjoined on the individual by natural rights. The law of nature is a natural moral requirement in which individuals were tasked by God to regard other individuals as equal especially in matters that relate to the basics of survival. Expressed differently, the notion that all human beings have been created by God was sufficient ground to pursue and allow all individuals to pursue their means of personal autonomy and self-preservation without threats or violence. Thus the law of nature required peaceful co-existence. However, there were uncertainties concerning the durability of this fragile peace generated by the law of nature. This was because there was no recognizable power to ensure that all individuals abide by the dictation of the law of nature. As a result, Locke claims that free, rational, and equal individuals traded off some of their privileges enjoined on them by natural law to establish a civil power tasked to ensure the perpetuity of peace in the society. By this action, civil individuals placed a limit on their own privileges. However, they were free to remove these limits in situations where the civil power fails to maintain the accord of peace. This implied that once the civil power operates within the confines of the social agreement, privileges enjoined on individuals by the natural rights will be limited.

Another limitation on the privileges enjoined on individuals by natural rights was suggested by John S. Mill. Mill subscribed to the notion that each individual in the society should pursue personal interest in whatever way the individual deems fit without restrictions from others. Mill solicited respect for these privileges enjoined on the individual by natural rights. However, he thought that the individual is to be restricted where his or her actions and/or inactions present potential or actual harm to other individuals in the society (Mill, 2010: 10). Mill's harm principle may be understood as follows: X's action Z poses potential threat or causes actual violence to Y. Without the intervention of the civil power, X will perform action Z and Y will not be able to exercise Y's personal

autonomy and self-interest. The civil power is morally justified to restrict X from performing action Z. Hence, an individual's tendency to cause harm to other entities in the society qualifies as a moral justification to curtail comprehensive enjoyment of natural rights by that individual (Azam, 2014: 26).

Berlin considers the license to pursue self-interest according to one's own dictation or determination enjoyed in the civil society as a negative liberty (Berlin, 1969: 122). They are 'negative' in the sense these types of liberty describes a large scope within which the civil individual can pursue his or her personal conception of the morally good actions and/or inactions without obstruction. Accordingly, X is free as long as X can perform action Z without restrictions or coercion from Y. If X can be restrained by Y in the performance of action Z, then X is not free. In the situation of restriction from Y, therefore, X is described as being under coercion or enslavement (Berlin, 1969: 122).

In light of this, one can infer that classical liberalism is based on negative liberties. It advocates the absence of restrictions, intimidation, and other forms of hindrance that prevent or likely to prevent the individual from performing self-determined actions (Cohen, 1995: 65). In this regard, Berlin distinguishes negative liberty from positive liberty. While negative liberty attempts an answer to the question as to what types of actions may be performed without restrictions, positive liberty answers questions as to who or what determines or controls what and how an action is performed. Berlin, however, cast the liberty sought after by classical liberalism within the concept of negative liberty.

In contrast, other scholars within the tradition of classical liberalism perceive positive liberty as the pivot of classical liberalism. They claim that the only means of measuring the existence of personal autonomy is the resolve to perform an action or omit to perform a task based on the personal dictation of the individual (Butler, 2015: 4). In this regard, X is free as long as X can personally choose to perform action Z or refrain from performing action W without interference from Y. If Y is able to determine conditions that make X impossible to decide to perform action Z or refrain from performing action W, then X has no positive liberty. Based on the idea of positive liberty, classical liberals advocate for equal access to a rational, scientific, and realistic resources enough to make all individuals determine their own course of action and/or inaction. By this means, they hope to create a society of civil individuals who have not been pre-conditioned to think, behave, and feel in a given pattern determined by others.

In practice, it appears both positive and negative liberties are central to classical liberalism. The claim for positive liberty establishes sufficient conditions that enable civil individuals to control or master individual autonomy by determining their own personal course of action without interference from other entities. Negative liberties also ensures that civil individuals can operate within a large scope as long as their actions do not present potential or actual threat or violence to other entities within or without the society. This means that no civil power can place unnecessary and unreasonable restrictions on the reasonable exercise of personal autonomy and pursuance of personal preservation.

3.6.6 Limitations on the Power of the Government

The quest of classical liberalism to enhance individual autonomy causes it to moderate the use of civil power. Broadly conceived, power describes the ability of an agent to cause an action or to halt an action independent of

permission from other agents. X possesses power if X can cause action Z to begin, continue, or halt without permission from Y. From classical liberal perspective, the existence and use of such power in the society becomes very necessary for sustaining personal autonomy and self-preservation for each individual in the society. However, classical liberals also know that without proper reasonable checks on the existence and use of such power, individual liberty can be abused. For example, governmental institutions are needed to ensure that all individuals in the society obtain equal access to the basic means of pursuing their personal interests, but the same institutions can abuse power by posing a threat to civil individuals. For this reason, classical liberalism thrives on the notion of limited government.

The notion of limited government is a political idea that the scope of civil power is determined by reason and consent of civil individuals (Samples, 2002: 38). According to versions of the social contract, civil individuals consented to the creation of a civil power for the purpose of ensuring a peaceful, equal, and tolerating environment within which they can pursue self-interest and enhance their personal autonomy. This agreement sets the norms within which the civil power was to operate. Civil powers are considered reasonable where it operates in ways that realized the goal of civil individuals. However, civil powers that operate without regard to the accord of civil individuals is deemed abusive. The notion of limited government aims at preventing abuse of power.

In light of this, classical liberalism incorporated the dual-doctrine of separation of powers and checks and balances. On one hand, the principle of separation of powers suggests that aspects of the civil power should be fairly distributed among the institutions of governance or administration in such a manner that no one institution would wield more power than the other. On the other hand, the principle of checks and balances suggests that institutions of governance or administration must operate within the framework of accountability such that each of these institutions is accountable to the other. Classical liberals believe that adherence to these principles and other institutional systems suggested by constitutional liberal concepts such as periodic elections, rule of law, laissez-faire economic policies, and freedom of the press will define the scope within which civil power is to reasonably operate.

In doing this, classical liberalism sets purpose for the existence of government. Some classical liberals have described the existence of government as a "necessary evil" (Wills, 2002: 15). Governments are necessary evil in the sense that regardless of the fact that its unreasonable operations may threaten individual means of pursuing happiness and self-interest, it is still needed to ensure that individual liberty would not be curtailed. Thus the existence of government is justified on grounds of the purpose it serves. However, classical liberals differ on what the purpose of government should be. Such variations can be observed within the libertarian thoughts. While right-libertarians advocate that a government exists for the purpose of creating political, social, and economic system that promotes individual ownership of the means of production, left-libertarians see the government existing for the purpose of instituting mechanisms that make collective ownership of the means of production possible. Social libertarians, on the other hand, think the purpose for the existence of government is to enhance the autonomy of civil individuals by eliminating factors that impede free, rational, and equal individuals from pursuing their self-interests. These include poverty, illiteracy, poor health, intolerance, inequity, and laissez-faire economic policies.

Despite these differences on the purpose of governments in civil societies, the fact remains that its existence is necessary for the realization of individual liberty. Civil powers specify the scope within which civil individuals can

pursue their personal happiness and means of survival. The determination of this scope ensures that no individual or group within the society will exert their thought patterns, patterns of behavior, and patterns of expressing their feelings on others. To this end, the civil power had the task of creating an enabling social environment within which civil individuals, driven by their inherent right to personal autonomy and self-preservation, will pursue their personal freedom, self-interest, and means of production in self-determined ways. In economic terms, for example, the civil power had to institute policies that ensure that the invisible hands of demand and supply operate without obstruction. Yet, the notion of limited government ensures that the power of the government to operate is moderated (Butler, 2015: 6). In this regard, any restriction of individual liberty by the government must be morally justified either on grounds of hindrance to the realization of the social contract or on grounds that that exercise of such personal liberty will cause harm to others. Without such justification, governments cannot limit the liberty of civil individuals.

3.6.7 Utilitarian Ethical Foundations

Classical liberal morality is based on utilitarian ethical foundations. Utilitarianism is an ethical disposition that evaluates the ethicalness or un-ethicalness of an action or inaction based on the profit or benefit derived from the results of that action/inaction to the greater number of civil individuals in the society (Mill, 2006: 10, 12). The profit, benefit, or the utility suggested by this ethical notion of right and wrong is commensurable with happiness or pleasure (Mill, 2006: 12). Thus the justification of moral or an immoral action/inaction was based on scientific measurement instead of the notion of divine command. In this regard, X is said to be moral if the performance of an action Z produces the greatest happiness/pleasure to the majority of people. However, where action Z produces pain for the majority, X is said to have acted immorally.

The utilitarian basis of morality is acutely linked with the focus of classical liberalism—individual autonomy. Proponents of utilitarianism suggest that only rational and free individuals know the cause to personal happiness (Mill, 2006: 88). Without interference from other entities, be it individuals or groups, civil individuals will determine personal means to happiness. The more individuals pursue their means of happiness in the society, the more the society gains happiness. This is because society is composed of free, rational, and equal individuals. In view of this, proponents argue that ensuring a free, equal, tolerating, neutral, and pluralistic social environment is the best way civil powers can exercise legitimate power.

From the ongoing discussion, the relevance of utilitarian ethical notion of morality to the core agenda of classical liberalism can be inferred. From the utilitarian perspective, all ethical actions and inactions must produce the greatest usefulness/happiness to the greatest number of people. Considering the fact that civil individuals consented to the creation of civil power on grounds of assurance of security to pursue their personal interest without obstruction, it follows that nothing can be more useful to civil individuals than an action or inaction that is in agreement with this social agreement. Hence an action or inaction is evaluated based on conformity or unconformity with the social contract.

Again, utilitarianism bases the right to happiness within individual autonomy. Moral agents know the cause to personal happiness. For this reason, any action or inaction from other individuals or groups in the society that interferes with the exercise of individual autonomy is deemed immoral. Such an action or inaction will

immediately obstruct individual liberty and happiness and remotely hinder the entire civil society from happiness. The only exception to this is where the action or inaction of an individual or group threatens the accord of peace or produces harm against other individuals or groups. This utilitarian notion of morality resonates the persistent quest of classical liberalism to determine the scope of the civil power. Apart from curtailing actions or inactions that possess threat to the social contract and/or causes harm against other entities, no civil power has a justifiable ground to hold back the exercise of personal autonomy.

3.6.8 Anti-Supernaturalism

Severance of the state from the church invested classical liberalism with the ability to alter societal perception of the supernatural (Akin, Nelson, & Schemm, 2007: 531). The joint church and state ascribed a sort of sanctity to the state. Kings performed both sacred and civil responsibilities. Monarchs and empires were considered holy. This perception of the dual nature of the state was supported by the acute religious aura that prevailed in most societies.

With the church separated from the state, classical liberalism started describing the latter in ways that stripped it of any pious considerations. The state was relegated to the sphere of performing only civil functions. It was generally thought that there was an aspect of life the state could not extend its functions to. This sphere was a personal domain where each individual meets the sacred. This sphere was deemed private to the extent that only civil individuals could determine the nature of such interaction. The closer the state could get to this sphere was an assurance given to civil individuals that no entity could trespass their private sphere in matters of religion. With interaction between individuals and the sacred left in the hands of each civil individual, religious belief lost its essence in the society. Classical liberalism pushed away orthodox understanding of religion until it was replaced by a notion of religion that appealed to the inherent quest of enhancing personal autonomy in all matters that concerns the individual.

The writings and thoughts of individuals like Voltaire and Hume could account for erecting the foundation on which classical liberalism will base its anti-supernatural claims. In most of Voltaire's writings, one could read the striking manner he considered orthodox understanding of religious belief. In a significant way, he rejected Christian orthodox understanding of God. He claimed that biblical records were the results of some individuals who conceived of the creator in a culturally-patterned way. According to him, these records were erroneous and should not be regarded as reliable.

More than Voltaire, anti-supernaturalism found solace in Hume's skepticism. Claiming that objectivism cannot be given to matters in which there are no evidence to prove or disprove, Hume argued against the authenticity of orthodox understanding of God, angels, soul, and miracles. At best, Hume regarded orthodox understanding of such sacred concepts as unrealistic religious beliefs founded upon wishful thought.

3.7 Protestant Liberalism and Classical Liberalism: Similarities and Differences

Since Classical Liberalism and Protestant Liberalism both emerged from the tradition of liberalism, it suffices to observe several points of convergence of the basic theories that form the foundation for each. Significantly, these points of union between the two concepts of liberalism can be observed from liberal notions of natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on Ethics. However, sharp

divergence can be observed from these same liberal notions. This section of the chapter highlights both the points of convergence and divergence between the two liberal concepts in terms of the liberal notions aforementioned.

3.7.1 The Issue of Natural Rights in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

The notion of natural law is foundational to classical liberalism. From antiquity, the notion of natural law opposes the idea that moral laws are determined by the state and that they vary from one state to another. Natural law claims that there are laws that govern human actions which are independent of the state and its institutions. These laws remain binding whether a state prescribes it or not. They are natural because they do not emerge from human determination. Rather, they emanate from the very core of human nature. The peaceful arrangement it offers has nothing to do with human deliberate actions. They are neither the consequences of human will nor human invention (Hayek, 1967: 97-98).

Natural law offers humanity a morally plausible way to think, behave, and feel that is consistent with nature. They give human beings objective principles of good and evil actions or inactions that shape human ethical conducts and judgments. The duties and privileges of natural law apply to all human beings. While individuals are not to engage in actions or inactions that obstructs another free and equal individual from pursuing his or her self-interest, natural law allows the individual to pursue self-interests in ways that are consistent with personal liberty.

In both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism, there is common agreement that individuals discover these natural laws unaided by the state. Being consistent with human nature, natural laws are intrinsically discoverable by each individual. Accordingly, each individual must not be stymied from exercising free choice in matters that concern personal morality.

However, classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism disagree on the source of these natural laws. In most classical liberal thinking, natural laws have no supernatural design. It casts the source of these natural laws within human experience and rationality. These human experience and rationalism operate within the realm of the 'here-and-now.' In the here-and-now framework, it follows that the moral dictation of supernatural entities has no pragmatic relevance. Even if this moral dictation existed, it would be abysmal as moral guide in the here-and-now. Hence most classical liberalists consider ethical principles and moral judgment as a product of the mind of free, equal, and rational individual as he or she pursues personal interest.

Contrariwise, Protestant Liberalism subscribes to a faith-based source for natural law. It claims God as the source of natural laws. He determines these natural laws and his authority enforces them in the created order. In this regard, protestant liberals perceive natural laws as God's rational plan of activity. This plan of activity offers morally patterned ways by which all individuals can attain their personal interest passably. Human beings participate in God's universal plan of activity by means of reason. Through the use of reason, individuals partially or fully discover aspects of God's universal plan of activity. These discoverable aspects of God's universal plan of activity enjoins on human reason the performance of a prescribed duty that is consistent with the personal interest of the free, equal, and rational individual. Hence natural laws emanate from God's universal plan of activity but these laws are discoverable by human reason with or without regard to faith.

The Protestant liberal view about the source of natural laws makes a distinction between aspects of natural laws discoverable by faith and those that are discoverable by reason independent of faith. While the aspects of natural

law discoverable by reason is arrived at through systematic reflections on the human experience in the created order (general revelation), aspects of natural law discoverable by faith is arrived at by means of special revelation (O'Neil & Black, 2003: 163). Since both general revelation and special revelation offer means of discovering God's universal plan of activity, it suffices to claim that both reason and faith are authentic in determining the moral mandate of human beings. In this direction, natural law presents a meeting place for discussing and reflecting upon God's universal plan of activity for all individuals regardless of religious worldview.

3.7.2 The Concept of Social Contract in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

Both classical liberalism and protestant liberalism justify the existence and legitimacy of human authority on the basis of social contract. The social contract notion creates a framework for understanding the existence of civil authority from the perspective of individual consent. The social contract idea describes civil power as a political entity created by civil individuals for the purpose of realizing their own interest (Anheier, Glasius, & Kaldor, 2005: 2). In this accord, civil individuals agreed to forfeit some of their rights in exchange for the creation of a social environment that engenders the pursuance of individual peace, property and happiness in ways consistent with individual autonomy.

While the contract demands unwavering compliance from civil individuals, the same contract requires unswerving adherence to its dictates on the part of civil authority and its subsidiary entities (Jones, 2016: 395). The civil power has the right to prevent any action or inaction that will offset the goal of the contract from being realized. It also has the unreserved authority to prevent actions or inactions that causes harm to other free, equal, and rational individuals. Individuals, on the other hand, have the right to withdraw their consent to the civil power in situations where they realize that the civil power is being exercised in ways that contravene the purpose and goal of the contract (Tester, 1992: 63).

However, ideas on the origin of the social contract of Protestant Liberalism differ from that of classical liberalism (Tester, 1992: 63). On one hand, Protestant Liberalism offers a supernatural undertone for the contract. Following the tradition of the Protestant Reformation, Protestant liberals saw the social contract as an agreement between God and civil individuals, including the ruler. In this agreement, God revealed His universal plan of activity to individuals. Individuals, in return, reasonably pursued their interest in a manner that corresponded with God's universal plan of activity for all human beings. In this regard, individuals obey the ruler because the ruler promises to create the social environment that fosters the reasonable attainment of individual goals within the confines of God's universal plan of activity. Once the ruler lays the contract obsolete by acting in ways that contravenes it, individuals have the right to renounce the leading of the ruler. Protestant liberals perceive such renounce of the rulers' existence not only as a contractual right but a divine right.

Classical liberalism, on the other hand, casted the social contract in a pure anti-supernatural terms. Though Locke's idea of the social contract may be considered as an exception, dominant themes from other versions of the social contract, suggest a natural origin of the contract. Depending on the version of the social contract, brutality in the state of nature and the quest to preserve the naturally peaceful social environment initially provided by the state of nature as well as the protection of personally acquired property compelled free, equal, and rational individuals to consent to the creation of civil power. With the existence of the civil power, civil individuals were assured of an

environment in which they could pursue their desires for peace, liberty, and property in unobstructed ways. In this regard, civil individuals obeyed the dictates of the civil power under the pretext that the civil power operated in good faith. However, civil individuals reserved the right to renounce the leadings of the ruler in situations where the ruler operated in ways contrary to the provisions of the social contract. Thus the classical liberal notion of social contract originates and finds its purpose within a natural framework but Protestant Liberalism argues for a social contract that has its source and enhancement from supernatural perspective.

3.7.3 The Concept of Individualism in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

The notion of individualism is central to both Protestant Liberalism and classical liberalism. The notion of individualism suggests that rational individuals have the capacity to determine personal means of attaining their personal desires. As such, the individual is to be left free to choose from a range of options that affect personal autonomy (Winston & Edelbach, 2012: 118). Based on its inherent principle of *freethought*, individualism renounces attempts by governments, other authorities, and other individuals to compel the free, equal, and rational human being to express his or her thoughts in a given pattern determined by other entities different from the individual. Individualism regards the human being as intrinsically valuable with unique characteristics that may vary from what society attributes to collective individuals. Accordingly, the individual is to be treated as "an end in itself rather than just a means" (Cohen & Timimi, 2008: 96).

The notion of individualism invested both Protestant and classical liberalism with the capacity to scrap off the limitation placed on the individual in the society by both the state and the church, working either in isolation or in concert. By this means, both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism contributed to extending personal autonomy to aspects of human life in the society hitherto considered to be determined by entities external to the individual. By the time the notion of individualism crystallized within the liberal tradition, individuals were allowed to determine their religious beliefs and religious affinity on their own terms.

However, differences exist between the ideal individual sought by classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. Whereas classical liberalism perceived the advanced individual as one who was in charge of all aspects of his or her own life, Protestant Liberalism identified the advanced individual as one who lives in a fraternal relationship that engulf both God and other human beings. Such fraternity is observable both in corporate worship of God and in the functioning of each individual for the comprehensive development of the society at large. In the corporate worship of God, the individual becomes a participant in a community of free, equal, and rational individuals who share same purpose of communion. This worship cannot be complete in isolation.

Again, Protestant Liberalism perceives the individual as an isolated entity that operates in an organic way. By exercising personal autonomy in a free and rational way, the individual contributes to the effective functioning of the society as each organ in the body functions independently but jointly to enhance the general welfare of the entire body. Thus a classical liberal conception of individualism is isolated individualism but Protestant liberal concept of individualism is that of social individualism. Isolated individualism suggests that the rational and free individual exists for his or her own sake but social liberalism argues that free and rational individuals exists both for their own sake and for the sake of others, including God.

3.7.4 The Concept of Pluralism in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

The notion of liberal pluralism is a commonplace term for both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. Liberal pluralism suggests that responses to reality occur from divergent views. Since the divergence describes reality from different perspectives, it follows that no one response or expression of reality can be deemed superior to the other. At best, divergent views about reality are considered complementary of each other (Hick, 1974: 148; Hick, 1977: 146). In the political, social, and religious sense, liberal pluralism presents itself as a prescriptive framework for creating a tolerating and neutralizing atmosphere where divergent and opposing worldviews about reality can co-exist. In such an environment, no one response or expression of reality can be regarded as absolute. Relatively, such worldviews are the claims of rational individuals and groups functioning freely in a civil society with equal opportunities for conceiving divergent worldviews about reality.

A difference between classical liberal notion of pluralism and the Protestant liberal notion of pluralism lies in terms of application. Classical liberalism applies the notion of pluralism as a normative way of purging society off imposing and exclusive claims of expressing or responding to reality. The premise for censuring such exclusive and imperial claims is that they will produce discordance in the society by causing civil individuals to respond or express thoughts about reality in a patterned way. Such attitudes will place unjustifiable pressure on individual autonomy. This implies that classical liberalism opposes all exclusive claims to a patterned way of responding to or expressing reality. To forestall exclusive claims to responding to or expressing reality, classical liberalism proposes to reduce all ways of responding to or expressing reality to a single phenomenon that finds expression in manifold and yet valid ways. By this means, classical liberalism is able to describe reality (religion inclusive) within a tolerating, neutralizing, and an agreeable framework.

In contrast to classical liberal notion of pluralism, Protestant liberal conceptualizes pluralism as a fact of life. This fact of life idea suggests that divergence in ways of responding to or expressing reality exists. Different people and groups may respond to or express the same event from different perspective. In such a situation, each one is entitled to the claim arrived at. At best, pluralism creates an environment in which individuals recognize and respect the divergent views others may have about the same event (Griffiths & Lewis, 1983: 78). This respect should engender dialogue between entities with divergent views (Newbiggin, 1989: 9-10). Thus divergence in worldviews, including religious orientation, does not suggest agreement on a prime facie (Camps, 1983: 30). Instead, it creates an avenue for discussing different viewpoints of reality in a respectful manner. In this direction, Protestant liberal understanding of pluralism maintains the exclusivist claim of Christianity over other religious viewpoints and manifestations. At the same time, it recognizes the existence of other religious worldviews through its dialogue with these religious expressions and responses.

3.7.5 Secularization in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

The stress on pluralism and individualism, among other related liberal concepts, in both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism contributed to the creation of societies that isolated religion from the affairs of the state (Brown & Snape, 2010: 1, 3). As the gap between religion and the state widened, religious tradition lost its absolute capacity over all aspects of human life. In place of religious tradition, a rationalistic-relativist paradigm became the standard for determining and evaluating what was relevant or irrelevant for the course of a pluralist

society. Within this paradigm, religious tradition survived as subjective opinions of an individualized response or expression of religious reality. The ongoing emphasis on the separation of the affairs of the state from religious tradition has been referred to as secularization (Wilson, 1966: 14).

Using secularization as a means, the end that is pursued by classical liberalism differs from that which is sought by Protestant Liberalism. By means of secularization, classical liberalism sought to redeem society from the absolute grips of religious tradition. It perceived religious traditions, including the Christian religious tradition, as one of the many means of responding to or expressing reality. In light of this, secular liberals consider the Christian religious tradition as limited in both its cultural and historical contexts. Claiming the Christian religious tradition as binding on a pluralist society is deemed a direct affront to the ideals of a multicultural, pluralist and multi-religious society. Where the beliefs of Christianity conflict with the political, social, and moral ideals of the state; the ideals of Christianity can be sidelined. The implication is that the state matters far more than Christian religious tradition.

In Protestant Liberalism, secularization is the means by which the Christian religious tradition adapts to the changing paradigms of thoughts, behavior, and feelings of a pluralist society. In order to meet the rationalistic-relativist paradigm of evaluation, Protestant Liberalism sheds off fundamental doctrines of the Christian religious tradition such as personal moral responsibility for sin, the existence of hell and heaven, the atonement, and the virgin birth of Christ. The basis for minimizing or utterly rejecting these key doctrines is that they cannot be understood by modern individuals in a pluralist society. Accordingly, Protestant liberals stress God's immanence to the neglect of His transcendence.

The need to be relevant to the caprices of a pluralist society is so acute that Protestant liberals often esteem Christian religious knowledge filtered through the rationalistic-relativist paradigm higher than the Christian religious knowledge contained in the Bible. This follows from the Protestant liberal perception of the Bible as containing historical and cultural records of the ways in which past generations responded to or expressed religious reality within the context of their experiences. Since these records are expressed in specific cultural and historical contexts different from the historical and cultural context of the civil individual in a pluralist society, the Bible needs to be interpreted in a manner that appears coherent, consistent, and rational to contemporary individuals.

In Protestant liberal thoughts, the relevance of the Christian church is claimed on the basis of public utility and faithful capital. As a public utility, the usefulness of the church is seen as a partner of the state in attaining the goal of establishing the state. The Christian church is regarded as important because it provides affordable means of education, health, and other public services on equitable grounds. Also, the church is seen as essential because it provides equitable moral resources for erecting and maintaining diverse relationships in the society (Shaw, 1992:17). By means of these resources, the church sustains social cohesiveness essential for the attainment of the goal of civil societies (Alston, 2002: 76). Hence the existence of the church is justifiable on grounds that it aids the state in reaching its goal. Anything short of that is regarded as subjective and inappropriate for contemporary pluralist societies.

3.6.6 Utilitarian Ethical Foundations in Classical and Protestant Liberal Thoughts

The locus of moral judgment in both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism is cast in utilitarian approach to ethics. Utilitarian approach to ethics is a means of arriving at an ethical decision in which the ethicalness of an

action or inaction is evaluated on terms dictated by non-moral products such as happiness or pleasure. It sees moral actions or inactions as a means to produce a desirable effect on the majority of people. In the conception of earlier proponents such as Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, the desirable effect must be beneficial to the greatest number of individuals in the society. Consequently, an isolated performance of one's duty is not accorded any intrinsic value. Rather, the ethicalness of performing one's duty is judged on the basis of the utility that the greatest number of individuals derives from the outcome of performing the duty. The utilitarian framework allows both classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism to assign ethicalness to specific conducts. However, there is variation on the desirable end sought by both liberal schools of thought.

On the basis of utilitarian conception of morality, classical liberalism is able to evaluate human actions as good or bad in the civil society. The standard of evaluation is the relevance of the product of one's action to the attainment of the goal of civil society. Classical liberalism claims that civil individuals established civil society for the purpose of ensuring the continuity of an environment that favors the free and equal pursuance of personal interest by rational individuals. In light of this, any action or inaction that agrees with the social contract is adjudged moral and any action or inaction that flouts the realization of the social contract is regarded as immoral (Dugin, 2012: 57).

Operating within the utilitarian framework, Protestant Liberalism is invested with the moral capacity to categorize human actions and inactions as good or bad in an individualized, pluralistic, "secular," and "dynamic" society (Kunster, 2009: 152, 153; Huber, 2012: 26). To this end, Protestant liberal ethics employs a "pragmatist-practical approach" in which "practices" are emphasized at the expense of propositional "religious and moral views" (Kunster, 2009: 150, 151). The pragmatist-practical approach evaluates the ethicalness of an action based on the notion of love as lived and espoused by Jesus Christ. Recounting the record of Jesus' life in the four Gospels, it has been indicated that Jesus is an advocate of "social justice in that he was fond of social outcasts and those marginalized by society-*lepers*, tax collectors, the sick, disables, and those *generally* hurting" (Power, Nuzzi, Narvaez, Lapsley, & Hunt, 2008: 76, words in italicized mine). Protestant liberal conception of ethics, therefore, points to the love expressions of Jesus, both in word and in deed, as the highest standard for conscientious and moral human conduct in a civilized society (Dowler, 2011: 183).

Protestant liberal notion of ethics is akin to Aristotle's practical wisdom³⁸ (Dahl, 1984: 63), Massimo Baldini's ethical liberalism³⁹ (Pegram, 2007: 67), and John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton's informed-conscience-based-ethics (Rothbard, 2002: 18). These ethical concepts founded ethics based on an ethical view of liberty, whence liberty was conceived as a context for reflection that offers the optimal resources for attaining the purpose of the civilized society (Rothbard, 2002: 18, 262). By acting in ways that esteem love above all "rules" and ideas (Porter, 2001: 211), Protestant liberals hope to create a loving community which holds "prospective care for a shared natural, social, and cultural space of living together; fairness toward the weaker as the test for the legitimacy of actions; critical evaluation of the contextual conditions of action; self-limitation with respect to the rights of future generations and to the dignity of nature; respect for the freedom of conscience for others as for oneself" (Huber,

³⁸ Practical wisdom involves "cleverness" and "virtue" that offers resources by which civilized individuals reach "right ends" (Dahl, 1984: 63).

³⁹ Ethical liberalism casts morality in a pluralistic context in which individuals with opposing ethical views are compelled to "adjust" their actions and thoughts to the pluralistic pattern of living (Pegram, 2007: 67).

2012: 25). In essence, the ethicalness of an action is judged on the basis of its conformity to the life, teaching, and examples of Jesus Christ. Thus classical liberal conception of ethics attempts to achieve the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people but Protestant liberal view of ethics seeks the action that serves the purpose of love in a civilized society.

3.8 Conclusion

An attempt has been made to outline the beginnings of classical liberalism, compare it with Protestant Liberalism, and highlights similarities and dissimilarities between classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. Couched within the context of liberty, classical liberalism follows from the chain of thought that upheld moral individualism in the face of totalitarianism, monarchism, or despotism. In its development, classical liberal thoughts were shaped by Renaissance Humanism as well as the major political and economic landmarks of western societies from the 17th century through the 19th century to the 20th century. Mercantilism, English Civil Wars (1642-1651), the Glorious Revolution (1688), the American Revolution (1775-1783), and the French Revolution (1789) are among those significant events that impacted Western societies during the span of those centuries. In the period under review, classical liberal ideas found expression in the thoughts and publications of notable individuals. Among these were Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls, and Milton Friedman.

Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu stressed on the contractarian nature of political power. They generally viewed the central concentration of power as that which was established for the purpose of safeguarding the negative, positive, and the republican liberties of free, rational and equal individuals who exchanged solitary living for societal living. Montesquieu argued that the existence of the central government was necessary but arrangements must be made in such a way that the government does not abuse its power and purpose of existence. He suggested a twin-policy that involves *separation of powers*, on one hand, and *checks and balances* on the other hand. Influenced by the suggestions of Montesquieu, Voltaire dedicated his publications and thoughts to the prevention or possible aversion of tyrannical rule either from the secular or ecclesiastical quarters. Montesquieu's influence on Rousseau was equally significant. Not only did Rousseau revived the ideal of classical liberalism in the 18th century, he also conceived of a term "general will" by which he described the general expectation that drove free, equal, and rational individuals towards the social contract.

In the 18th century, Smith applied classical liberal thoughts mainly to the economic aspects of society. Most importantly, he argued that free-market economic structures will help free, equal, and rational individuals to achieve the purpose of the *general will* or the *social contract*. Mill highlighted the scope of liberty in free societies during the 19th century. Believing that the protection of individual liberty was of prime importance, he argued that free, equal, and rational individuals should be allowed to think, behave, and feel in ways they determine without obstruction from other persons, institutions, provided they do not pose threat or harm to other persons, institutions, or groups. In the 20th century, Friedman stressed the interdependency between economic and political liberties. Noting the complexities embedded in this relationship, he argued no one could be truly free unless he/she is able to decide on both economic and political matters in a self-determined way. Consequently, Friedman called for the existence of free market structures as well as the government. He claimed that the free market structure will decide the framework in which wealth is to be distributed and the government will wield political power to ensure that

everyone plays by the rules of the game. In other words, the government was necessary to provide those things that the market could not provide for itself in a free society. Rawls' thought on liberalism is a 20th century way of making liberal thoughts achieve the purpose of a well-ordered society. He claims neutral systems of laws are needed to develop and maintain social justice in pluralistic society.

Classical liberalism manifests in three main strands. These are libertarianism, anarchism, and social liberalism. While libertarianism and anarchism corresponds with Hayek's classification of liberalism into British and French versions respectively, social liberalism diverts slightly from the traditional liberal agenda in that it seeks wide justification for the concentration of power. Generally, classical liberalism thrives on some foundational philosophies including erosion of traditional assumptions, social contract, individualism, liberal pluralism, limitations on the power of the government, a market economy, and utilitarian ethical foundations. A comparison between classical liberalism and Protestant Liberalism indicates that both were influenced liberal notions such as natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarianism. Yet, sharp divergence can be observed from these same liberal notions.

CHAPTER FOUR

TENETS OF PROTESTANT LIBERALISM

4.1 Introduction

This section of the study contains information on the core teachings of Protestant Liberalism. I will be arguing that the teachings of Protestant Liberalism has adopted a certain approach to theological discourse in its quest to adapt Christianity to the thought, behavioral, and feeling ethos of the modernist movement that emerged in the 19th century. By looking at Christianity from the perspective of Protestant Liberalism, one can see several deviations from orthodox Christian teachings. The purpose of this chapter is to determine Christian teachings that are basic to all strands within the Protestant Liberal tradition. These basic teachings are borne out of the Protestant Liberal notions of natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on ethics. The interplay of these underlining philosophies of Protestant Liberalism offers it an avenue for presenting essential elements of Christianity to individuals from one generation to another. Discussion in this chapter focuses on Protestant Liberal views on the immanence of God; anthropocentrism; focus on Jesus as an ethical example; and evolutionary view of the Bible; optimism; salvation; the church as an instrument of social progress; the kingdom of God; religious authority; continuity; modernism; and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence as influenced by key exponents of the Protestant Liberal tradition.

4.2 The Aim of Protestant Liberalism

The world from which Protestant Liberalism arose was characterized by a “lust of scientific conquest” (Campbell, 2016: 22). In this conquest, human reason appeared as the judge of all knowledge. During this period, scholars used reason generally to open up a “searching criticism” (Campbell, 2016: 22). This reason-based criticism was so extensive that no body of knowledge and faith-based convictions about human life were left untouched. In fact, this searching was so extensive that “treaties of inviolability, though hallowed by all the sanctions of age-long tradition...flung ruthlessly to the winds” (Machen, 2009: 3). This led to the wanton disregard of non-empirical propositions, misunderstood by reason. At best, such convictions were considered as audacious. In its searching intensity, some came to believe “that all (such) convictions must go” (Machen, 2009: 4, word in bracket supplied).

The development and spread of the reason-based scientific conquest negatively affected Christianity in the late 18th century (Dorrien, 2012a: 5). Depending on ancient religious sources, Christianity was challenged in an unprecedented manner. Some scholars, beginning in Germany, denied the power of scripture and rejected the effectiveness of the Christian church as well. Soon, this negative thought about Christianity permeated the whole of Europe, America, and other parts of the world. The result was that key doctrines of the Christian faith such as the person, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ were subjected to scientific study.

It was in the wake of this that Protestant Liberalism arose. “Admitting that scientific objections may arise against the particularities of the Christian religion,” adherents of Protestant Liberalism sought to “rescue” certain of the general principles of Christian religious beliefs, of which these particularities are thought to be mere temporary symbols, and these general principles they regarded as constituting “the essence of Christianity” (Machen, 2009: 5-6). Concerning the maintenance of the essence of Christianity, Warfield (1981: 591) explains that adherents of

Protestant Liberalism rejected those elements of the Christian religious tradition that were regarded as empirically indefensible and upheld those that were compatible with scientific development.

In their quest to protect Christianity, adherents of Protestant Liberalism did not reject "reason" (Wright, 2004: 83). Reason itself was used as a method of arriving at the essentials of the Christian faith. William James underscores the importance placed on human reason as a standard for objective truth. According to him, reason was considered as an inerrant human capacity for arriving at the most "verifiable" and best results" (cited in Ferm, 1976: 412). Significantly, the place of reason in this quest induced early adherents of Protestant Liberalism to generally subscribe to variants of the "historical-critical methods" (Sandlin, 2000: 41). Following the footprints of Protestant reformers, adherents of Protestant Liberalism introduced High Criticism as an approach to biblical hermeneutics. This hermeneutical approach facilitated the abandonment of those Christian religious teachings which were regarded as inexplicable to human reason.

Consequently, Protestant Liberalism came to "hold a very minimal statement of faith and emphasize experience and action over doctrine" so much so that "religious experience is the binding authority" (Accardy, 1998: 96). This birthed a form of Christianity that integrates modern thought and scientific developments as its core objective. Another consequence of this endeavor was a stress on ethics and human freedom over doctrine. Perhaps, the best description of Protestant Liberalism is that given by Niebuhr. According to him "a God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross" (1988: 193). The discussion that follows focuses on basic beliefs common to most strands within Protestant Liberalism as explicated by Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Harnack, Troeltsch, Rauschenbusch, Bultmann, Bonhoeffer, Tillich and Herrmann as well as their contemporary followers such as Borg, Fosdick, Graf, Robinson, Schweitzer, Weatherhead, Wellhausen, Sabatier, Jowett, Campbell, and Bushnell.

4.3 Basic Teachings of Protestant Liberalism

The lack of homogenous characterization of Protestant Liberalism makes it difficult to study the belief common to its variant strands. However, a general survey of the writings and teachings of some adherents of the Protestant liberal movement is likely to offer a generalized system of beliefs. These could be listed under the following categorization: the immanence of God; anthropocentrism; focus on Jesus as an ethical example; and evolutionary view of the Bible; optimism; salvation; the church as an instrument of social progress; the kingdom of God; religious authority; continuity; modernism; and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence.

4.3.1 The Immanence of God

From the Latin *in manere* (meaning, "To remain within"), immanence is the theological viewpoint that the infinite God exists and acts in the created (Shah, 2012: 12; Rhodes, 2006: 55). Several scriptures have been espoused by protestant liberals to explain God's immanence. Some of these scriptural texts are Colossians 1:17; Psalm 139:1-10; Acts 17:25, 28; Ephesians 1:11; 4:6; Hebrews 1:3. Some have even argued that in Matthew 1:23, the author uses the name "Immanuel" in Isaiah 7:14 to emphasis divine "immanence" (Phipps, 2008: 29; Kalevik, 2011: 321). According to Geisler, the theological concept of divine "immanence" offers a clear framework for understanding the omnipresence of God (Geisler, 2003: 527). In agreement with Geisler, divine immanence suggests that God materially intervenes in the history and lives of human beings in both explicable and inexplicable ways (Grenz &

Olson, 2013: 11). The doctrine of incarnation is a classic illustration of the concept of divine immanence. The general understanding is that the second person of the *trinity*⁴⁰ veiled His divinity with humanity in order to live both within and among humanity for the purpose of saving them (John 1:14, 16; Phil. 2:6; Gal. 4:4).

The concept of divine immanence has a pervasive presence in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible (Muser & Price, 2003: 306; Erikson, 1998: 330). God's existence in the created order is so real that there is no place of hiding from His all-seeing vision (Je 23: 24; Psalms 139: 7-12). In both Elihu/Job's conversation and the Psalmist's composition, the Bible makes it clear that humanity's life is constantly sustained by the benevolence of God (Job 34:14-15; Psalms 104:29-30). Christ's experience with sin is a further proof that God exists within reality (Matt. 4:1-11). Elsewhere, the Bible recommends that humanity imitates God's beneficence that is conspicuous in nature (Matt. 5:45). Also, the Bible presents God as being involved with humanity to the point that He knows our needs and provides them at His own time (Matt 6:25-30; Matt 10:29-30; Je 29:11; 1 Pet 5:8). By seeking the Lord within the created order, humanity may find evidences of His existence through their religious experiences (Acts 17:27-38; Col. 1:17). Other evidences of God's existence within the created order include *Christophanic* experiences (Acts 9:4-6, 10-16; 10: 9-16) and the personal act of the Holy Spirit in appointing specific tasks for Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:2).

An excessive stress on the concept of immanence is likely to plunge one into subscribing to forms of monism (Erikson, 1998: 330). Some of these theories include *pantheism*, *panentheism*, and *cosmotheism*. Coined by John Toland, the term *pantheism* describes the theological idea that God and the created order is equivalent to each other and that every aspect of the latter is part of the former (Dewey, 2008: 184). Similarly, *panentheism* (otherwise referred to as monistic monotheism) was introduced by Karl Christian Friedrich Krause to refer to the theological viewpoint that the transcendent God is linked to the created order in an all-inclusive manner (Diller & Kashner, 2013: 401). In essence, the created order is part of the one God yet God extends beyond the created order. *Cosmotheism*, as introduced by Lamoignon de Malesherbes, describes the view that the one God came into existence through the creation of humanity and reaches His terminus point on the evolutionary timeline through various types of genetic engineering (Assmann, 1998: 142).

Protestant Liberalism stresses the concept of divine immanence more than divine transcendence⁴¹ (Yzermans, 1954: 101). The concept of divine immanence was so strong in the theological conception of Schleiermacher to the extent that he casted the essence of Christian religion on human experience (*gefühl*). His method made the one God equivalent to the created order as humanity experiences it such that God and humanity were considered intrinsically connected. By this means, Schleiermacher thought God can be known through the scientific study of humanity's encounter with Him. Schleiermacher suggested that the universal feelings concerning God and its relevance on the created order was the locus of such study. By reflecting on the universal experience with the divine, humanity became truly conscious of God. Ritschl emphasized divine immanence in his theological

⁴⁰ From the German *dreieinigkeit*, the state of being three persons (*homeostasis*) in one existence (*homeousis*) (Peters, 1993: 106).

⁴¹ The theological viewpoint that God's existence is separate from the created order and that divine activities surpasses the absolute comprehension of humanity as it encounters reality.

conceptions about God. Perceiving theology as a rational study of humanity's value judgments about the effects of the human-divine encounters upon the created order, Ritschl argued that God is so much connected to the created order to the extent that humanity's value judgments deduce from such all-encompassing connections qualifies as the best means to comprehending God.

The theological thoughts of these earliest proponents of Protestant Liberalism established a firm foundation on which latter adherents of Protestant Liberalism espoused various ideas about divine immanence. By emphasizing divine immanence to the neglect of transcendence, Protestant Liberalism advocated the intrinsic connectedness between humanity and divinity through humanity's capacity for religious feelings and value judgments about the effects of the human-divine encounters within the context of reality.

4.3.2 Anthropocentrism

The term anthropocentrism is a derivative of two Greek words. These are ἄνθρωπος (*ánthrōpos*, meaning "human being") and κέντρον (*kéntron*, "center"). Otherwise known as *humanocentrism* or *human exceptionalism*, the term refers to the philosophical viewpoint that humanity has always occupy the central focus of the created order (Mackinnon, 2007: 331; Kortenkemp & Moore, 2001: 2). Accordingly, only human beings have intrinsic value in the universe. All nonhuman creatures have extrinsic values. Yet, the extrinsic values of nonhuman creatures are limited by their usefulness to the advancement of the self-interest of humanity (White, 1967: 1205). As such, humanity has the responsibility to manage the nonhuman aspect of reality. Adler argues that the notion of humanity's supremacy over the created order is the only authentic ground for consolidating human rights (Adler, 1993: 264). Similarly, Smith argues that the concept of anthropocentrism presents itself as the authentic framework for determining and detailing the duties of humanity (Smith, 2010: 243-244).

The notion of humanity's superior privilege over nonhuman creatures appears to be founded on two factors. First, humanity was the only creature to be created after the similitude of the imago Dei (Gen 1:26-28; Psalms 8:3-8). This relationship with the creator places humanity in a unique position in the whole of reality (Bullmore, 1998: 151). In this unique positioning, humanity has superior roles in operating the nonhuman aspect of creation for its own benefit (Schaeffer, 1970: 50). In situations where humanity failed to operate the created order as God expects, the whole created order suffered huge losses in God's quest to punish humanity (Gen 3; Gen 6). It can be inferred from such cataclysmic destruction of the created order by God at the instance of humanity's disobedience that humanity is at the center of the created order. The second basis for substantiating anthropocentric view of reality is that humanity possesses all-encompassing skills that make human species unique in the whole created order. These unique skills have afforded humanity the capacity to subject nonhuman aspects of the created order in a way that no other creature could attain. Evidently, humanity has been able to employ essential resources from nonhuman creatures for its use and sustainability as long as history could testify.

Generally, there is much emphasis on anthropocentrism in protestant liberalism. By this stress, Protestant Liberalism preoccupies itself with the art of understanding humanity and its history to the neglect of the inexplicable manifestations of God in human life. Protestant Liberalism continues to stress the autonomy and dignity of humanity to the extent that the human experience is used as a framework of determining the relevance

and the irrelevance aspects of Christian religious beliefs. In place of a *theocentric* view of Christian religious beliefs, Protestant Liberalism perceives religion as a divine response to human actions (Accardy, 1998: 103). Some versions of anthropocentrism in Protestant Liberalism regard humanity as so important that it could accomplish all things without the assistance of God.

4.3.3 Jesus Christ as an Ethical Example

Jesus Christ, also known as Jesus of Nazareth, appears in history through the event of divine incarnation (Gal 4:4; Phil 2:7) as a Jewish rabbi. He is considered by Christians as the pivot of the Christian religion (Heb 1:1, 2; John 1:1, 14; John 14:6). His life, teaching, death, and resurrection have greatly impacted Christianity in terms of how humanity is to comprehend, respond, and relate with God (I Co 15:1-5; Rev 1:17, 18; John 11:25, 26; 3:16). For this, He is variously referred to as the Messiah, the Savior, the Son of God, and the Son of man (Isa 9:6; Gal 3:16; Lu 4:17-21). Barron (2007: 134) has termed this depiction of Jesus as "maximalist claim." In Orthodox conception of Him, Christ is understood as having two distinct natures—the divine and the human (John 1:14; 1 Tim 3:16). Also, Christ is considered as being equal with the Father in all things. This equality manifests specifically in terms of substance, power, divine names, attributes, and divine activities (John 17:2; 1:3; 10:30; 14:9; Col 2:3; 1:16,17; Matt 9:6; Heb 13:8; 1:3, 8, 10). Despite fierce opposition⁴² throughout Christian history, the orthodox conception of Jesus Christ has received several endorsements in church council proceedings, creeds, and confessions.⁴³

However, the subjection of all knowledge, including those from religious beliefs, to the verification of reason that clouded the 19th century quest for authentic knowledge caused Protestant Liberalism to deemphasize those aspects of orthodox Christology that were unintelligible to modern individuals (Mack, 1993:29). Generally, Protestant Liberalism came to refer to orthodox understanding of Jesus as depictions of the historic Jesus. In line with this claim, Protestant Liberalism argued that the biblical description of Jesus Christ has been misconstrued by both Jewish messianic concepts as well as the Greek notion of *lógos* (*logos*). Accordingly, some proposed that the Jewish expression "Son of God" attributed to Jesus Christ should not be understood in the sense of deity. Rather, it should be understood in the context of a time limited description of the relationship between the Father and Christ (Kaufmann, 1988: 84). Underlining this proposition is the notion that Christ was a human being, like any other, who was adapted by the Father to model out the ideal God consciousness to the entire humanity (Dhavamony, 2004:46).

Similarly, the idea suggested by the Greek use of *lógos* in reference to the divinity and the humanity of Jesus Christ have contributed to much of the confusion that overshadows an accurate understanding of the real Jesus. Considering the varied meanings of the *lógos* in both its Greek and Latin versions (Greek usages include "to choose to tell, or enumerate" and Latin *ratio* usages including "reasoning/reckoning" or *oratio/verbum*, meaning "discourse/word") in the thoughts of early and latter philosophers such as Heraclitus, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and Philo of Alexandria, it has been argued that Christian records of Jesus as *lógos* is an amalgamation of the Greek *lógos* and the Latin *ratio* or *verbum*. This term was used originally to describe the immanence and transcendence of the gods of the Greco-Roman pantheon. It is probable that authors of some books of the Bible

⁴² Ebionites, Docetism, Donatism, Arianism.

⁴³ Nicean creed, Apostles Creed, Chalcedonian formulation, Augsburg confessions, Westminster confessions.

borrowed from this Greco-Roman notion of *lógos/verbum* in their description of Jesus in order to give contextual prominence to Jesus. Evidence of earlier interaction between Christian and Greco-Roman notions about the divine may be found in Johannine writings (John 1:1-18), Lukan composition (Acts 14:15-16; 17:24-31), and Pauline writings (Col 1:15-20; Eph 1:3-10). In light of these misconceptions, some protestant liberal thinkers claimed that there is need to remove all the cultural and historic descriptions of Jesus Christ in order to understand the real Jesus.

The quest of presenting an authentic Jesus untainted by Jewish and Greco-Roman cultural and religious biases caused proponents of Protestant Liberalism to focus on the human qualities of Jesus to the neglect or possible avoidance of orthodox Christian depictions of Jesus as deity (Mack, 1993: 29). Beginning with Schleiermacher, a new and reasonable definition was given to the terms 'divinity' and 'redemption' as they relate to Christ's mission in the world. Schleiermacher referred to the former as "*urbildlichkeit*" and the latter he referred to as "*vorbildlichkeit*" (Grenz & Olson, 1992: 49). Schleiermacher proposed that the right way to understand Christ's divinity is to consider Christ's deity as the "fullness of God" within Christ. From this perspective, Schleiermacher claimed Jesus was different from the rest of humanity only because He had the "ideal God-consciousness" in Him right from the beginning of His life (Schleiermacher, 1999: 425; Olson, 2013: 145). Stated differently, the uniqueness of Jesus Christ is the result of Christ having the fullness of God-consciousness quantitatively more than any human being had. Consequently, Schleiermacher postulated that Christ's redemptive work should be best understood as Christ's God-given and God-aided ability to transmit the ideal God-consciousness to the rest of humanity. Thus Jesus is central to Christianity because He was adapted by God to model out the ideal God-consciousness to the entire humanity.

As would be expected, Ritschl concretized Schleiermacher's view about the relevance of Christ to Christianity. Within the context of his value judgment theology, Ritschl proposed that the relevance of Jesus Christ to the Christian faith stems from the value humanity acquires from the positive effects Jesus offers through his historical conducts, religious disposition, and moral motives (Ritschl, 2006: 413). From this perspective, Ritschl claimed that Christ was divine because He accepted the God-given and God-aided task of being the "perfect embodiment of the kingdom of God among humanity" (Ritschl, 2006: 386). As a model, therefore, Christ established the blue prints for attaining the ideal kingdom of God on earth. In so doing, Christ has a dual honor—one from God and another from humanity. The latter's honor is evident by the term 'God' ascribed to him. In other words, Christ performed His task so well that His disciples referred to Him as "God" (Grenz & Olson, 1992: 57). In Christ, the need for partnership in realizing the kingdom of God on earth is impressed upon the human mind (Dhavamony, 2004:46). In agreement with his teacher, Harnack explained the divinity ascribed to Jesus on the basis that Christ modeled well the kingdom of God, which is the highest and glorious ideal known to humanity (Grenz & Olson, 1992: 57). Similarly, Rauschenbusch described the significance of Jesus Christ to the Christian faith on the basis that Christ offered humanity a new perspective of interacting with God. Rauschenbusch claimed Christ paved the way for humanity to perceive God as Father but not as a tyrannical monarch (Rauschenbusch, 1978: 174-175).

From the above, it can be inferred that Protestant Liberalism stresses a moralistic principle derived from the life of Christ. His death is explained on the basis of offering instructions rather than offering atonement. As an ideal teacher, embodying the perfect God-consciousness, Christ died to offer humanity a sort of instructional example at

the instance of strict opposition or persecution for humanity acting in pursuance of the kingdom of God. Thus, Christ is a central figure in Christianity because He is the first Christian to depict to humanity what it means to have the fullness of God-consciousness indwelling a human being. For this reason, Protestant Liberalism elevates Jesus Christ as an unsurpassed moral teacher in the whole history of moral literature.

4.3.4 An Evolutionary View of the Bible

The English word *Bible* is a translation of the Latin *biblia* as well as the Greek *biblíos* (Miller & Huber, 2003: 21). The term *Bible* generally refers to a divinely inspired compilation or a set of writings that "records" God's self-revelation, His relationship with humanity, as well as humanity's response to God's self-revelation (Riches, 2000: 7, 8). In a specific way, Davies describes the Bible as a "collection" of scrolls on the relationship between God and humanity that have been recognized and officially codified into standardized contents (Davies, 1995: 58). From the Latin *biblia sacra* (holy books) and the Greek *ta biblia ta hagia* (the holy books), the Bible has been variously referred to as Holy Scriptures, holy writ, scripture, and sacred writings.

Information contained in the Bible was originally composed in three languages, namely Hebrew, Aramaic, and *Koine* Greek. Christendom has failed to agree on the number of books that make up the Bible. For example the Bible is considered as containing 66 books, 37 books in the Old Testament and 29 books in the New Testament by Protestants, or 73 books, 46 in the Old Testament and 27 in the New Testament by Catholics, or 77 books, 50 in the Old Testament and 27 in the New Testament by the Eastern Orthodox Church. Regardless of the view of the content of the Bible, almost all Christian traditions accept same categorizations of the Bible. These are the sections on the Pentateuch (Torah), the historical books, poetry and wisdom literature, the prophetic books (sometimes subdivided into minor and Major Prophets), the gospels, and the epistles (sometimes subdivided into Pauline and Catholic epistles).

Orthodox Christianity has generally viewed the Bible as "verbum Dei," that is, God's authentic self-revelation that dictates and guides people, from generation to generation, as to particular ways in which they are to "believe and think," act, and feel (Kugel, 2007: 676). In contrast to the orthodox Christian view about the Bible, Protestant Liberalism generally sees the Bible as a means of obtaining "great religious learning and inspiration" (Underwood, 2014: 55). In this regard, they reject the comprehensive object truth ascribe to all the contents of the Bible. Hume's assertion that there is no "probability to proof the testimony of any kind of miracle" seems to have opened the door to the "rejection" of the validity of some of the claims of the Bible (cited in Bailey & O'Brien, 2012: 242). In accord with Hume's thoughts, Reimanus portrayed Christ more as a "messianic" hero than a "nationalistic" leader (cited in Murphy, 1996: 21). For Schweitzer, the authenticity of biblical information should be limited to its purpose as an objective "source of historical knowledge" concerning ongoing religious experience" (Schweitzer, 1950:399). Elucidating religion as experience, Mathews has indicated that religion concerns "experience, attitudes, and moral convictions" described in one era as "doctrines" that illuminate "verbal expressions of the religious life" identified with Christianity through the centuries (cited in Allan & Allshouse, 2005: 41). Viewed this way, then, "unmediated" experience becomes the true "source" of religion. The Bible only testifies to how such religious experiences manifested in the life of real people, in varying "amounts of variableness and differentiation" during the early years of the developing faith (Vos, 1954: 15).

Thus Protestant liberals see the Bible as foundational to "progressive revelation"⁴⁴ (cited in Kantzer, 1978: 143). In other words, the Bible testifies to a "historical series of successive divine revelations" (Meadors, 2009: 47). These divine revelations are understood as ongoing conversations between God and humanity that are increasingly cultivated in every era of Christian faith and practice. In this regard, Marshall has observed that divine revelation and the task of Christians develop from one era of Christian growth to another. He cites five examples that validate his assertion. According to him, Christians in the church age moved beyond Jewish documented views of God's dealings with humanity in terms of "personal" and parent-likeness of God, "understanding" of God, the involvement of other nationals in the commonwealth of Christians, the pivotal notion of the "afterlife," and the de-emphasis of the Torah as an authoritative legal instrument in the regulation of Christian character (Marshall, 2004: 46).

Like the early Christians, modern-day Christians are expected to extend the message of the gospel beyond portrayals of Jesus Christ as documented in the New Testament. The task of Christians today is to disentangle Christianity from the clutches of the authors of the New Testament so as to describe Jesus in ways that enhance the religious experiences of the modern-day individual. In this vein, one can see that Protestant Liberalism does not reject the function of the Bible in Christian theology. Rather, it rejects the claim that the Bible is the ultimate foundation of theology. Such claim makes the historicity of Christianity meager and forestalls God's self-revelation as an ongoing divine-human encounter. Tracy has argued that the Bible should be understood as a "literary classic" of Christianity (Tracy, 1978: 43). It is authoritative in the sense that it offers modern-day Christians a channel for authenticating present manifestations of divine-human encounters. By it, we can objectively evaluate current religious experiences as authentic or not.

In essence, three principles characterize the place of the Bible in Protestant liberal thoughts. These are the principles of "skepticism," "coherence," and "analogy" (Waltke, 2007: 74). The principle of skepticism describes the Protestant liberal perception of the Bible as being like any other Near Eastern Myth, yet containing "superior" information on humanity's potential for responding to God's self-revelation to humanity and how humanity responds to this divine self-revelation " (Waltke, 2007: 74). The principle of coherence explains the foundational idea in Protestant liberal thoughts. This idea is that God's activity permeates humanity's history by means of either "divine intervention or 'natural' means" (Waltke, 2007: 74; Owen, 1983: 71). Finally, the principle of analogy describes the Protestant liberal view that current happenings find antecedent occurrences in the past. Consequently, they examine the biblical data to identify the true records of events by riding scriptural data off the debris of time-bound cultural conceptions and myths (Waltke, 2007: 74).

4.3.5 Philosophical Optimism

From the Latin *optimum* (meaning, *best*), the English term *optimism* describes an individual's predisposition to anticipate possible advantageous or favorable state of a situation regardless of present dilapidation (Sharot, 2011: 941). In academia, the term has been classified into psychological optimism and philosophical optimism. While the former refers to a human attitude of hopefulness regarding progressively improved state of the human situation,

⁴⁴ Dodd prefers the term "successive revelation," which describes a progressive discovery of the self-revelation of God (Dodd, 1958: 277).

often expressed in dispositional models and explanatory style models (Bates, 2015: 533); the latter describes the notion that the present state of affairs is the best that there could possibly be and that the present state of the universe is "better" than other imaginative "alternatives" (Rescher, 2000: 807).⁴⁵

Originally, philosophical optimism is linked with the writings of Gottfried Leibniz during the period of Enlightenment. In his *Theodicy*, Leibniz attempted a profound answer to the philosophical question as to the origin of evil in the creation of a good God. Leibniz's rationalistic answer is found in the words "the best of all possible worlds" (cited in Masłoń, 2007: 45). Leibniz founded his reasoning on two premises, namely God created the best possible worlds, and the evil and evil exists in the best possible worlds. With regard to the first premise, Leibniz indicates a rational choice that determined God's choice at the time of creation. According to him, God's reasoning induced Him to create the world in the most favorable form such that the created world will be a place of positive balance between order and complexities. With potentiality for complexities, it follows that the created universe will have evil existing in it also- Leibniz's "second premise" (Rodriguez-Pereyra, 2014: 113). He identified three types of evils. These were "metaphysical, physical, and moral evils" (cf. Rodriguez-Pereyra, 2014: 113). Metaphysical evil refers to imperfections associated with events and human actions. Physical evil describes suffering caused by both natural and artificial factors. Moral evil refers to injuries perpetrated by free and rational agents against other human beings and other living creatures. The baseline of Leibniz's solution to the problem of evil in the world is that God, the original cause of all things, rationally created the universe with the least amount of evil as possibly as it could be. Altogether, Leibniz asserts that the presence of evil is necessary for good to be attained and appreciated.

Leibniz thought that the task of humanity was to progressively improve upon the resources they have in the best possible world. To this end, he hoped science will be able to confirm the general purpose of God in creating the universe the way He did, thereby regenerating confidence in God. This task required a sort of forward-looking view of the scientific enterprise. The scientific endeavor must always be taken under the pretext that that through diligent efforts, the "unknown can be made known" in a readily understandable way (Guite, 2012: 59). He was convinced that "we sometimes retrace our footsteps in order to leap forward with greater vigor" (cited in Bobro, 2014: 60). Pierce's statement that without relenting, "the processes of investigation" will generate certainty in relevant areas to which we seek answers about the universe is a further endorsement of Leibniz's view (cited in Hookway, 2012: 58). Modern scholars have referred to such scientific objective as *meliorism*⁴⁶ or *agathism*.⁴⁷ From Leibniz's perspective, the only way science, as a discipline, can be able to attain this lofty objective was to meet some conditions. Leibniz argues that science must seek to improve the findings of other scientific endeavors; it must have a mutual relationship with other bodies of knowledge, particularly theology and philosophy; and then it must be undertaken in an atmosphere that is favorable to generalized moral "convictions" (Bobro, 2014: 61, 70).

Leibniz's philosophical optimism found its fiercest critic in Voltaire. In his most famous satiric novel, *Candide*, Voltaire scoffed Leibniz's optimistic views in no uncertain terms. The interaction between *Pangloss*, *Martin*, and

⁴⁵ This view describes the philosophical *optimalist* position of Nicholas Rescher (Rescher, 2000).

⁴⁶ *Meliorism* is the philosophical understanding that the created world gets "better gradually and incrementally" by means of carefully arranged "human efforts" that find expression in diverse "efforts to improve the world" (Payton & Moody, 2008: 125, 128).

⁴⁷ *Agathism* is the philosophical viewpoint that describes the good life as a life that ultimately pursues the "realization of good" (Rapheal, 2001: 201).

Candide, reveals that the observable universe was far from anything that could be described as well-ordered or organized (Shlapentokh & Beasley, 2013: 41). As the plot of *Candide* unfolds, Voltaire succeeds in impressing upon his audience that the existence of evil in this world debunks Leibnitz's notion of the "best possible world" (Overman, 2001:22). Therefore, Voltaire concludes that humanity should only trust reason that does not speculate beyond what is encountered in reality (Mason, 1992: 36). For such metaphysical reality cannot be substantiated by reason since "the book of fate is closed to our gaze" (Mason, 1992: 36). However, a critical review of Leibnitz's notion of "the best possible worlds" depicts Voltaire was guilty of the fallacy of red herring (Overman, 2001:22).

Many years after Voltaire's destructive satire, Leibnitz's philosophical optimism found support within theology. Augustine reveals aspects of philosophical "optimism" in his quest to explain the existence of evil against the dualistic philosophy of "Manicheanism" (Topping, 2010: 78, 108). Similarly, Pearson's view that humanity is pivotal to the progress of the universe and that humanity should never be "forgetful of their true nature and unaware of their full possibilities" (Pearson, 1970: 129) could as well be said to flow from philosophical optimism. Such a view of life characterized the new urge with which people perceived their problems in the 19th century. The scientific system of knowledge became a means by which individuals resolved their physical problems. This advancement convinced them that by means of similar methods, they could resolve problems of social, political, and religious nature. Consequently, confidence in the human capacity to improve upon its situation was hyped. Incorporating such optimism into the Christian religion, Protestant liberals came to believe that reason held the key to unlocking all of humanity's problems. Hence "reason" became a lens through which they revised the Christian faith (Dorrein, 2003: 253). With this revised Christian religious beliefs, Protestant liberals created an instrument with which they hoped to revolutionize the society. They espoused biblical passages such as 1 Corinthians 2:9; Revelation 21:4; Romans 8:28; Psalm 43:5 to mean that God's fulfilling purposes are yet to be realized.

Protestant liberals embarked on the "education" of humanity believing that it could serve as a catalyst towards changing the human condition (Barnes, 2015: 123). This view was expressed in the preaching and writings of Rauschenbusch. He believed God had endowed the Christian church with the "principles of the kingdom of God" to transform society (Rauschenbusch, 2011: 64). He believed Christians could use "Christian religious experience" (Dorrein, 2003: 253) to improve the human condition. His was a clarion call to the adherents of Christianity to work at improving the condition of humanity. It was only through such means that the world would reach its state of "progressive improvement in general well-being," and that "civilization would rise to ever higher levels of culture" (Mises, 2002: 157). By imbibing philosophical optimism, Protestant Liberalism apply the Christian faith to life in the real world uplifting humanity to an ongoing experience of the divine that holds optimal potential for an increasingly improved human condition.

4.3.6 Salvation

Salvation is a major concept in Christian theology that ties in all the other doctrines of the Christian faith and practice (Rahner, 1966: 77). From the Hebrew *יְשׁוּעָה* - *yeshua*, meaning "salvation" (Cahn, 2016: 18) and Greek *σωτηρία*- *soteria*, meaning "salvation" (Phillips, 2014: 63), the English term *salvation* theologically describes a divinely initiated means of moving humanity from "sin" and its consequences into a life of meaningful "fellowship with God" (Olson, 2005: 26). In this sense, the term salvation has been variously expressed in Christian Theology. Some of these synonymous terms are justification, adoption, redemption, sanctification, glorification

"regeneration," "conversion," and "reconciliation" (Meyer, 1997: 41). Underlining the meaning of each of these synonymous terms is the notion that salvation is always concerned with the divine act of liberating humanity "from some state that needs healing (primordially sin...)" into "some new, healed state of release promising a new way of authentic freedom" (Tracy, 1987: 130; Richards, 1985:540) through the "role of Christ as savior," generally perceived (Jantzen, 1984: 581).

In this sense, the term salvation may be narrowly (or "present") or broadly (or "future") used (Jantzen, 1984: 581). In its narrower application, the term implies divine offer of escape from the wrath of God depicted as "eternal punishment" on rebellion (Hoekema, 1994: 265; Woo, 2011: 28). Used broadly, the term encapsulate the Christian religious objective- humanity's sole means of responding to divine acts of liberation that provides meaning to all human activities such as politics, philanthropy, education, science, and industry (Fairbairn, 2017: 203). Clifford and Anatolios (2005) have suggested that the concept of salvation can be best understood in three models, namely the "prophetic" paradigm in which the divine act of redemption is achieved "through human instruments;" the "liturgical" paradigm in which sacrifices became the means of attaining salvation; and the "sapiential" paradigm, where wisdom or divine illumination becomes the means of liberating subjects from sin considered as "willful ignorance" (Clifford & Anatolios, 2005: 739).

Orthodox Christianity's view on salvation has always focused on believe or faith in the death of Christ. Beneath this idea is the assertion that Christ's death on the cross accomplished for the human race a much needed reconciliation with the divine, concerning which humanity could never have been able to attain. Christ died as the substitute for sinning humanity. The character of His death meets the salvific needs of sinning humanity (Colijn, 2010: 247). Hence, Christ's death provides liberation from sin and its consequences in both the present and the future contexts through a faith in the "life, death and resurrection" as attested in History (Bretherton, 2010: 73). In other words, salvation is a "reality in Jesus Christ" (Lin, 2002:264). The orthodox Christian view of salvation affirms the significance of the death of Christ as manifested in traditional Christian theological concepts such as reconciliation, expiation, substitutionary atonement, forensic justification, and adoption (Mark 10:45; Matthew 20:28; 2 Corinthians 5:11-21).

Salvation in Protestant liberal conception moves away from the formalized orthodox conception of salvation as an idealistic set of directives by which the anger of God is appeased or by which reconciliation with God is attained through the expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus. Instead, salvation assumes some concreteness revealed in an ongoing God-human encounter that produces a naturally joyful way of life consistent with cooperation with the Holy Spirit and "true fellowship with God" and the entire human family (Booth, 2015: 145). It uniquely moves humanity from a life of egocentrism into a Christ-like lifestyle that places high worth on God's purposes for the human race as well as the general well-being of all people. Protestant Liberalism stresses that God's purpose for the human race is to awaken the consciousness of humanity to ascertain its real value and potential as endowed by Him (Wagner, 2016: 117). It describes a progressive process of subordinating the human mind in all spheres of endeavors to the method of Christ. Salvation denotes a sort of mind regeneration towards the optimum goodness in human nature (Nye, 1960: 223).

In this mind renewal, faith is indispensable. Here, faith is humanity's ability to imitate Christ's moral lifestyle in daily activities of life. It fills the life of the believer with dedication to duty such that he or she enhances the life of

other individuals (Wagner, 2016: 117). It is that innate feeling, borne from humanity's God-consciousness that offers it assurance that it abides in God and participates in God's everlasting objectives, even in the present life (Nellas, 1987: 95). For the Protestant liberal, this faith moves human life from all obstacles that forestall humanity's efforts in attaining the God-envisaged good life into a life of warmth and of joyful living that is situated in humanity's experience of the living Christ. Thus salvation is the process by which humanity moves from a life of insecurity to buoyancy and from despair to optimism through humanity's imitation of the moral lifestyle of Christ.

4.3.7 The Church as an Instrument of Social Progress

From the Greek *ἐκκλησία* (*ecclesia*, meaning "assembly"), the English term "church" is generally used to describe the entire adherents of the Christian faith throughout history. While there are variations as to how the term applies, there appears to be a general agreement on the four classical marks of the Church- "unity, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity" (Nessan, 2010: 52). Also, there appears to be a general consensus that the Church is "both visible and invisible" (Matthews, 2007: 225). This implies that the Christian church has always been a conglomeration of worldwide Christian believers involving both the living believers and dead believers as well as those alive who seek to "visibly live the life of Jesus within their societies and neighborhoods" (Snyder & Scandrett, 2011: 7, 94). Quoting Barth, Stout (2010) notes that the mysterious invisible church manifests in the visible church in the form of the "earthly-historical form" of the existence of Christ himself (Stout, 2010: 91).

Orthodox Christianity has traditionally focused on preaching and discipline as the main function of the Christian Church. For example, Qualben's fivefold determination of the function of the church had nothing to do with social life (Qualben, 2008: 63). The general idea was that the Christian lifestyle was ordered within the context determined by Christ himself "according to the extreme standards of his struggle against the sin of the world" (Jennings, 2010: 85). The closest connection between such view of the role of the church led to the tendency of viewing reality from the lens of personal Christian "appropriation" (Kraus, 2004: 235; Yarnell, 2007: 193). The ascetic lifestyle that was borne out of this isolated version of the role of the church is substantiated in history (Bingham, 2006: 239; Gerhart & Udoh, 2007: 451). John Chrysostom bemoaned such Christian disengagement with societal affairs in his statement "do not let us be content with seeking our own salvation: that will merely mean losing it" (cited in Dwight, 2015: 307). Instead of contributing to social order, the church was engrossed in itself (Rauschenbusch, 2003: 185).

Protestant liberals claim the ascetic lifestyle and its personal appropriative view of Christianity have contributed to the disengagement of the church in the social affairs of the world (Percy & Markham, 2006: 38). It argues that the Christian church has recoiled from performing its pivotal role in the transformation of society mainly because of the orthodox Christian view of the function of the Church (Gatta, 2004: 95). Since the church exists and practices its beliefs in the social order, it follows that the social order will have positive or negative effect on the attitudes of the adherents of the Christian religion. A church that operates within a community wherein individuals are trained to fashion their lives on plausible virtues will certainly find the relevant environment to practice its faith in ways that develop both personal and corporate spirituality. The opposite is equally true. This implies that neither the Christian church nor individual believers must be indifferent concerning the affairs of the social order. Such dichotomy between the church and the community will eventually harm the church at the end.

Accordingly, Protestant liberal conception of the church is that it becomes a divine instrument for resolving the problems of humanity and for moving it towards the divinely ordained purpose (Matthew 10:8; Luke 4:18; Romans 12:15-16). To this end, Protestant Liberalism situates the task of the church in the present condition of the world, deeming the "present" problems of the world as the church's task (O'Donovan, 2009:12). The purpose of such reconstruction is to create a community of believers who have the traits of "distributive virtues" contained in the "ongoing story of the risen Jesus whose core plot is narrated in the scripture, but whose story includes the contemporary, the historic and the eschatological church" (Percy & Markham, 2006: 18). Underpinning this notion is the people-centered orientation (Thakur, 1996:43). By this orientation, Protestant Liberalism perceives the church as a divine institution for discipling believers to imitate Christ's attitude of caring for the poor, the destitute, and the marginalized. It causes Christians to love the world and to engage in godly and moral practices that enhances and builds on diversity. Taylor has observed that "Christianity is not a theory, or a speculation; but a life - not a philosophy of life, but a life and a living process" (cited in Dorrien, 2001: 298). In this process, the Church plays a significant role in making society the best that God wants it to be.

In light of this orientation, Protestant Liberalism uses the church as an instrument for social justice. Ensuring social justice implies the church becomes directly involve with the struggle to eliminate all obstacles and hindrances that obstructs individuals and society as whole from reaching its God-endowed state of tranquility and happiness. In describing the task of the church in such endeavor, some have coined the term "action-oriented-spirituality" (Profitt, 2010: 129). This term describes a framework of viewing the task of the Christian church in contemporary society. In this framework, spirituality, political and social actions are intertwined, so much so, that the church's duty in creating a "better world through resisting oppression becomes non-negotiable" (Profitt, 2010: 129). Armed with the "Social Gospel," Rauschenbusch believed the church has what it takes to improve upon the plight of the society. By spreading the high moral virtues of the Christianity enshrined in the social gospel, the church can complete its God-given task as instrument for collapsing all the evil institutions that create and sustain social injustice in all of its forms.

4.3.8 The Kingdom of God

The English phrase "kingdom of God," and its variant "kingdom of Heaven" are derived from the two Greek phrases *βασίλεια τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Basileia tou Theou*, meaning "Kingdom of God") and *Βασιλεία τῶν Ουρανῶν* (*Basileia tōn Ouranōn*, meaning "Kingdom of Heaven") respectively (Grenz, 2000: 473). The Latin derivatives of the two phrases are *Regnum Dei* (Kingdom of God) and *Regnum caelorum* (Kingdom of heaven) respectively (Collins, 1985: 176). Scholars generally hold that the phrases "Kingdom of God" and "Kingdom of heaven" are used interchangeably in the Synoptic Gospels- Matthew 5:3; 12:28; 19:24; 21:31; 21:43; Mark 1:15; 10:15; 15:43; Luke 17:20; 6:20; John 3:3, 5 (France, 2007: 101-102; Grenz, 2000:473; Turner, 2008: 41). Turner (2008) has suggested that the use of the latter phrase in the Gospel of Matthew could be the result of the author's restriction to use the name of God pervasively (Turner, 2008: 41). While notions of God's kingly reign over humanity and the rest of the universe has Old Testament antecedents (Mills, McKnight, & Bullard, 2001: 490; Ryken, Wilhoit, & Longman III, 1998: 478-479; Erickson, 2001: 391-392), the theological exposition of the phrase is mainly borne out of the Synoptic Gospels (France, 2007: 101, 103; Grenz, 2001: Pannenberg, 2004: 390-391).

Theologically, the notion of the kingdom of God depicts the relationship between God and humanity in which God is considered the upright Judge to whom all humanity must account to both in the here-and-now and the here-and-the-hereafter (Erickson, 2001: 392; McClymond, 2004: 78-79; Evans, 1998: 256). Historically, the idea of the kingdom of God has been variously typified (France, 2003: 2-3). Some have considered Jesus Christ as the embodiment of the kingdom of God (McGuckin, 2010: 439). Others see the kingdom of God as a reference to the faithful lifestyle that is produced out of a life lived in consonance with Christian teachings (Hahn & Scott, 2007: 26). Another view is that the kingdom of God manifests physically in the life of the Church, being composed of faithful Christians (Rahner, 2004: 1354). Presently, disagreements about exact timeliness of the kingdom of God concerns theories such as consistent eschatology, realized eschatology, and inaugurated eschatology. Consistent eschatology, advanced by Albert Schweitzer (Schwarz, 2000: 11), is the view that the kingdom of God is either a "final in-breaking of God's reign" or the "new order of the age to come" (Ladd, 2002: 124). Realized eschatology, coined by C. H. Dodd, sees the kingdom of God as God's sovereignty over the whole universe embodied "in the person and ministry of Christ" (Edwards, 2012: 22, 244). Inaugurated eschatology views the kingdom of God as a "future" reality that was launched during the earthly ministry of Christ (Macaskill, 2007: 24-25).

The Protestant liberal notion of the kingdom of God finds expression within the theory of inaugurated eschatology. Popularized by Gerhardus Vos, the kingdom of God was considered as future reality with real present footprints. Vos typified this idea in his famous expression "already and not yet" (cited in Lybaek, 2002: 177). The influences of Schleiermacher and Ritschl (and his students) set out a tradition that perceived the kingdom of God as a morally improved human actions and relationship with God and each other in a progressively perfect Christian community (Richardson & Bowden, 1983: 317). Walter Rauschenbusch's notion of the "Social Gospel" was underlined by such view of the kingdom of God (Zeidan, 2003: 33). The Social Gospel idea describes the Protestant liberal drive towards the regeneration and renewal of "society and its institutions...on the basis of Christian moral values in a process viewed as leading to the founding of God's kingdom on earth" (Zeidan, 2003: 33).

Protestant liberals believe Jesus Christ taught the reality of the kingdom of God in three principles (Sawyer, 2006: 408). These are universal Fatherhood of God, the universal Brotherhood of humanity, and the infinite value of the individual human soul. The principle of the Fatherhood of God, "as deepened and enriched by Jesus Christ" in his moral expositions, depicts God as being in a *paternal* relationship with all humanity (Ladd, 1993: 84). The principle of the brotherhood of humanity is the view that God's kingdom is about a worldwide improved social order in which all humanity coexists in a harmonious environment untainted by discrimination in all its forms (Dickson, 2015: 78). The principle of the infinite value of the human soul suggests that the image of God in every individual places priceless value on the individual in ways that are not determined by the agent. The "infinite value" is gained only in relationship with God (McDonald, 2004: 125; Torrance & Zachhuber, 2016: 17). The teachings on the kingdom of God inspires Protestant liberals to work for the advancement of tranquility in all human relations as well as the happiness of all people by pursuing social justice in the here-and-now while anticipating the full realization of God's perfect order in the here-and-hereafter.

3.4.9 Religious Authority

The English term authority, as derived from the Latin *auctoritas*, meaning "authority," generally refers to an agent's capacity to affect the way others think, act, and feel. In Christian Theology, authority refers to the religious capacity of enforcing a predetermined standard on adherents regarding how they are to behave, think, and feel. Linked with many passages in the New Testament, in particular, religious authority finds meaning in some Greek terms such as *ἐξουσία* (*exousia*, meaning "ability or privilege"), *δυνάστης* (*dunastes*, meaning "show of power" or "of great authority"), and *ἐπιταγή* (*epitage*, meaning "an injunction, authority, command") (Thayer, 1985: 225; Vine & Kulakowski, 2015: 91). Historically, orthodox Christianity has distinguished between three main sources of religious authority. These are scripture, prophets, and traditions. Among these three, the Bible, generally, is seen as authoritative in determining a standard to which everything else in Christianity including human actions, feelings, and thoughts, are to conform (Mathison, 2001: 15). The authenticity of the Bible is expressed on the premises that God began searching for lost humanity. In this God-initiated search, it follows that humanity only responds to the call of God. Humanity cannot know God, let alone determine any element in the God-human encounter unless it has been found by God. Thus God' self-revelation to humanity, deposited in the Bible determines the course of the God-human encounter. The Christian doctrine of incarnation depicts the basis of the Bible as the ultimate source in Christian religion (John 1:14).

During the Reformation, the notion that scripture is the highest standard of Christian religious authority was expressed in the Reformation slogan *Sola Scriptura*, meaning "by scripture alone" (Mathison, 2001: 13). *Sola scriptura* justifies the Bible as the only authoritative Christian element that binds the believer in all aspects of life, doctrine, and worship (Greidanus, 2001: 40; Williams, 1999: 230). While scripture provides a reliable source for forming and shaping other means of communicating truth in Christianity, the principle of *sola scriptura* argues against the practice of subjecting the Bible to other sources of authority. Generally, Protestant Reformers claimed that the Bible is "self-authenticating" in that being composed of God Himself, it is primer facially self-evident. It needs no authentication from any other source again. All other means of communicating truth in the Christian religion are inferior to the Bible (Boa & Bowman, 2005: 289). Carson has noted that "scripture has objective authority in and of itself, as it is the inspired word of God" (Carson, 2016: 1008). The source of the authority of scripture lies within the work of the Holy Spirit (Boa & Bowman, 2005: 289).

The emphasis on religious experience, in its unmediated form, implies that Protestant Liberalism does not see the Bible as ultimate source of religious authority in Christian religion (Ogden, 1976: 403). As noted earlier, Protestant Liberalism perceives God's self-revelation as a progressive God-human encounter in which each individual ought to use his or her reason to determine the meaning of this God-human experience (Meadors, 2009: 47). In this view, the Bible assumes a sort of subjective authority over the historicity of the God-human encounter as evidenced in the life of believers (Turner & Saleminck, 2015: 9). In this regard, the Bible serves as a norm for authenticating the various ways by which the God-human "experience" manifests in history (Murphy, 1996: 25). But beyond this, the Bible is limited. This is because the cultural framework within which it describes the ongoing God-human encounter is very much different from the cultural orientation of the present-day Christian. For this reason, the Bible lacks the authority over the current modes of expressing present-day experience of the progressive God-consciousness (Reardon, 1968: 115). The ongoing God-human experience is comprehensive in scope than the

scope covered by the Bible. Its complexity produces convictions that needs find fresh expressions in every age. Hence the application of sola scriptura as the ultimate norm of the Christian religion places limits on the God-human experience. In effect, religious authority for Protestant liberals is best conceived as "autonomous" (Raico, 2010: 81). The autonomy idea implies that each individual arrives at his or her own understanding of personal experiences of the ongoing God-human. Spirituality, then, is not conceived as dedication to a set of doctrines or strict conformation to historical documentation of earlier manifestations of the ongoing conversation between God and humanity. Rather, "spirituality" becomes the result of personally determined efforts to live in the present personal convictions one has gained from being God-conscious (Bacik, 1990: 37).

4.3.10 The Philosophical Principle of Continuity

The principle of continuity is a philosophical idea that flows from Leibnitz's philosophical thoughts (Jorgensen, 2009: 223). However, scholars trace the onset of the theory to William Grove's publication *The Correlation of the Physical Forces* in 1846 (Lawrence & McCartney, 2015: 244; Thompson, 1998: 153). Describing his methodology as "a general order" or the "law of continuity," Leibnitz observed that "when the difference between two instances in a given series or that which is presupposed can be diminished until it becomes smaller than any given quantity whatever, the corresponding difference in what is sought or in their results must of necessity also be diminished or become less than any given quantity whatever" (Jorgensen, 2009: 224). Stated differently, where there is a constant change from one episode of a situation to another, there will not be any change in the ethos of the situation. In applying the principle to the world, Bronowski described the world as so much intertwined that all "events in the universe" cannot be isolated from each other (cited in Junker, 1981: 286).

In the Christian religion, the principle of continuity is foundational to the assumption that there is no qualitative change in God's self-revelation. This view implies that God's self-revelation have been consistent from the time of the Israelites throughout the Early Christian era to the present time. In this regard, proponents argue against the nomenclature *Old Testament* and *New Testament* used in reference to the early records of God's self-revelation to the Jews, first, and later to the Greeks. Instead, they prefer the terms *Hebrew Bible* and *Greek Bible*. This is because the *Old Testament* is not worn out as to be literally replaced with the *New Testament*. This line of thinking follows from an argument that Christianity is a continuation of the Judaists' record of God's self-revelation. From its beginning to the end, the Bible narrates the reality of the divine-human encounter in the form of covenants. Though the style of covenant varies from person to person and from generation to generation, the "*contas firmus*" is unchanging (Hastings, Mason, & Pyper, 200: 164). Common themes that run through all the various forms of covenant include "unitive grace and sanctification; the relation of divine and human freedom; the goodness and sacramentality of creation; the reality of moral evil" (Hastings, Mason, & Pyper, 200: 164).

In essence, Protestant liberals generally subscribe to the notion that the universal nature of religious experiences manifests in different forms and all these forms attests to the same reality. They base their assertion on the statement of Jesus that he didn't come to destroy existing revelation, instead, he came to "fulfill" them (Matthew 5:17). As such Protestant Liberalism connects varying religious experiences from its rich heritage of apostolic tradition, "enlightenment" progressivism, and "evangelical background" (Dorrien, 2003: 548). It unifies devotion to truth, deference of science, its typical agnosticism about metaphysical reason, the continuity between reason and

revelation, and its spirit of tolerance and gentility in Protestant Reformation" with "its emphasis on authority of Christian experience, the centrality of Jesus Christ...the historic faith of Christianity, and the missionary commitment to personal and social salvation" (Dorrien, 2003: 548). However, not all Protestant liberals subscribe to the principle of continuity (Strenski, 2003: 180). Those who reject the principle of continuity do so on the basis that "cultural and ideological gap" exists between those conditions from which early expressions of the divine-human encounter was made and the present reality (Williams, 1999: 29). Accordingly, they emphasize discontinuity with the past. This is because the past is full of "is mythical, anti-rational, superstitious, anti-science, unethical, oppressive, cruel, backward, and goes against the dignity" (Hanafi, 2005: 388).

4.3.11 Theological Modernism

Changes in Western societies mainly in the form of industrial revolution, the expansion of cities, and the dire effect of the society after World War I induced new ways of thinking about reality. The term modernism is used to describe the pattern of thoughts that resulted from these changes from the later part of the 19th century. Modernism in fact stressed objective reason and the importance of empirical knowledge. In contrast to the depiction of reality from the perspective of either the ideologists or the realists, modernism stressed the role of progressive human self-consciousness as the new way of thinking that was compatible with ongoing economic, social, and political innovations in the society (Lewis, 2000: 38-39). According to Steiner (1998: 489-490), modernism was "a strategy of conservation" that improved upon antiquary presentation of reality by means of "reprise, incorporation, rewriting, recapitulation, revision, and parody" (Childs, 2000: 17). Eco (1990: 95) observed that the new way of thinking and expressing reality from the human self-consciousness was so pervasive in the society such that it cannot be limited to the "mass media."

As a philosophical movement, a combination of the ideals of Modernism and Romanticism provided humanity with a tool of re-evaluating its environment, with regard to the social, economic, political, cultural, and religious, with the view of substituting non-progressive ideas with innovative human prowess that foster rapid growth through the instrumentation of "variety of visions and ideas" that provide humanity with the "power to change the world that is changing them, to make their way through the maelstrom and make it their own" (Berman, 1998: 8). Some scholars believe that modernism presents a new cultural expression of reality in the form of "avant-garde" and its related poetical styles- dadaism, "futurism," "imagism," "vorticism," "poeticism," "cubism," "surrealism," as well as the style of the authors of the "Bloomsbury Group" and the Lost Generation authors (Bebbington, 1990: 36, 191; Hanna, 2009: 71-72; Sandywell, 2016: 424). For example, James Joyce's *Ulysses* uses modernist impressionistic and symbolic ideas to describe God as "human all-too-human" whose sole preoccupation is seeking the "peace" of humanity (Faulkner, 1990: 60).

In the 19th century, the application of modernism in Christianity birthed a new way of conceiving Christian religious beliefs and practices. Often expressed as theological modernism, the new way became a definitive means by which Protestant Liberalism expressed the essence of Christianity in a world that was progressing (Dorrien, 2002: 202). It represents the theological view of adapting Christianity to ongoing "change" in the society and the embracing of the "new" "ideal and imago of life" enshrined in the belief that humanity can "remake" itself and reshape all aspects of its environment, including the religious. In humanity's "effort to achieve its "goals"

represented in individualized desires and experiences of reality (Bell, 1987: 123). Surely the preoccupation, as described, adapts Christianity to new ideals at the "expense of tradition" (Bell, 1987: 123). In this quest, Kuyper has observed that Protestant Liberalism stresses the importance of the here-and-now over the here-and-after view of Christianity that has been so characteristic of Christian orthodoxy (cited in Modendijk, 2011: 403).

Upon the influence of modernism, Protestant liberals sought to incorporate Christian religious ideas and practices into the prevailing culture in order to preserve the essential elements of the Christian faith (Cadegan, 2002: 100). Daniel Day described theological modernism as a notion that "a prophetic-progressive philosophy of history culminates in the expectation of the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth" (cited in Dorrien, 2002: 202). Accordingly, theological modernism continues to reconstruct Christian religious beliefs and practices such that it can fit into prevailing culture. Representing this quest in the activities of the Oxford Group, before the 1960s, and the charismatic renewal in 1959, Bebbington has characterized Christianity from the modernist view as emphasizing "self-expression," "depth psychology," "personal relations," "holy worldliness," "nebulous tone in thinking," "anti-institutional thrust," and "authoritarian strand" (Bebbington, 1990: 3, 4).

4.3.12 Reduction of Christianity to its Unchanging Essence

Reductionism is the notion that matter can be explained by means of "logical" "linguistic" "construction" that is meaningful to "immediate" human "experience" (Quale, 2009: 60-61). Reductionism derives understanding of reality by relating the phenomenon with known forms that are much "simpler" or "basic" to human experience (Doniger, 1999: 911; Mittelstrass, 2014: 49). In other words, an identified aspect of reality can be understood when it is considered that a basic aspect of reality, that is known, is a manifestation of the unknown reality. Once the laws of the basic known reality apply to the unknown, it follows that the laws of the unknown reality can be deduced. Scholars have identified several strands in the concept of reductionism (Ruse, 2005: 793). These are ontological reductionism, methodological reductionism, theory reductionism, and physical reductionism. Ontological reductionism indicates that reality is composed of parts (Esfeld, 2013: 90). Methodological reductionism describes the quest of explaining complex phenomenon through their smaller units (Tite, 2001: 271). Theory reductionism views new ideas as breaking existing theories into understandable basic units but they neither supplant nor soak-up existing theories (Ney, 2015). Physical reductionism is the notion that all realities exist in a material state (Cho & Squier, 2008: 412). Physical reductionism underlines all these strands. In essence, any aspect of reality that is irreducible to basic material parts does not exist (Brown, 2013: 1).

In the 19th century, Christianity faced the threat of possible elimination. This resulted from the application of reductionist ideas to Christian faith in attempt to understand the religion. Since, core elements of the Christian faith, such as God, cannot be reduced to any basic form; the tendency of some scholars was to ignore Christianity as any significant expression of religious beliefs (Brown, 2013: 2; Henderson, 1979: 25). Freud, for example, indicated that religion was a symptom of maladaptive behavior (cited in Altmaier & Hansen, 2012: 599). Similarly, Karl Max described religion as "the sign of the oppressed" that only offered delusion at its best (cited in Hinde, 2009: 87). In another instance, Durkheim referred to religion as the "worship of society" (cited in Godlove, 1989: 184).

In an attempt to preserve the core beliefs of Christianity, several notable philosophers sought new means of describing the Christian religion. Building on earlier attempts of Kant, Schleiermacher indicated that Christianity was an awakening of the universal feelings of God-consciousness that is obtained individually from one's experience of the God-human relationship (Schleiermacher, 1969: 76). Such description of Christianity meant that its existence cannot be subjected to empirical study. In a similar manner, Ritschl portrayed Christianity as a quest to imitate the moral example of Jesus Christ (Grenz & Olson, 1992: 59). Following the Ritschlian tradition, latter exponents of Protestant Liberalism engaged in similar descriptions of Christianity. Harnack, Troeltsch, and Herrmann, for example, espoused Christianity with a significant focus on the earthly realization of the "kingdom of God" (Reimer, 2004: 149). Later, Rauschenbusch emphasized the notion of the kingdom of God in his *Social Gospel* idea (Rauschenbusch, 1978: 142). Thus the quest to preserve the essentials of Christianity in the face of threat of becoming insignificant in a world dominated by empiricism and rationalism, the Christian religion was variously reduced to individualized feelings of God-consciousness, imitation of the ethical example of Jesus Christ, the advancement of the kingdom of God in the here-and-now, and the liberating effects of the Gospel-Social Gospel.

4.4 Conclusion

Major social, economic, and political changes in the late 18th century caused a major shift in the intellectual world. A marked characteristic was the shift from reason to a way of perceiving that placed optimism and capabilities in human beings at its core. Accordingly, human beings were stressed as the center of all things. This implied that all phenomena that could not be related to the human experience faced the threat of being regarded as insignificant. This meant that Christianity, with its transcendental focus and deep roots in church traditions, had to be reconstructed in order to continue to appeal to the understanding of the modern individual. In attempt to do this, early exponents of Protestant Liberalism sought new ways of making the elements of the Christian religion meaningful. They saw that the best way to accomplish this task was to reconcile Christian beliefs with the popular way of perceiving reality. Consequently, exponents of Protestant Liberalism generated sets of philosophical ideas that directed their perspective of core Christian doctrines. Among these were the immanence of God; anthropocentrism; focus on Jesus as an ethical example; and evolutionary view of the Bible; optimism; salvation; the church as an instrument of social progress; the kingdom of God as immanent reality; religious authority; continuity; modernism; and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence. While it is difficult to specify how each of these philosophical ideas was stressed among the various strands of Protestant liberalism, the listed philosophical ideas are nonetheless common to most of them. Regardless of the emphasis, Protestant Liberalism has reconstructed Christian religious beliefs in a way that sharply deviates from the orthodox Christian understanding of the core doctrines of the Christian faith.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROTESTANT LIBERALISM AND CONTEMPORARY THEOLOGIES

5.1 Introduction

The expression "contemporary theology" describes modern trends in theological studies that emerged after World War I. Theological movements that came to the fore in this period include Fundamentalism, Neo-Orthodoxy, Evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, the Charismatic Movement, Feminism Black Theology, Liberation Theology and other contextualized theologies. This chapter discusses some of these contemporary theologies with an emphasis on the ways in which they have been influenced by Protestant Liberal conceptions. In order to do this, I will first describe the concept of theological contextualization with reference to its meaning, origin, and its models. This will be followed by a discussion on selected contemporary theologies as influenced by Protestant liberalism. These contemporary theologies include Pentecostal theology, Servant Theology, Political Theology, Theologies of Liberation and the Jesus Seminar. My aim is to outline the ways in which Protestant Liberalism influences contemporary theologies.

5.2 The Concept of Contextualization

The emphasis on individual religious experience and religious pluralism has highlighted the need to seek situational meaning of the message of Christianity in contemporary times (Thatcher, 2007). As indicated in previous chapters, the underlining objective of Protestant Liberalism is the renewal of the contemporary perception and relevance of Christianity. To achieve this, Protestant Liberalism seeks a revision of the essential elements of the Christian religion. Its main goal is to discover effective ways of enhancing the significance of the ongoing self-revelation of God and apply it to the issues and challenges within the social, political, cultural, economic milieu of recipients. This task becomes glaring when the concept of theological contextualization is examined.

5.3 Meaning and Origin of Theological Contextualization

In Christian theology, the term 'theological contextualization' represents the search to understand the meaning of the Christian message for thought, moral behavior, and emotional patterns that resonate with the familiar symbolisms found in the worldview of the recipient's cultural milieu. In its original parlance, Emile Durkheim used the term "contextualization" to stress the fact that religious beliefs and practices are inseparable from the culture of a given people (cited in Stackhouse, 1988: 111). Later, anthropologists used the term 'contextualization' as a tool to indicate that culture consists of parts that are interrelated to the growth of a particular "culture" (Barney, 1981: 173). The development of the concept of contextualization by anthropologists such as G. Linwood Barney afforded Christian missionaries the tool to spread the message of Christianity. Significantly, the term was adopted by the Ecumenical Institute of the World Council of Churches in 1971. Subsequent usage of the term in 1972 by the Theological Education Fund of the World Council of Churches emphasized the relevance of social and economic elements of culture in comprehending the message of Christianity.

The general feeling among Christian missionaries was that the term 'contextualization' must complement another term 'indigenization.' Regunta Yesurathnam points out that "indigenization" makes one's culture "static, closed and self-contained" but contextualization expands the "cultural dimension of human experience" to include comprehensive outlooks on questions that concern "social, political, and economic" aspects as a means of opening up a given culture to a changing world (cited in Kraft, 2005: 194). This feeling became poignant after the latter term was analyzed and found to be not far-reaching enough (Kato, 1975: 1217). This feature is clearly displayed in the writings of Bruce Fleming. Using the term "context-indigenizers," Fleming built on earlier conceptions of contextualization (Fleming, 1980: 45). For him, contextualization involved both an evaluation of the degree of change that results as the Christian message interacts with a given culture and conversely the use of the language and symbolism of a given culture as an effective means of communicating the message of Christianity to the culture in question. In other words, contextualization is related to both the sociological milieu and *inculturation*. The main difference between the two is the place given to divine *supra culture*.

While the sociological approach to contextualization makes the culture of the recipient part of the message God wishes to communicate to him or her, the *inculturation* perspective maintains that God's message is "constant" and ought to be clothed in the worldview of the recipient's culture (Barney, 1981: 173; Barney, 1973: 57). Dyrness and Kärkkäinen portray similar notions of contextualization with the use of three main terms. These are contextualization, inculturation, and local theology. They note that the term contextualization emphasizes "the prophetic or critical function" which theologizing assumes as it interacts with an ever-changing "society" (Dyrness & Kärkkäinen, 2008: 192). Inculturation focuses on the "process of proclaiming and explaining the gospel" using communication cues familiar to recipients (Dyrness & Kärkkäinen, 2008: 192). They described local theology as that which stresses the nature of a "local church" as distinct yet part of "the universal reality of Christ's body" (Dyrness & Kärkkäinen, 2008: 192). The notion of local theology specifically calls attention to the significance of communicating the message of Christianity in local communication cues as well as the need of relating the message of Christianity to the local "existential" experiences of recipients (Musasiwa, 2007: 66; Ortiz & Baker, 2002: 75). Together, these terms describe the nature, the process, and the goal of the concept of contextualization. Dyrness and Kärkkäinen indicate six implications of contextualization. These are proclamation of the Christian "faith" in familiar communication cues; a means to encourage recipients to theologize themselves; "a critical avenue" for receiving and possessing the message of Christianity by recipients; an inseparable connection between "local churches" and "local theologies;" the endorsement of the "biblical role of culture and Christian agents;" and "true discipleship" (Dyrness & Kärkkäinen, 2008: 193, 194).

Recent studies on theological contextualization have generally followed either the sociological perspective of contextualization or the *inculturation* perspective of contextualization. Following the former, Marvin Keene Mayers embraced the notion that new lifestyles result from an interaction of the Christian message with specific cultures (cited in McDowell, 1994: 123, 124). Eugene Nida and William Reyerburn, on the other hand, embraced the latter perspective by maintaining that the relevance of one's culture lies in the clearer understanding of the message of Christianity (Nida & Reyerburn, 1981). However, McGavran appears to combine the two perspectives in his studies on theological contextualization. He argues that recipients of the Christian message need to adapt their

lifestyles to the divine *supraculture* irrespective of the dictates of their culture especially in situations where elements of their culture contradict the Christian *supraculture*. On occasions, McGavran also suggested that "room for differing opinions" must be left for recipients to decide for themselves concerning matters which may be considered as *adiaphorus* (McGavran, 1974: 69). A similar stance on theological contextualization has been taken by Niebuhr (Wainwright, 1980: 384-386).

From the foregoing, it is clear that theological contextualization holds various meanings for different theologians. The variety of perspectives on contextualization is clearly seen in the liberal, neo-orthodox, and evangelical theological traditions. For the Protestant liberal, the social and economic conditions of individuals affect the reception and subsequent application of the message of Christianity. As such, Protestant liberals propose that the Christian message can only be fully grasped and lived by a people whose social and economic emancipation has been effected by the same Christian message to which they seek understanding (Heselgrave, 1979: 4). Accordingly, contextualization is never complete until recipients have perceived "the gospel to be excitingly relevant to the problems that they struggle with" (Kraft, 2001: 346). In the neo-orthodox tradition, contextualization is viewed as a process by which the Holy Spirit influences individuals to perceive the message of Christianity in their situation by altering their personal needs and aiding them in the quest to conform to the lifestyle of Christ (Heselgrave, 1979: 10). Following the evangelical tradition, contextualization describes the quest of theologians to make the message of Christianity meaningful to the individuals in a given culture (Yego, 1980: 156). In doing this, evangelicals have generally sought to transmit the gospel without subjecting it to the influences of the "cultural context" of the recipients (Clark, 2003: 104). Common to all of these meanings is the need to make people of different cultures understand and apply the message of Christianity in ways that appear common and natural to their natural ways of thinking, behaving, and feeling. This specialized means of communicating has been described as "contextualization cues/contextualization conventions" (Gordon, 2003: 67; Gumperz, 1992: 39). Thus, theological contextualization indicates the effort to seek a localized or situational understanding and application of the Christian metanarrative within the comprehensive social biography and worldview of the recipients in ways that maintain fidelity to the Christian message as circumscribed in the Bible (Hesselgrave & Rommen, 1989: 200; Moreau, 2010: 169; Musasiwa, 2007: 66).

5.4 Models of Theological Contextualization

The crux of contextualization is the smooth communication and interaction between the message of Christianity and different cultures. While the message of Christianity refers to the self-revelation of God as far as it relates to His will, purpose, and relationship for humanity, culture describes a patterned manner by which a recognizable group of people think, behave, and experience reality from one generation to another (Geertz, 1973: 5; Taber, 1991: 3, 8). The concept of contextualization enables the message of Christianity to be effectively communicated and accepted by individuals and groups of people whose "culture" is different from that of the communicator (Kim, 2009: 44). To aid the Christian communicator to effectively articulate the message of Christianity in a different culture, several theological alternatives have been suggested. These theological alternatives offer the Christian communicator a starting point for fostering effective articulation of the Christian message in different cultures and

subsequent interaction between the message of Christianity and these cultures. Though these theological alternatives of theological contextualization are neither absolute nor exclusive, they highlight integrated approaches that have been used by theologians to proclaim the message of Christianity to individuals and groups of persons of different cultures. Dominantly, six of these models or alternatives have gained global significance. These have been popularized by Stephen Bevans. The six models are the anthropological model, translation model, the praxis model, the synthetic model, the semiotic model, and the transcendental model.

The anthropological model, otherwise referred to as "indigenization" (Bevans, 2002: 55), focuses on both the "identity" and the "experience" of recipients of the message of Christianity. It is based on two main assumptions. First, it proposes that the humanity is basically valuable and good. Second, it presupposes that God's self-revelation exists in every culture. Accordingly, the task of the theologian is the discovery of the aspects of God's self-revelation woven into the very fabric of culture. Thus the theologian does not preoccupy himself or herself with bringing Christianity to different cultures. Rather, the main dilemma of the theologian is to pay attention to elements of the culture in order to unravel God's self-revelation as incorporated in the culture of the recipients of the message of Christianity. The translation model stresses the need to communicate the unchanging message of Christianity in different cultures in a manner that ensures the "dynamic or functional equivalence" (Bevans, 1985: 190). The basic assumption of this model is that the original authors of scriptures intended the messages to be comprehended in forms that were easily grasped by their original audiences. For this reason, any attempt to articulate the message of Christianity, contained in the writings of these authors, ought not to be communicated in "unintelligible or misleading forms" (Kraft, 1979: 271). As a corollary of this assumption, practitioners of this model have proposed that the message of Christianity, often referred to as the "gospel core" or the "kernel of the gospel" is enshrouded "in a disposable, nonessential cultural husk" (Bevans, 2002: 40). This gospel core cannot be boxed in any particular contextualizing cue or convention dictated by particular cultures. Instead, the message of Christianity universally finds "expression" in "local and contextual forms" within the "language and culture" of any recipient (Escobar, 2006: 78; Sanneh, 1989: 53). Perhaps this is the reason why this model has been termed "translatability" (Sanneh, 1989: 51). Consequently, the main task of the theologian is to find meaningful ways of expressing the Christian supraculture in different cultures in ways that do not compromise the content of the "never-changing word of God" (cited in Fleming, 1980: 62).

The praxis model emphasizes social change as a function of the articulation of the message of Christianity within different cultures. It is rooted in the notion that God's self-revelation constitutes His "ongoing action in history" to save humanity from corrupt human beings and institutions (Bevans, 1985: 192; Newbigin, 1986: 6). For Virginia Fabella, the praxis model acts on God's self-revelation as means of altering the "future" (Fabella, 1980: 4). For this purpose, some refer to this model as "liberation model" (Bevans, 2002: 78). In light of this, the task of the theologian is to discover, "through analysis," present manifestations of God's action within the culture and recommend such actions of God as a means of joining God through "reflective action" (Bevans, 1985: 192). The synthetic model focuses on the quality that is achieved through interaction. It is based on the pretext that effective proclamation of the message of Christianity occurs only through interaction between the elements of the message of Christianity with aspects of recipient's culture. In other words, the message of Christianity is "incomplete" in

isolation (Bevans, 1985: 194). It only becomes complete upon interaction with different cultures. For this reason, conversation between the message of Christianity and culture is not only necessary but it is vital for the completion of both the message of Christianity and the culture in focus. Thus the primary task of the theologian is to make meaning out of a combination of God's self-revelation, both now and in the past, in both the culture of the theologian and the cultures of others.

The semiotic model highlights the need to be attentive to the symbolisms of a given culture. Like the synthetic model, the semiotic model is based upon the assumption that sustained conversation with the past and present contextualizing cues of a given culture will advance true articulation of the message of Christianity. By "listening to the local culture" and being attentive to the same, the message of Christianity becomes integral to the culture in focus (Bevans, 1985: 197). In light of this, all that is required from the theologian is attentiveness to the contextualizing cues of the culture of recipients in attempt to discover familiar symbolisms around which the theologian can articulate the message of Christianity. The transcendental model stresses the subjective encounter with the self-revelation of God. It starts with the theologian reflecting on himself or herself as a "cultural and religious subject" (Bevans, 1985: 198). Through such personal reflections, the theologian is vested with a genuine conception of the message of Christianity which he or she articulates in a given culture. The transcendental model is based upon two key presuppositions. First, one grasps the message of Christianity only by means of personal encounter with God's self-revelation. This encounter is enhanced by the biblical records and endorsed by similar encounters by individuals with shared culture. Second, human beings arrived at truth or objective statements by means of "basic operations" that cannot be monopolized by one culture or historical period (Lonergan, 1972: 231-232). Accordingly, the theologian's task is to experience the self-revelation of God. Once he or she encounters God's self-revelation, the theologian can effectively communicate it to others.

Together, these models offer avenues by which the Christian religion has expressed and preserved itself in different cultures and at different historical periods. Though contextualization is borne out of the practical concerns that arise from articulating the message of Christianity in varying cultures, the results of contextualization continue to be far reaching. It has inspired new forms of theology. Pentecostal theology, servant theology, political theology, and theologies of liberation are examples of such emergent forms of theologies.

5.5 Pentecostal Theology

Pentecostal theology has been generally considered as a type of Christian theology that focuses on valid Christian religious experience and the continuous intervening role of the Holy Spirit as the locus of the self-revelation of God. The incident of Pentecost, as recorded in Acts 2: 38, happens to be the main pivot of this type of Christian theology. Exponents of Pentecostal theology postulate that the event of Pentecost serves twofold purpose. First, it is the standard for verifying manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the ongoing encounter between God and believers. Second, it affirms proclamation of the Christian message as divinely authentic. From its earliest beginnings, Pentecostal theology maintained a "fivefold Gospel" that emphasized various roles of Jesus Christ in the salvation of humanity. The fivefold Gospel consisted of Christ the savior, healer, sanctifier, baptizer, and the imminent king.

In recent times, various groupings among the Pentecostal tradition subscribe to a fourfold Gospel involving Christ as the savior, healer, baptizer, and imminent king.

Pentecostal theology originated on January 1, 1901 in the city of Topeka, Kansas. Scholars have often described the starting event as the Topeka experience. During this experience, believers, such as Agnes Ozman, were baptized by the Holy Spirit and they showed evidence of it by speaking in tongues. Since its beginning, Pentecostal theology has developed into a global Christian tradition influence with various strands within it. These strands include Classical Pentecostalism, the Charismatic Movement, and the Third Wave Movement. Classical Pentecostalism maintains that speaking in tongues is an incontrovertible evidence of the Holy Spirit's baptism. Eventually, Classical Pentecostalism split into Holiness Pentecostals, Baptist Pentecostals, and Oneness Pentecostals. Emerging from the Roman Catholic Church in 1967, the Charismatic Movement stressed a modern understanding of *charismata*. The modern perspective of *charismata* was used by proponents to argue contra to the Classical Pentecostal notion that speaking in tongues was an a priori evidence of the 'born-again' life. Rather, they held the notion that the act of speaking in tongues was an a posteriori evidence of the 'born-again' life. Ultimately, members of the Charismatic Movement claimed that the activity of being baptized in the Holy Spirit is the prerequisite of speaking in "tongues" (Szasz, 2002: 23, 82). The Third Wave Movement was enhanced by the publications of C. Peter Wagner, Charles Kraft, and influence of John Wimber. It emphasized church nurturing. The main goal of the third Wave Movement was to groom the community of Christian believers. Accordingly, members of the Third Wave Movement rejected the possibility of continuous baptism of the Holy Spirit in the life of a believer. Instead, they claimed that a Christian believer needs constant infusions of the Holy Spirit to fill out the vacuum that is created after shedding off inconsistent and inaccurate beliefs imbibed at his or her conversion into Christianity.

Regardless of these strands within Pentecostalism, some common traits may be observed among them. These observations are based on theological themes that are common to all of them. They include the notion that God works in the present as He did in the New Testament era; spontaneous and ecstatic practices during worship; Holy Ghost baptism coupled with tongues speaking and faith healing; and stress on inter-racial relations, gender relations, and evangelism. The Church of God, the Church of God in Christ, Assemblies of God, International Church of the Foursquare Church, Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, United Pentecostal Church, Vineyard Fellowship, and the Church of Pentecost are some Christian denominations that subscribe to Pentecostal theology.

In connection with the concept of theological contextualization, Pentecostal theologians have given additional focus to Pentecostal theology. Justo L. Gonzalez has argued that the event in Acts 2:38 is a divine affirmation that the self-revelation of God can be adequately communicated in any "human" language (Gonzalez, 1993: 13). Similarly, Stanley J. Grenz has observed that Pentecost offers ample evidence that the message of Christianity can be articulated in every culture with the aid of God's Spirit. This is because the "life-giving Spirit is present wherever life flourishes" (Grenz, 2000a: 46). By implication, therefore, the message of Christianity can be appropriately proclaimed in every culture using contextualizing cues that are meaningful to recipients (Wilson, 1994: 69; Hall, 1991: 72). Thus the task of the theologian is to localize God's self-revelation to recipients by using contextualizing cues that are significant to the situation of recipients. This will mean that the theologian ought to

acquire a working knowledge of the language, the symbolisms, the values, and customs of the recipient's world so that he or she can effectively communicate the message of Christianity to recipients. Though exponents of Pentecostal theology consider themselves as "scripturally" different from Protestant liberals, the emphasis on "religious experience as authenticating Christianity" is reminiscent of elements of the Protestant liberal tradition (Neumann, 2012: 129).

5.6 Servant Theology

Servant theology uses the Christian doctrine of incarnation as mode of theologizing. The doctrine of incarnation describes a divinely-initiated event by which the second person of the Godhead was manifested in flesh to dwell among humanity for salvific purpose. While in the form of a human being, God the Son accommodated his personality and essence to the needs of humanity. Every activity he engaged in, as well as, all of his teachings were targeted at resolving real needs of humanity. Accordingly, Servant theologians propose that the incarnation should be a model for the effective communication of the message of Christianity in all cultures. David Wells, for example, thinks that the Christian doctrine of "incarnation" should be the converging point for all themes of theological "contextualization" (Wells, 1985: 15). For the message of Christianity to be effectively articulated in varying cultures, then, God's self-revelation ought to perform a "servant role" in the culture to which it is communicated (Wells, 1985: 15). In this servant function, theology maintains its unique identity while seeking to use theological concepts to resolve existential issues pertinent in the world of recipients in a way that appear meaningful to recipients.

As a corollary to effectively proclaiming the message of Christianity in all cultures, Servant theology derives an attitude of a positive regard for all persons regardless of culture from the Christian doctrine of incarnation. In the event of making the message of Christianity properly comprehensible in all cultures, servant theologians engage in "theological dialogue" with recipients (Pinn & Valentin, 2001: 208; Hick & Hebblethwaite, 1981: 212). In this theological dialogue, both parties exhibit equal regard for each other. This is based on the biblical notion that all human beings have been created in the "image and likeness of God" (Gen 1:27, 28). As such, there should be ultimate respect for both the communicator's culture and the culture of the recipient in this theological dialogue. Giuseppe Ruggieri has described this attitude as the "culture of otherness" (Ruggieri, 1997: 147). The call for this attitude in the effective articulation of the message of Christianity in civilized cultures can never be an overstatement. Rather, it is normal to expect that respect for the "other" will accompany genuine desire to proclaim the message of Christianity in pluralistic cultures (Tracy, 1997: 124). The task of the servant theologian is to articulate the unchanging message of Christianity in ways that communicates respect to recipients and tolerance of those cultural elements that may be in contra-distinction with the culture of the communicator. Grenz has described this characteristic of Servant theology as "generous orthodoxy" (Grenz, 2000b: 325-326).

5.7 Political Theology

The concept of political theology applies Christian religious conceptions of God's self-revelation to matters that concern the socio-political and economic framework of society. They could be described as "secularized

theological concepts" used in the organization and running of various forms of government (Schmitt, 2005: 36). The emphasis has been the determination of the right form of government from the Christian theological perspective. It is a mode of doing theology in which theological propositions are incorporated in running the various institutions of the society. Additionally, these theological propositions offer guidelines to individuals in authority as to the acceptable manner in which they may exercise their duties.

The expression 'political theology' has been variously used to refer to Augustine's *City of God*, Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, Eastern Orthodox conception of *Symphonia*, and the Reformed literature of Luther and Calvin (Elshtain, 2008: 35; Doody, 2005; Bauerschmidt, 2008: 35; McGuckin, 2010: 391; Höpfl, 1991). As a political theological concept, its relevance was brought to the fore by Walter Rauschenbusch. Considering the Christian notion of 'incarnation' as a means by which the "spirit of Jesus Christ" transforms "bad people to do good things," Rauschenbusch proposed that the goal of theologizing was political (Rauschenbusch, 2011: 41, 42, 127). Carl Schmitt is the main contemporary exponent of political theology. He applied the expression to Christian religious concepts that have been incorporated into political thoughts and practices (Elshtain, 2008: 35).

The connection between theological contextualization and political theology is seen in the latter's quest to make key theological concepts of God's self-revelation meaningful and applicable to the socio-political and economic aspects of civil life. In other words, political theology attempts to make the message of Christianity relevant in the life of the contemporary civilized individual in terms of the creation and maintenance of social justice. The main task of the theologian is to outline ways by which Christian propositions about God can be used as instrument in establishing a society that eschews social inequality of all sorts. In light of this, Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde has identified three strands within political theology. These are juridical, institutional, and appellative. Juridical political theology concerns the transmission of theological concepts into the area of "state and law" (Böckenförde, 1983: 17-18). The aim is to develop sociological concepts of existing theological propositions of God that bother on socio-political and economic matters of the social life. Institutional political theology emphasizes the significance of the Christian message to the realities of human existence. Appellative political theology focuses on the quest to draw inspiration from the Christian message to empower individuals to take concrete measures towards transforming evil individuals and institutions that consolidate and perpetuate social injustices. Appellative political theology may use one of two approaches (Boff, 2009: 10). The first approach focuses on moral reforms and the second approach focuses on collective social justice.

5.8 Theologies of Liberation

John Bowker (1997: 577) defines Theologies of Liberation or Liberation Theology as "an understanding of the role of theology in moving from abstraction to praxis, in which the actual condition of the poor is the starting-point." Stressing on the poor, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (2003: 544) notes that the idea of liberation theology should be understood as a Christian theological viewpoint that the art of theologizing should be existentially meaningful to the "social situation" in which it is done. Consequently, Gustavo Gutiérrez (1999: 36) defines liberation theology as a theological communion that attempts to make the message of Christianity functional in the context of "oppression, injustice and death."

One may infer from these definitions a general concern to interpret the principles of Christian theology from the perspective of the poor, oppressed and marginalized (Gutiérrez, 1973: 6; Merali & Sharbaf, 2009: 17). The main argument for exponents of liberation theology seems to be on the premise that adherents of the Christian religion ought to imitate Jesus Christ so much so that they will associate with the poor, oppressed, and marginalized. Such an association will bring about social and political reforms that will result in the creation of a "just society" (Gutiérrez, 1973: 110). In this, liberation theology would appear to continue the objective of renewing society or establishing the kingdom of God in the 'here-and-now' that is at the core of classical Protestant Liberalism (Klassen, 2011: xix). Like Protestant Liberalism, theologies of liberation stress "human consciousness" as an authentic medium for understanding God's self-disclosure (McGlasson, 2015: 131). In looking for meaning in the ongoing God-human encounter, exponents of theologies of liberation have espoused variants of human consciousness ("race, class, gender") as the starting point of theologizing (McGlasson, 2015: 131). Consequently, "human consciousness" is used to "explain the language of divine intervention on behalf of the oppressed" (McGlasson, 2015: 131). In some theologies of liberation, overturning offensive social institutions and structures is commendable (Richardson & Bowden, 1983: 324). From this viewpoint, therefore, theologies of liberation could be broadly considered as 'plural, heterogeneous, and global.'

The origin of liberation theology is uncertain. Generally, scholars of Christian theology are divided on this question. Some scholars, probably influenced by an over-emphasis on the narrow conception of liberal theology, are of the view that it originated from North and South America. Bowker (1997: 578) boldly asserts that it emerged from "an ethical indignation at the poverty and marginalization of the great masses" of the South and North American continent. Fiorenza agrees with Bowker. She adds that the thoughts of liberation theology "were taken up by the Second General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate (CELAM) that met in Medellín, Colombia in 1968" (Fiorenza, 2003: 545). Berryman (1987) and Sigmund (1990) support this view by citing Gustavo Gutierrez, a Peruvian Roman Catholic priest, as the first to use the term in 1973.

Contrariwise, some scholars strongly advance the case that liberation theology arose simultaneously in different contexts (Latin America being one of these contexts). These proponents claim that James Cone's "*A Black Theology of Liberation*" (1970) and feminist liberation theology, Rosemary Ruether's "*Liberation*" Theology (1972) were published almost at the same time as Gustavo Gutiérrez's "*Teología de la liberación*" (1972) (cf. Rhodes, 1991: 8). This could be the reason for Ron Rhodes (1991: 8) referring to liberation theology as a "family of theologies." This same stance has been taken by the *Dictionary of American History* (2003).

Considering the evidence, it is probable that liberation theology in Latin America originated concurrently with other theologies in this family of liberation theology in other countries or socio-economic settings. In other words, theology of liberation arose as a Christian theological response to instances of social injustices peculiar to Latinos, Black Americans, Africans, and Asians. In this regard, five factors may be thought of as influencing the rise of liberation theology. These are the European decolonization of Africa and Asia; liberation movements, such as the black power and sexual liberation movements in the "United States in the late 1960s and 1970s" (Grenz & Olson, 1992: 210-212), the popular guerrilla movements in Latin American nations like Nicaragua and El Salvador in the 1980s as well as popular anticommunist movement in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1980s; theological

reflection as a means to human liberation promoting the idea that theology should be political and activist in its goals; a multi-culturalist and human rights-based critique of contemporary politics, society, and culture understood within the backdrop of works by post-World War II European theologians like Rudolf Bultmann, Jürgen Moltmann, and Johann-Baptiste Metz; and the connection between Marxism and liberation theology. The interplay of these factors in the conception of theologies of liberation is observable in the manner in which exponents of liberation theology interpret the term "*praxis*" (Gutiérrez, 1971: 175).

From this background, advocates of liberation theology have developed a method of theology that is sympathetic towards the poor, oppressed, and marginalized in the community. Theological understanding in liberation theology starts from the premise that Christian Orthodoxy, mainly from the perennial perspective of white, North American/European, capitalist males, "is responsible for exploiting and impoverishing the Third World" (Conn, 1988: 388). Hence they are of the view that the practice of theology must begin from below—"that is, with the sufferings of the oppressed" (Rhodes, 1991: 8). From this framework, Black Theology, Latin American Theology, Feminist Theology, Asian Theology, and Palestinian Theology are considered as strands within Theologies of Liberation.

5.8.1 Black Theology

Black theology is a positive Christian theological response to the suffering of the oppressed black community within an environment conditioned by over 350 years of slavery, social injustices, and inhuman treatment created and sustained by oppressing white community (Cone & Wilmore, 1979: 101; Bank, 1972: 12; Evans, 1977: 19; Cone, 1999: 5). It attempts to make Christianity in America identify with the "ghetto-condition" or the "black experience" (Cone, 1999: 3; Fields, 2001: 13). It focuses on the imminent and comprehensive emancipation of every human being, especially black people, from the domination of the white community. For this reason, exponents of black theology analyses Christian theological concepts from the viewpoint of the sufferer or the "marginalized" (West & Glaude Jr, 2003: 999). John McWhorter uses the term "victimology" to refer to the perspective of the marginalized (McWhorter, 2001: 3). In its earliest form, much of black theology manifested a style of singing unique to black Christians. This style of singing has been referred to as 'Negro spiritual' with the popular song being "swing low, sweet chariot coming for to carry me home" (McCall, 1976: 330; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990: 352).

Black Theology arose from both the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in America during the 1960s. Couched within these movements, black theology was birthed as a result of systematic reflection of the hostile conditions the black community found itself (Cone, 1975: 3). Accordingly, some black theologians began redefining key concepts of Christianity in a manner that incorporated theories of liberation of black people from slavery and total social injustices meted out to them by their white counterparts (Lincoln, 1973: 303; Hamilton, 1972: 140). Foremost among these early proponents of black theology were Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, Howard Thurman, Martin Luther King Jr., Albert Cleage, James Cone, Gayaud Wilmore, Deotis Roberts, and Lawrence Jones. These individuals contributed to the transmission from Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement to black theology. Their intellectual as well as practical contributions are foundational to the development of black theology. Turner was notorious for his resort to violence in expressing his views against slavery. Garvey, regarded

as the "apostle of black theology" in America (Arscott, 1986: 137), is credited for the introduction of the idea that God could be seen through the lenses of blacks (Burkett, 1978: 15). Thurman identified Jesus Christ with the ongoing socio-historical struggle of the black community. As a result, Thurman claimed Jesus is closer to the marginalized (cited in Wilmore, 1989: 254). King Jr. was actually not a theologian in the strict sense of the word. He was a human right activist. However, his speeches contributed enormously to the awakening of desire for black emancipation in all aspects of life, including religion (Cone, 1986: 13). Cleage is noted for using the theological idea of "Black Messiah" as a basis for promoting Black Nationalism (Cleage, 1969: 4). Cone, Wilmore, Roberts, and Jones have written extensively on the uniqueness of "Black heritage" and its distinctive place in Christian theology (Bradley, 2010: 520; Cone, 1970: 66). Alister E. McGrath claims that the "Black Manifesto" that was issued at the end of the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organization meeting in Detroit, Michigan, strongly emphasized black theology as an important "agenda" in contemporary theological dialogue (McGrath, 1996: 107).

Black Theology revolves around some themes. These include black experience, black power, Jesus Christ, Sin, Salvation, and the Christian Church. The theme of black experience stresses the suffering black people have and continue to endure in a white dominated society. These suffering are considered as caused by ungodly social institutions and unregenerate individuals who perpetrate wickedness in the form of discrimination and inhumane treatment against blacks, either as individuals or as a community. Cone (1975: 3) describes what this experience means.

It meant attending 'separate but equal' schools, going to the balcony when attending a movie, and drinking water from a 'colored' fountain. It meant refusing to retaliate when called a nigger unless you were prepared to leave town at the precise moment of your rebellion. You had no name except for your first name of 'boy.'

This experience of suffering is central to Black Theology. It seems to serve as the locus of theologizing in Black Theology (Bradley, 2010: 524). Accordingly, the message of Christianity becomes authentic only if it aids blacks in their struggle for emancipation from white domination (Cone, 1969: 120; Cone, 1970: 17-18). Black power is an expression that suggests the comprehensive emancipation of the black people. Its object is to restore the "dignity" of the black race by stressing their inherent capacity for self-determination and self-preservation (Cone, 1999: 4). By inference, black power, then, calls attention to the excellence that is realized when black people decide their own paths of success without any obstruction. Often referred to as the black consciousness, the black experience of suffering has been the basis for the struggle for political emancipation of most African communities (Wilson, 2011: 110). This power allows blacks to effectively shape their own destiny in a "self-directed and self-fulfilling" manner (Reuther, 1972: 133).

Black theology describes Jesus Christ as black (Cone, 1970: 21). Exponents of Black theology generally believe that Jesus Christ was manifested in flesh for the purpose of liberating the marginalized from the shackles of oppression of all sorts (Cone, 1999: 8; Cone, 1969: 35). In light of this, Jesus Christ is presented as the biblical figure whose greatest joy was to help all human beings, especially the oppressed, gain the autonomy to decide on matters that concern their personal lives. Black theologians espouse several biblical passages in support of their

notion about Jesus Christ. Some of these passages include Matthew 20: 16; 21: 31; Luke 4: 18, 19; 7: 22; Mark 1: 14-15; John 4; and Ephesians 2: 14. From this perspective, Cone (1999: 8) argues that

In Christ, God enters human affairs and takes sides with the oppressed. Their suffering becomes his; their despair, divine despair. Through Christ the poor are offered freedom now to rebel against that which makes them other than human.

Black theologians have conceived sin as any human behavior and thought patterns that oppose God's activity of liberating his people from all forms of oppression (Cone, 1970: 190). In this view, the perpetrators of discrimination, social injustices, and all forms of inhumane treatment against other human beings are considered as sinners. Such sinners need salvation. However, salvation stresses an imminent concern rather than a transcendental reality. In Black theology, salvation means the quest to dismantle all inhumane social structures and unregenerate individuals in the here-and-now (Roberts, 1971: 157). The aim is to see God's oppressed people completely emancipated from all forms of oppression in the present and not in an eschatological timeline represented in the theology of heaven (Cone, 1969: 123; Cone, 1970: 241-242, 227).

The Christian church comprises of God's people who are expected to continue the work of Christ on earth in the present. By means of its general three-fold function (expressed by the terms *kerygma*, *diakonia*, and *koinonia*), the church ought to associate with the marginalized as Christ did. It must seek to effectively exterminate the causes of suffering in all human societies. This work must not be performed in "abstraction" (Cone, 1999: 11). Rather, it should be performed in a congruent environment where the church lives what it preaches. By implication, therefore, Black theologians call the Christian church to a life of holiness. That is a church that abhors all forms of discrimination, oppressions, social injustices, and inhuman treatments. This is a clarion call to the Christian church to properly engage itself in the ongoing dialogue between Christianity and present-day social, cultural, economic, and political issues. In order for the Christian church to perform its authentic function in the present society, it must effectively respond to the bitterness, "hurts," and suffering of the marginalized with immediacy (Bradley, 2010: 520). It was from this premise that Steve Biko and Allan Boesak advanced Black Theology in the struggle against Apartheid in South Africa (Kee, 2008: 80-83; Hopkins, 2017: 61).

5.8.2 Latin American Theology

Latin American Theology is a Christian theological disposition to make the message of Christianity practically relevant to the marginalized in South American countries in their cultural, political, social, and economic struggle against oppression (McGrath, 1996: 105). It seeks to understand and explain Christian theological concepts from the lenses of the poor. José Míguez Bonino's *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* is recognized as sparking early agitation for a theology that positively addresses existential issues in South American countries. This strand of liberation theology gained momentum from some European theologians such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945), Jurgen Moltmann (b. 1926), and Johannes Baptist Metz (b. 1928). Moltmann described the notion of the kingdom of God as the impetus to alter present reality after the similitude of the eschatological hope. Metz described the Christian church as an arena for evaluating social change. Bonhoeffer stressed the need for Christian

theological discourses to be praxis-oriented. His phrase "the view from below" has become a central point of reference in theologizing within the Latin American Liberation Theological framework (cited in Nielsen & Tietz, 2007: 70; Rasmussen & Bethge, 2016: 188). Karl Marx's pessimism of capitalism has also been a strong force within this type of theologizing. Marx blames all the marginalization, the oppression, and the inequalities within civilized society on capitalism. Accordingly, he claims that all human beings could be happy were capitalism and all its evil cognates completely eliminated from human societies. The interplay of these influences caused some theologians to reconsider the form Christian religion took on in their communities. They found Christianity to be western, "abstractions," and foreign to the immediate needs of the "miserable" conditions of the societies of Latin America (Conn, 1988: 388).

Latin American Theology arose from the success of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) in calling the attention of the Roman Catholic Church to the plights of the marginalized (Sigmund, 1988: 23). The result of these efforts was a series of meetings organized by the leadership of the Catholic Church from 1962 through 1965. These meetings have been referred to as Vatican II. During these meetings, the leadership of the church pledged a conscious effort to make the church people-centered and not clergy-centered (Tombs, 2002: 44). This ecclesiastical resolution empowered theologians to evangelize their local communities. In 1968, a group of catholic bishops met in Medellín, Columbia to promote the agenda of Vatican II. This meeting is often referred to as "CELAM II" (McGrath, 1996: 105). They resolved to train willing members of the laity concerning the place of the Bible in church life. These lay trainees led the local communities in worship in rural communities-*comunidades de base*. In this vein, the works of Paulo Freire, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Leonardo Boff, Juan Luis Segundo, José Comblin, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Leonardo Boff, Jon Sobrino, and Archbishop Helder Câmara were a major influence. Gutiérrez's *Teología de la liberación* is regarded as fundamental text of this type of theology (Tombs, 2002: 105; Peña, 1994: 39). Puebla Conference in 1979 marked the climax of the development of Latin American Theology. At this conference, Vatican attempts to purge the developing brand of theology of Marxist elements proved futile. Instead, a new mode of theologizing emerged (Gibellini, 1979: 2). The Latin American liberation theology was born with a strong focus on the spirituality of indigenous people and a "preferential treatment for the poor" in matters relating to social, economics, and politics (Farmer, 2005: 138).

The basic themes around which Latin American liberation theology revolves include preferential treatment of the poor, praxis, sin, salvation, violence, salvation, God, Jesus Christ, and the Church. Latin American liberation theology is mainly theology from the perspective of the poor or the marginalized. Based on various scriptural passages such as Lev. 19:9-10, Prov. 19:17, Ps. 140:12, Hosea 12:7, Exod. 22:22-23, Deut. 24:19-21, Matt. 25:31-46, and Luke 10:29, Latin American Liberation theologians believe God has a special favor for the marginalized. For this reason, the plight of the marginalized is presented as the fundamental locus of authentic Christian theologizing. Again, Latin America liberation Theology is more practice-oriented. At its very core, theology involves emancipation from distressing social, economic, and political structures. Theology ought to supply the marginalized with the resources that aid them in their quest to purge society of its evil individuals and institutions. This view on praxis incorporates the act of theologizing within the situation of the poor.

Exponents of Latin American Liberation Theology describe sin as a social, economic, and political obstruction of love and brotherhood/sisterhood and preventing happiness among members of a civilized society (Gutierrez, 1971: 175). Accordingly, individuals and groups who exploit others for gains, as in capitalism, are considered as sinners. In a similar manner, individuals suffering from marginalization of all sorts who fail to engage in the struggle against their oppressors are also described as sinners (Gonzalez & Gonzalez, 1980: 23). Akin to this notion of sin is the idea of violence. Though there is doubt concerning the degree to which exponents of this type of theology support violence, it is nonetheless vital in their quest to transform society. In resisting oppression, exponents advocate some level of violence (Gonzalez & Gonzalez, 1980: 23). In some cases, the killing of an oppressor is regarded as necessary for the elimination of the "occasion of sin" (Erikson, 1983: 592). In light of this, salvation is considered as a new arrangement in the society that fosters a spirit of equality among all members. It sees the act of removing all factors that promote social inequality as a duty for the regenerate (Gonzalez & Gonzalez, 1980: 23).

Exponents of Latin American Liberation Theology denounce the orthodox Christian emphasis on the transcendence of God. They claim that such a notion of God removes the divine being from the affairs of humanity. Instead, they present God as divine being who ultimately is and loves justice. Since justice has no place for social injustices, it follows that the God of the Christian religion eschews social exploitation and marginalization (Berry, 1989: 25). Thus, proponents call all believers to imitate this character of God. In Jesus Christ, exponents of Latin American liberation theology see a shining example of what authentic Christianity is all about. True Christianity involves both the act of eliminating individuals and groups or institutions that sustain social injustices and associating with the suffering and the struggling of the marginalized class. By actively involving themselves in the struggle against all that hinders peace, harmony, and equality to reign, Christians contribute to ushering in the kingdom of God in the here-and-now. The death of Christ is an indication that Christ will rather die than to be part of the oppressing class in the society (Webster, 1984: 637). From the perspective of following the example of Christ, exponents of Latin American Liberation Theology describes the function of the church (Nunez, 1984: 174). Rather than embark on evangelization to "win souls," exponents argue that the function of the church is "to protest against injustice, to challenge what is inhuman, to side with the poor and the oppressed" (Hellwig, 1977: 141). This notion underpins the creation of the *comunidades de base*. In addition to worshipping and studying the Bible together, members of these *comunidades de base* "wrestle concretely with social and political obligations in their settings" (Conn, 1988: 389).

The emergence of Latin American Liberation Theology has altered the face of Christianity in South American countries. It has offered the marginalized a platform to call attention of the world to their plight. Also, it has shown that Christianity can only be authentic if it engages with the localized issues that adherents deal with on daily basis. Again, it has created an avenue whereby believers and nonbelievers could co-operate to bring about the needed transformation in the society.

5.8.3 Feminist Theology

Feminist Theology denotes a Christian theological response to the suffering and marginalization of the female gender through the negative imagery and perceptions about the female gender in a society. It arises from a general feeling that the female gender has suffered from male-perpetrated oppression in the form of gender discrimination

and the wanton disregard of the female gender throughout the history of humanity. Beginning from the first century, Flavius Josephus, for example, regarded females with a sense of inferiority to the male gender (Liftin, 1982: 334). This sense of inferiority of the female gender manifested even in religious circles as the male gender was enjoined to praise his creator for not making him a "woman" (cited in Neuer, 1990: 93). In some cases, contact with the female gender was considered as releasing untold omens (Ecclus 42: 13; 42: 14). Thus the female experience has been one of oppressions and marginalization suffered at the instance of male domination. In this regard, the task of Feminist Theology is to aid the female gender to transform their "comprehensive life orientation" that decide the "identity" of a human being (Dreyer, 2011: 1; King, 1994: 3).

Feminist Theology has its origin in the secular feminist movement in North America at the end of the nineteenth century. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights inspired in women the urge to push for equity in all aspects of life for the female gender. This movement for equal rights of women originally pursued twofold agenda. First, they sought to address the perennial marginalization of the female gender in social, cultural, political, and economic spheres of life. Second, they aimed at reconstructing societal laws in order to favor the struggle for equal rights for the woman.

In Christian Theology, feminism emerged in the 1960s as a Christian religious movement that pursued the comprehensive emancipation of the female gender in both the private and public spheres of human life. Finding direction in the publications of women such as Mary Daly's *The Church and the Second Sex* in 1968 and Valeric Saiving's *The Human Situation: A Feminine View*, the feminist movement in Christianity gained momentum through the establishment of the Evangelical Women's Caucus (EWC) in 1975. The Evangelical Women's Caucus furthered the agenda of raising the consciousness of women to the need to soar beyond sexism in all aspects of life. Consequently, they established sections of the movement in America, Western Europe, Africa, and Asia. In Europe, for example, these networks include the European Ecumenical Forum of Christian Women (EFECW) and European Society of Women in Theological Research (ESWTR). In Africa, South America, and other parts of Asia, the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) has adopted a contextual and liberation approach to theologizing that highlights the emancipation of the female gender from all forms of marginalization and oppression in third world societies. Feminist Theology adapts to the existential issues of women in a given society. In this regard, one can identify various forms of Feminist Theology on the global front. Womanist Theology (Feminist Theology driven by the passion of Black American women and women of color within the American Society) and Mujeristic Theology (Feminist Theology pursued by Hispanic women) are some forms of Feminist Theology on the continental front. Presently, the publications of women theologians such as Rosemary Radford Ruether, Elizabeth Schiessler Fiorenza, Oyeronke Olademo, Daphne Hampson, Mary Daly, Carol Christ, Mercy Amba Oduyoye, and Catherine Halkes have become influential in the development of Feminist Theology.

In recent times, two main strands can be observed within Feminist Theology. These are Liberal Feminism and Evangelical Feminism. Liberal feminists regard the Bible as an antiquary records of the history of humanity expressed from the male perspective. For this reason, the authors of the various books of the Bible, who were mainly males, consciously or unconsciously ignored the experiences of females in their records. To set the biblical records straight and make it comprehensive, liberal feminists approach biblical interpretation from the perspective of a "hermeneutic of suspicion" (Woodward, 1989: 61). The hermeneutic of suspicion is a way of reconstructing

the biblical story of the comprehensive human-God experience in a manner that includes the women's encounter with the God-consciousness (Woodward, 1989: 61). Evangelical Feminists generally subscribe to the unqualified authenticity of the Bible but argued against the stereotyping of roles within the society, church, and home on gender lines.

Feminist Theology revolves around some theological themes. These include the female experience, God, Jesus Christ, and subordination of female gender. Feminist theologians see the female experience as the starting point of theology. As noted earlier, the female experience has been that of marginalization and oppression in a male dominated world. This reality is even conscious in scripture. Feminist theologians claim that the language of the Bible is overly male-centered (King, 1994: 3, 4). For this reason, they aim at refocusing biblical attention from the patriarchal recordings to holistic recordings that engenders their quest to place the female gender into good theological perspective (Fiorenza, 1984: 286). In light of this, feminist theologians strongly reject the androcentric metaphors that the Bible uses to describe God. They argue that such androcentric reference to God limits the nature of God to gender divisions (Howe, 1982: 139). In other words, if God is male, then, he does not understand the female experience. For this reason, they claim other metaphors must be emphasized to appropriately describe the nature of God. They resort to biblical metaphors such as a waning mother (Isa 49:15), midwife (Ps 22:9-10), and a homemaker (Ps 123:2). On this score, Martin Joan has stated that the use of inclusive metaphors in our attempt to describe God appropriately portrays God as "harmonious and dynamic" (Joan, 1996: 41).

Similarly, some Feminist theologians renounce the construction of Jesus as a male. They claim that such stress draws a line of separation between Jesus and his interaction with humanity holistically conceived. This holistic conception of Jesus' relationships with humanity will mean that Jesus interacted with men, women, and children. Instead, exponents of Feminist Theology view Jesus as a divine being, in human form (male in particular), whose task was solely to demonstrate how the divine perceives of humanity and how humanity can attain its full measure (Ruether, 1981: 47, Mary, 1982: 36). This position has inspired many exponents of Female Theology to stress that Jesus associated with the quest to liberate females from marginalization created and sustained by male-chauvinism. Citing Luke 10:38-42, Gretchen Hull infers that Jesus induces in women a love for learning rather than being preoccupied with domestic chores (Hull, 1987: 115). Another instance may be deduced from making gentiles, who were not part of Jesus' selection of the apostles, to be leaders of the church. If the gentiles, formerly marginalized in the Jewish socio-historical conception, could attain to leadership position, then, women could also be given equal rights to serve in such leadership positions (Spencer, 1985: 45). For Virginia Mollenkott, the fact that a female was chosen to be the first witness to the resurrection of Jesus, in a cultural milieu that did not allow females to serve as witnesses in the law courts, proves that Jesus neither sidelined women nor regarded them as inferior to the male gender (Mollenkott, 1977: 73). This implies that the subordination of the female gender under the authority of the male gender at the instance of sin (Gen 3: 16) must be reconsidered. Feminist theologians argue that the gospel has liberated the entire human race from the curse of sin (Rom 8:2). Consequently, the relationship between the genders should not be that of hierarchy and "social distinctions" (Scanzoni & Hardesty, 1974: 72). Instead, it should be that of "mutual and complimentary relationship that Adam and Eve enjoyed before the Fall" (Howe, 1982: 139).

Feminist Theology presents the hope of liberation from male-chauvinism to the female gender. However, some Christian theologians have perceived it as a barn of divisiveness in Christendom. This notwithstanding, Feminist Theology continues to impact the way by which Christians generally regard the female gender. Much of this progress is observable in the inclusion of women in church leadership and decision-making as well as the use of gender-inclusive languages instead of male bias languages in some Bible translation versions and theological publications.

5.8.4 Asian Theology

Asian Theology is a type of liberation theology that is based on conversation between Christianity and Eastern cultures (Hao, 1990: 45; Anderson, 1976: 6). It is the results of efforts to make the Christian message very relevant to the social historical conditions of the Asian continent. It seeks to express the key concepts of Christianity in Asian contextualizing cues. Two main subtypes of Asian Theology provide outlook into the features of Asian Theology. These are Minjung Theology and Dalit Theology.

5.8.4.1 Minjung Theology

The term *minjung* (Kim, 1987: 252; Lee, 1993: 108) consists of two Chinese characters, namely, 民 *min* (meaning, "the people") and 衆 *jung* (meaning, "the mass"). Together, the two terms mean a crowd (Byung-Mu, 1985: 91). Nam-Dong Suh (1983: 224-231) has differentiated the term from other related terms such as *baiksung* (meaning crowd involving the upper class), *shimin* (meaning "citizen" with stress on the governed and the governor divide), *proletariat* (with emphasis on economic problems than socio-cultural and political problems), and *daijung* (referring to crowd but without specific emphasis on the oppressed among the masses). By these differentiation, proponents of Minjung Theology claim that the term *minjung* should be understood as a "socio-economic historical" concept that describes the sub-group among the Korean people who are oppressed by others (Suh, 1983: 183; Kim, 1987: 252). This group has been described as the "subjects of history" (Suh, 1983: 183; Kim, 1987: 252). This is because their endurance and resilience in the face of oppression are the virtues that continue to shape the ongoing reality of the socio-economic and political character of the Korean people (Kim, 1987: 252; Byung-Mu, 1992: 3). Minjung Theology, therefore, is a Christian theological response to the self-revelation of God from the perspective of the past and present socio-historical situation of the victims of unjust social, cultural, economic, and political structures of Korea (Moon, 1982: 2). It is a mode of theologizing characterized by compassion for and a stance of commonality with the marginalized people of Korea. The overarching aim of Minjung Theology is to understand the suppressed "sentiments" of the oppressed people of Korea and to reconstruct these feelings in light of the Protestant Liberal conception of the message of Christianity (Moon, 1982: 4).

The concept of Minjung has a long history. The first usage of the term appeared at the period of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910). Then, the term described the common people of Korea who suffered oppression under the Yangban domination. At a later period, 1910-1945, the term came to refer to those among the Korean people who failed to compromise with Japanese Imperialists. During the 1970s, the term attained its comprehensive characterization. This period saw a clash between the dictatorial governance of President Jung Hee Park, on one hand, and some Korean theologians within the Protestant Liberal tradition, on the other hand. The latter were obsessed with making the message of Christianity relevant in the plight of the suffering masses under the regime of the former (Lee,

1993: 63). Consequently, President Park sacked all these theologians from their lecturing posts. In response, these theologians aligned with the sentiments of the oppressed and amplified their much dissatisfaction. This solidarity with the suffering class intensified the Minjung Movement. In opposition, President Park marshaled his entire political prowess against the members of the Minjung Movement. Yet, this harassment enhanced the relevance of the movement. Presently, the term *minjung* has come to refer to all those among the Korean populace who are not part of the privileged class under the current system of governance (Moon, 1982: 4). In this vein, Minjung Theology has advanced as a mode of theologizing with a special focus on understanding the bitterness, anger, and suffering of marginalized Korean people in light of Christian theological concepts. Some exponents of Minjung Theology include Nam-Dong Suh, Ahn Byung-Mu, Yong-Bock Kim, Younghak Hyun, and Jin K. Kwon.

Minjung Theology revolves around some theological themes. These are God, Jesus Christ, Salvation, Qualified Karma, Dynamic Character of liberation, and Yoga as an agent of change. Exponents of Minjung Theology conceive God as sympathetic of the suffering of his people. This is because suffering is the outcome of obstruction of the purpose of God. This notion is borne out of the significance exponents place on Galilee. Byung-Mu Ahn argues that Galilee symbolically represents a convening point from where good forces align and resist defective social, cultural, economic, and political structures (Byung-Mu, 1983: 145). The fact that God chooses the region of Galilee as birth place of his Son is an indication that the Christian God aligns with the marginalized. Similarly, Byung-Mu draws parallels between the marginalized people of Korea and the poor people, described in the Book of Mark, who largely formed Christ's audience. Referring to the latter as *ὄχλος* (*ochlos*), Byung-Mu includes "sinners, tax-collectors, prostitutes," the sick, the widow, the social outcast, the poor, and the orphan in his characterization of the *ochlos* (Byung-Mu, 1985: 92). Since the present-day *Minjung* and the *Ochlos* of Mark are all marginalized in their societies, Byung-Mu claims that both the *ochlos* and the *minjung* are terms that refer to people with the same reality. Further, Ahn Byung-mu observes that the *ochlos* of Jesus' day actually followed ("Der Nachfolge"), imitate Christ ("*imitatio Christi*"), and testified of Jesus Christ even on the face of death ("martyr") (Byung-Mu, 1998: 12). For this reason, Byung-Mu considers Jesus as the "ideal" of *Minjung* (Byung-Mu, 1998: 12). In light of this, some exponents of *Minjung* Theology describe the death of Jesus Christ as the death of a political martyr (Byung-Mu, 1998: 264, 265). This implies that the Jesus Christ of *Minjung* Theology empathizes with the marginalized and he is ever present in their situation to console and aid them in their struggles against their oppressors.

Having conceived of God and Jesus Christ as aligning with the marginalized, it could be inferred that any obstruction of the work of God and Jesus Christ in favor of the marginalized is regarded as sin. This will mean that any act of oppression and/or marginalization is to be regarded as sin. In this vein, exponents of *Minjung* Theology see salvation as the utter removal of the oppressed (Byung-Mu, 1985: 92). They claim that Jesus Christ was incarnated for this purpose—the liberation of the marginalized from their oppressors (Suh, 1985: 344).

Exponents of *Minjung* Theology reject the traditional understanding of karma. The basis of the rejection is the belief that present sufferings are the consequences of one's acts in the past and serves only to justify the case of oppressors against the oppressed (Chapple, 1986: 5). In *Minjung* Theology, the notion of karma suggests that the actions of defective social, cultural, economic, and political structures in the past have caused indescribable sufferings and marginalization in the present socio-historical situation of the underprivileged people in Korea

(Bowker, 1970: 248). Again, exponents of *Minjung* Theology do not hold on to the view that the present life is inevitably controlled by past deeds. Rather, they see life as an ongoing reality in which destinies are formed by one's personal choices in the present. For this reason, *Minjung* Theology empowers the *minjung* people to engage in the struggle against all forms of social, cultural, economic, and political injustices so as to break from the past and usher in new social, cultural, political, economic, and political structures that are favorable to the *minjung* people.

In a similar vein, exponents of *Minjung* Theology renounce the traditional understanding of nirvana and Brahman. According to the traditional notion, focusing on one's task of uniting one's soul with the universal soul will dissipate all feelings of bitterness and suffering. In this, exponents of *Minjung* Theology have claimed that traditional notion of *Nirvana* and Brahman justifies the current status quo that supports the oppressor against the oppressed. They have described the traditional understanding of God as lacking divine dynamism. In place of the traditional notion, exponents of *Minjung* Theology subscribe to a dynamic view of *Nirvana* and *Brahman*. In this dynamic conception, the Holy Spirit is considered as dynamic life-giving Spirit who orders life structures towards the direction of beauty, equity, and tranquility. To achieve this, the Holy Spirit enables believers, those who have denied themselves of "desires and attachment" to the materialism of life, to resist "anti-life spirits" (Pak, 2001: 69-70). By implication, therefore, the Holy Spirit offers *Minjung* believers the urge to remove all defective structures that create and sustain oppression and marginalization from the society.

Minjung Theology draws on the notion of yoga. As a religious practice, yoga has influenced most eastern religions since it was first introduced by the pre-Aryan migration in India during the period BC 2500-1500. The main purpose of yoga is to offer adherents a spiritual way of escaping the bitterness and sufferings of this world (Eliade, 1982: 62, 100). In doing this, yoga serves to desensitize the consciousness of human beings from the sufferings borne out of the oppression and marginalization of this world. Through the capacity of breath-control (*Prana*, "ki" in Korean, and "chi" in both Chinese and Japanese), adherents obtain divine energy and use this acquired energy for social change (Lysebeth, 1979: 4). In *Minjung* Theology, yoga symbolizes regeneration or resuscitation that engenders an internal desire and external willingness to free one from negative sentiments caused by defective social, cultural, economic, and political structures. Once this freedom is acquired, the *minjung* will be able to plunge him or her into a new life attitude that fosters a new social order favorable to the conditions of *minjung* people. The significance of *Prana* to *Minjung* Theology offers a new perspective for *minjung* Christians to understand the role of the Holy Spirit and apply it to their lives. From this perspective, exponents of *Minjung* Theology interpret Jesus' act of breathing on his disciples in John 20: 22 as an infusion that produces the desire and willingness to alter one's underprivileged social-historical conditions for the better.

5.8.4.2 Dalit Theology

From its Sanskrit root *dal*, the term Dalit means "crushed, downtrodden, and destroyed" (Massey, 1997: 11). Mahatma Jyotirao Phule was the first to introduce the term in the nineteenth century (Massey 1997: 11). The Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra officially accepted the term in 1970 (Massey, 1994: 6). It describes the underprivileged class in the Indian caste system (Grey, 2004: 5; Jeyakumar, 1999: 12-13). The caste system is a Hindu hierarchical social stratification and discrimination, based upon its Rig-Veda and sustained by the

Chandogya Upanishads, which has pervasively divided the Indian people into *Brahmin* (priests), *Kshatriya* (warriors), *Vaishya* (traders), and *Shudra* (servants) (Dumont, 1980: 65; Massey, 1994: 90-91; Chakravarthi, 2004: 6, 7). While it accrues to those at the top classes ("forward castes") special privileges, it continues to consider those at bottom of the social classification ("backward" castes) as "untouchables" (Bayly, 2001: 13; Webster, 2007: 2). This has left centuries of indelible feeble self-consciousness among the people of the backward castes. Presently, about 70-75% of the Christian populace of India belongs to this classification (Henderson & Henderson, 2002: 40; Lobo, 1996: 170). These have been broken, oppressed, and marginalized by the religious-endorsed caste system. Dalit Theology is a Christian theological disposition to make the message of Christianity meaningful and significant in the daily life-struggles of those Indian people who have been broken by the strict caste system in the Indian community (Schwarz, 2005: 529).

Dalit Theology developed as a means of opposing the current form of Christianity in Indian. Exponents of Dalit Theology claim that the Christian church in Indian has been arranged after the similitude of the caste system (Stewart & Shaw, 1994: 101-102). Arvind P. Nirmal observes that this Christian arrangement is a justification of the oppression of the people in the backward caste. This is because Church leadership almost always involves those from the forward castes (Schwarz, 2005: 529). This caste ethos of Christianity in India is the result of an effort to incorporate Christian religious concepts into the daily way of life. The effort could be traced to the period in which the Nestorians managed the Christian Church in India (Griffiths, 1993: 54; Kuruvila, 2002: 4; Jeyakumar, 2004: 44). As a result of their efforts, much of Hinduism crept into the Christian church. Among these creeping Hindu elements was the unfair caste system. Since that time, all attempts to indigenize Christianity in Indian, either by Francis Xavier (Firth, 1998: 58), Roberto de Nobili (Teasedayle, 2003: 22), the indigenizes such as father Pierre Johanns and Swami Abishaktananda (Abishanktananda, 1969), or the present-day inculturationists (Abraham, 1996: 15), have failed to abolish the caste consciousness within Indian Christianity (Nirmal, 1990: 144; Prabhakar, 1994: 213; Clark, 1999: 27). This being the situation within Christianity in Indian, exponents of Dalit Theology renounce present forms of Christianity in India. According to them, the current forms of Christianity have been patterned in a manner that ignores the plight of the Dalit (Clarke, 1999: 42; Firth, 1998: 120; Thomas, 2009: 3-4). Hence Dalit Theology is a Christian theological stance against the marginalization and oppression created by the Hindu caste system and sustained by Brahminic ethos of current Christianity in India (Nirmal, 1991: 140, Prabhakar, 1988: 2).

M.E. Prabhakar has described Dalit Theology as "Theology of the Dalits, by the Dalits, for the Dalits" (Prabhakar, 1994: 210). Accordingly, Dalit theology begins theologizing from their plight as the underprivileged of Indian society. The preoccupation of Dalit Theology is to present the message of Christianity, with its optimism, as a divine resource that enhances the quest of the backward castes to escape the suffering that arises from the "oppression, poverty, injustice, illiteracy, and denial of identity" of the caste system (Massey, 1994: 153; Abraham, 1996: 208). Nirmal has referred to this starting point as "pathos" (Nirmal 1991: 141). Nirmal argues that the pathos is the main religious aspect that connects the experience of the Dalit people to the passion of Jesus and his crucifixion (Nirmal, 1991: 140). By means of this connection, the Dalit people perceive God as associating with them in their struggles against oppression and marginalization under the caste system.

The quest to develop a theology around the needs of the Dalit people causes Dalit theologians to focus on some theological themes. These are the Dalit experience, the liberative characterization, God as a liberator, and Jesus as a suffering Messiah. Exponents of Dalit Theology describe the Dalit people as the original settlers in India. Their lifestyles have been marked by struggles against the "Brahmin supremacy" (Prabhakar, 1990b: 45). This struggle resulted in the "elimination of Buddhism," the religion of the Dalit people, by the "Brahmanism," the religion of the Dravidian races (Keer, 2005: 407). The Dalit people realigned with other religions as a means of consolidating their efforts to reinstate their original social organization void of the divisive and hierarchical social strata of Brahmanism (Ayrookuzhiel, 2006: 21; Prabhakar, 1990b: 46). From this social-historical background, the Dalit people see Christian theology as an action-oriented enterprise that aids them in their struggle against the *casteism* of Brahmanism (Farley, 1988: 5, 88; Forrester, 2000: 23; Arockiadoss, 1997: 290). The liberative characterization of Dalit Theology is seen from its dual quest to change the current situation of the Dalit people and to usher in a new societal ordering which consists of human beings who live out the principles of fairness, equity, and the sanctity of human life. In this regard, Christian theology is no longer considered the historical property of the forward caste. Rather, it is perceived as a strong force that awakens the consciousness of the Dalit people to the willingness to alter their present suffering states in order to create an inclusive society founded upon tranquility, equity, and respect for life (Prabhakar, 1990b: 49-50). Exponents of Dalit Theology extend this notion of liberation to their oppressors as well (Massey, 2001: 79). The general feeling is that once the Dalit people are liberated from their oppression and the oppressors have been freed from the caste mentality, Indian society will have no hindrance to the creation of a non-caste society (Devasahayam, 1997a:282).

Viewed from the Dalit experience, God symbolizes both redemption from sin as well as divine aid by which they will restore their self-identity tarnished by the caste system. This notion of God connects the Dalit experience with that of the exodus of the Israelites (Prabhakar, 1990a: 62-63). Like the ancient Israelites, the Dalit people regard themselves enslaved in their own land by caste system created by Hinduism and sustained by the present form of Christianity in India. The belief that God will align with them and set them free from their Brahmanic oppressors just as He liberated the Israelites from Egyptian oppression (Massey, 2001: 79; Devasahayam, 1997b: 21). Dalit theological understanding of Jesus is from the same perspective as they view God. Jesus Christ is regarded as a Messiah who suffers with the Dalit people. For this reason, they consider Jesus as "*dhobi* or *bhangi*," that is, one who bears the pathos or suffering of others (Nirmal, 1988: 80-81). For Dalit Theology, the earthly life of Jesus Christ, typified by his association with the social outcasts of the Jewish society and his opposition of the privileged class of the day, provides *prima facie* evidence that Jesus Christ has a special preference for the oppressed and the marginalized. They identify this divine preference as the impetus to remove *casteism* from the Indian society (Massey, 1996: 87; Reddie, 2008: 185). Together, these themes portray attempts by the oppressed and marginalized people of India to articulate the message of Christianity in a manner that is relevant to their struggles against the casteism.

Asian Theology revolves around the notion that the Christian message needs the culture of the indigenes in order for it to be communicated audibly (Ling, 2005: 41). The Minjung Theology and the Dalit Theology subtypes reveal incorporation of other eastern religious concepts into Christianity for the purpose of enhancing the significance of the message of Christianity to the social, cultural, economic, and political conditions of the indigenous people. In

this regard, one can describe Asian Theology as syncretic, accommodative, and situational. It is syncretic because it borrows religious resources from some eastern religions and give them Christian meaning. It is accommodative because it seeks to understand the past and present as well as aspirations of the recipient of the Christian message. It is situational because it offers avenues by which recipients can deal with the problems and challenges which are peculiar to their context. With this religious ethos, Asian Theology no doubt carries own the core duty of Protestant liberalism-to make the message of Christianity meaningful as people encounter God everyday of their lives in their social, cultural, economic, and political context.

5.9 Palestinian Liberation Theology

Palestinian Liberation Theology is a Christian theological movement in the Middle East Region that resorts to the use of Christian religious resources in their resistance against Israeli domination. It appears to be a rallying ground for all believers from the three Abrahamic religions to resist the oppressive occupation of the state of Israel and her Western allies within the Middle East region (Pappe, 2006: 136, 138; Ateek, 2010: 40, 43; Sabbah, 2009: 26; Kurvilla, 2013: 33-34). Palestinian Liberation Theology arose in 1980 out of a general quest among some clergy and laymen to incorporate Christian religious faith into their struggle for liberty from Jewish occupation on the Palestinian territory (Ateek, 1989: 46). This first meeting produced a significant publication *Faith and the Intifada* and the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation theology Center. *Sabeel* has twofold meaning, namely, "the way" and "spring of water" (Masalha, 2007: 265). It was formed to respond to the Jewish-Arabic conflict over the rightful occupant of the Palestinian territory using Christian theological approaches.

The center draws support from the Christian community among the Jewish and Palestinian population who were dissatisfied over the traditional Christian approaches towards the oppressive occupation of the Jews in Middle East as supportive (Ateek, 1989: 56). They claimed that traditional Christian approaches, with its emphasis on *Christian Zionism*⁴⁸ and *Messiah Christology*,⁴⁹ has produced unbiblical justification that continues Israeli domination of other Middle East. This has resulted in the exclusion, oppression, and marginalization of the Arab world (Rowe, 2010: 472; Sabbah, 2009: 55). The task of the Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center is to seek "alternative," effective, and nonviolent Christian approaches towards the Jewish-Arabic Conflict in a manner that make the messages of Abrahamic faiths functional in the present situation of Jews, Christians, and Muslims living in the Middle East (Kurvilla, 2013: 114; Ateek, 2008: 10). Proponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology include Samir ka'fity, Lutfi Lahham, Michel Sabbah, Elias Chacour, Jonathan Kuttab, Jean Zaru, Cedar Duaybis, and Samia Khoury.

The typology of Palestinian Liberation Theology include theological themes such as the Palestinian experience, God, Jesus, Selflessness, and Justice. The Palestinian experience is the focal point of Palestinian Liberation Theology. The Palestinian experience has be characterized by ongoing seizure of "Palestinian land," an increase in the number of settlers in the Palestinian region, and the "oppression" and marginalization of "Palestinians" by "Israeli government" (Ateek, 2010: 3). Two major factors have accounted for the oppression and marginalization

⁴⁸ Christian Zionism is the Christian religious notion that the Bible considers the nation of Israel as a prophetic nation whose existence is key to ensuring the *parousia* and subsequent end of this "world" (Ateek, 2008: 28; Sabbah, 2009: 12).

⁴⁹ Messiah Theology is derived from the Jewish concept of *mashiach* (מָשִׁיחַ) which underlines the biblical and theological notion that the redemptive activity of Jesus Christ, the anointed one, has elevated the Jews above all people as God's favorite (Congdon, 2009: 159).

of Palestinians. First, the 1948 ethnic cleansing that resulted in the demise of many Palestinian Muslims and Christians as well as the loss of vast lands of space to Israeli nation. Second, the Israeli siege of the Arab territory in 1967 also displaced many Palestinians from their homes in the Middle East. The interplay of these two factors culminated into a "spiritual tragedy" that continue to establish and sustain a social and political oppression and marginalization of believers in the Abrahamic religions in the territory of Palestine (Montefiore, 2011: 472; Ateek, 2010: 2). In an attempt to reverse their situation, believers in the Abrahamic religions in Palestine continue to hope that God will aid them in their struggle to repossess their land and return to their normal ways of conducting businesses. The realization of their dream demands an alternative outlook into major theological concepts, especially that concerning the term *Israel*.

Exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology have reconstructed the traditional Christian conception of God. They claim that the stress on a 'favored community or nation' by traditional Christian understanding of God's election of the nation Israel presents the true God as a racist and discriminator. They consider such conclusions as unbiblical (Acts 10:34). Instead, exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology hold the view that the true God is a loving father. He loves all his children including Jews and Palestinians. In light of this, some exponents have claimed that God has a special concern for the oppressed and marginalization. For this reason, they interpret the chosen people as the oppressed and marginalized people in the world, especially those living in the Middle East (Merali & Sharbaf, 2009: 23). In a similar way, exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology have blamed the ongoing Israeli dominance of the Palestinian region on the stress that traditional Christianity has given to the nativity of Jesus Christ. According to them, such emphasis in biblical interpretation presents the Israeli culture as chauvinist. By extension, exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology renounce Son of David Christology and the erroneous link between Son of David Christology and Suffering Servant Christology. In accord with their experience as a suffering people, exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology endorse Suffering Servant Christology. They claim that this type of Christology inspires their non-violent resistance of oppression and marginalization even in the face of death.

Exponents of Palestinian Liberation Theology have also blamed egoism as the greatest sin of the human race. Egoism places emphasis on the needs, wants, approach, and happiness of the individual the performer of an action to the detriment of all others. Indulgence in egoistic tendencies manifests in two main ways, namely, selfishness on the part of an individual and chauvinism on the part of a group. While the harm caused by the former is on a limited scale, that caused by the latter has global effects. In the cause of human history, chauvinism underlines sexism, racism, nepotism, and all forms of ethnocentrism such as Euro-centrism, Americo-centrism, and Zionism. In place of egoism, Palestinian liberation theologians stress selflessness. Selflessness entails living a life that is void of any taint of self. Exponents claim that association with and love for the oppressed and marginalized in Palestine and all people of the world can only be realized by renouncing all feelings of superiority pertaining to one's self, religion, nationality, and ethnic group (Drummond, 1955: 2). By respectfully engaging others, humanity will obtain a better understanding of God, others, and self (Berofsky, 1995: 236).

Like other theologies of liberation, Palestinian Liberation Theology focuses on aiding the struggles of the oppressed and marginalized within the human society in order to establish and maintain social justice for all the members in a given society. However, Palestinian Liberation Theology slightly differs from other theologies of

liberation. This difference can be observed in one of two ways. First, Palestinian Liberation Theology involves people and organizations from the three Abrahamic religions, namely, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This means that Palestinian Liberation theology, unlike other types of liberation theology, transcends the religious requirement of Christianity. It pulls religious resources from all of these three major world religions to aid the struggle of the oppressed in the Middle East against repressive Israeli occupation. Second, Palestinian Liberation Theology advocates a nonviolent approach to winning their struggle against their oppressors. Unlike other types of Liberation Theology, Palestinian Liberation Theology see the non-violent life of Jesus Christ as significant in their quest for social justice. Hence, they renounce all forms of violence as unbiblical.

5.10 The Jesus Seminar

The Jesus Seminar is a Christian theological movement that seeks to replace traditional Christian conceptions of the life, sayings, and deeds of Jesus Christ with the real Jesus of history (Bloomberg, 2004: 19; Wink, 1997: 239; Funk, 1993: 5). The movement began in March, 1985 at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, California. Through the efforts of Robert Funk of the Westar Institute, the Jesus Seminar started with about 150 theologians and professionals who met to pursue a reconstruction of the real Jesus (Okoye, 2007: 28). Renouncing the traditional Christian understanding of Jesus Christ, members of the Jesus Seminar describe the real Jesus, or the historical Jesus, as sage of the Jewish-Greek tradition whose sole aim was the comprehensive emancipation of the oppressed and marginalized people from social injustices. His manner of preaching, expressed in parables and aphorisms, authenticated the message of Christianity in ways unprecedented within the cultural milieu of his days. In this regard, members of the Jesus Seminar claim that all miraculous references to Jesus such as the virgin birth, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, the walking on water, and resurrection, were first century theological projections on the figure of the real Jesus (Jackson, 2000: 1045-1046). Hence one needs to get rid of these myths in order to acknowledge the real Jesus of history.

The Jesus Seminar arrives at their conclusions base upon voting (Funk & Dewey, 2015: xii). In voting, members use colored beads to indicate their positions on matters in question (Funk, Hoover, & Jesus Seminar, 1993: 37). The operation of the Seminar may be divided into four phases. The first phase occurred from 1985 to 1991. During this period, the main task of the Seminar was to examine the sayings credited to Jesus Christ from the first to third centuries of the Common Era (Funk, Dewey, & Jesus Seminar, 2015: x). The second phase is from 1991 to 1995. During this period, members investigated the actions of Jesus during the first three centuries of the Common Era (Funk, Dewey & Jesus Seminar, 2015: xi). The third phase is from 1995 to 1999. During this period, the major preoccupation of the Seminar was to evaluate the various conclusions drawn during the activities of the first and second phases (Funk, Dewey, & Jesus Seminar, 2015: xi). Following the death of Robert W. Funk in 2005, the activities of the Acts Seminar, a group comprising of some of the original fellows or members of the Jesus Seminar, has ushered in the fourth phase of the group. Beginning in March, 2006, the Acts Seminar has focused on a study poised to authentically described Jesus' traditions from the perspective of the first two centuries of the Common Era. The various conclusions of the Jesus Seminar have been presented in various publications. These publications include *The Five Gospels* (1993), *The Acts of Jesus* (1998), *The Gospel of Jesus* (1999), and the *Profiles of Jesus* (2002).

The focus of the Jesus seminar revolves around theological themes such as authentic information about the historical Jesus, Jesus devoid of the story of Israel, the non-apocalyptic Jesus, and non-messianic Christology. In validating the sayings and deeds of the historical Jesus, the Jesus Seminar places no limit on the inclusion of historical data concerning Jesus Christ (Johnson, 1996: 172). In this respect, the Seminar reconstructs the real Jesus from the lenses of five gospels. These gospels are Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Thomas. In some cases, the historical records about Jesus contained in the "Gospel of Thomas" is regarded as the most authentic (Wright, 1999: 5). Evidence from both canonical and non-canonical data has caused the Jesus Seminar to completely ignore the socio-historical context of Jesus. Members of the Jesus Seminar have accused traditional Christianity for distorting the true conception of the real Jesus by preserving only Judaist conceptions of him (Funk, Hoover, & Jesus Seminar, 1993: 5).

Similarly, the Jesus Seminar rejects the traditional Christian portrayal of Jesus as an "eschatological prophet" (Funk, Hoover, & Jesus Seminar, 1993: 5). In place of such an eschatological conception of Jesus' teachings, members of the Jesus Seminar claim Jesus presented the kingdom of God in the context of "realized eschatology" (Ladd & Hagner, 1993: 56; McKim, 2014: 106). This implies that Jesus conceived of the kingdom of God as attainable in the here-and-now. It is further claimed that Jesus expected all his followers to contribute towards establishing a new social order upon the divine principles of equity, justice, and tranquility-"*sapiential eschatology*" (Crossan, 1999: 410). Additionally, the Jesus Seminar describes the real Jesus as non-messianic. Members argue that Jesus did not conceive of himself as a Messiah. Instead, they consider him as an itinerant "cynic sage" (Jackson, 2000: 1046) who formulated his personal view of the religious ideal of the Israelites.

Despite sharp criticisms of the operations and conclusions arrived at by the Jesus Seminar (Bloomberg, 1995: 20; Wills, 2006: 25-26), some aspects of their activities have been significant to theological understanding in the 21st century. Of prime importance is the resources they provide in understanding biblical parables. Also, the archeological breakthroughs have offered present "biblical scholarship" an authentic outlook to peruse the social, cultural, political, geographical, and economic milieu from which the Bible emerged (Funk, Dewey, & Jesus Seminar, 2015: ix).

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter investigated ways by which Protestant Liberalism has affected some contemporary theologies. Within the areas of contemporary theologies, the impact of Protestant Liberalism is conspicuous within theological contextualization. The connection is borne out of the desire by proponents of Protestant Liberalism to make the message of Christianity authentic to the contemporary individual. Theological contextualization is the result of engaging Christian religious beliefs and practices in the ongoing experiences of recipients. This suggests that the message of Christianity must be communicated in manner that is relevant to the socio-historical milieu of recipients. With this relevance, the message of Christianity will be received as part of the comprehensive social biography of the targeted group. To aid the Christian communicator perform his or her role effectively, Stephen Bevans has suggested six main models. These are the anthropological model, translation model, the praxis model, the synthetic model, the semiotic model, and the transcendental model. Theological contextualization has had far-reaching effect on modern means of spreading Christian religious beliefs.

Evidently, theological contextualization has emphasized the need to make the message of Christianity respond positively to the practical concerns of varying cultures. Consequently, several types of theologies have emerged under the auspices of contextual theologies. These include Pentecostal Theology, Servant Theology, Political Theology, and the Theologies of Liberation. Pentecostal Theology generally focuses on valid Christian religious experience and the continuous intervening role of the Holy Spirit as the locus of the self-revelation of God. Based on the Christian conception of incarnation, Servant Theology claims that the selfless acts performed by Christ towards redeeming humanity from sin and its ongoing consequences should be the center of theologizing. Political Theology seeks to use Christian religious resources in determining and sanctioning the right form of government and its activities. Theologies of Liberation generally focuses on concerns of the poor, the oppressed, and the marginalized. Examples of this type of theology include Black Theology, Latin American Theology, Feminist Theology, Asian Theology, and Palestinian Theology.

Though a common strand permeates through all Theologies of Liberation, slight variations may be observed when comparisons are done within the Liberation Theology tradition. For example, Black Theology uses Christian religious resources to seek social and cultural emancipation from white racial groups and individuals; but Latin American Theology uses Christian religious resources as a means of liberating the poor, oppressed, and the marginalized people of South American Countries from imperial cultural, social, political, and economic oppression. Also, Feminist Theology uses Christian theological concepts to positively aid their struggle against social, economic, political, and religious marginalization induced by male chauvinism. Again, Asian theology, manifested by such theologies as Dalit Theology of India and Minjung Theology of Korea, uses Christian theological ideals to support the quest of the poor, oppressed, and marginalized population against social discrimination or *casteism*. Further, Palestinian Theology employs religious resources from the three Abrahamic religions to positively aid their non-violent struggle against exploitive oppression meted out to them on their land by Israeli government and their western allies.

In a unique sense, the Jesus Seminar continues the cause of early exponents of Protestant Liberalism to make Jesus Christ significant to every generation of believers. By renouncing the Jesus presented by traditional Christianity, fellows of the Jesus Seminar hope to present the real or the historical Jesus in his non-Jewish, non-eschatological, and non-messianic personality. By following the concepts of contextual theologies and emerging modern strands of theology like the Jesus Seminar, one is likely to come to terms with the impact of Protestant Liberal conceptions on contemporary Christian culture. Without doubt, Protestant Liberalism has particularized Christian religious beliefs and practices in ways that respond to different socio-historical contexts. This implies that the message of Christianity appears differently to people of varying cultures. Yet, Protestant Liberalism conceives of each separate message as the essence of Christianity authentic in that culture.

By examining contextual theologies, one finds a present-day renewal of the message of Protestant Liberalism. Contextual theologies reveal the particularization within Christendom. This particularization of Christendom has not only produced several Christian denominations, but it has also induced varying thoughts on essential points of scripture and the theological discourse that, hitherto, had a common ecclesiastical meaning. The state of Christendom today truly reveals the inroads that the tradition of Protestant Liberalism continue to make within the Christian religion. Most importantly, the particularization of the Christian faith and practice poignantly points to

the core of Protestant liberal thought which considers religion as an ongoing conversation between God's self-revelation and humanity's response. This conversation appears in varying forms to different people in different situations at different times. The various strands within the tradition of Liberation Theology as well as the Jesus Seminar poignantly points to the fact that people vary in their encounter with the God-consciousness. Thus any attempt to define the Christian religious experience by an absolute and universal manifestation of God's self-revelation within a specific culture and social historical timeline is seen as misrepresenting Christianity to recipients of varying cultures.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPACT OF PROTESTANT LIBERALISM ON PRESENT-DAY CHRISTIAN CULTURE

6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters in this study have attempted to provide a basic definition and characterization of Protestant Liberalism. Also, the study has compared Protestant Liberalism with Classical Liberalism noting the basic philosophies, the similarities, and differences embedded in these two religious and political traditions. Again, the study has highlighted the core teachings that underlay the various strands within the Protestant Liberal tradition. Further, the study has discussed the manifestations of the Protestant Liberal tradition in contemporary theological movements.

In this chapter, the study evaluates Protestant Liberalism in terms of its impact on contemporary Christian culture. The main argument in this chapter is that Protestant Liberalism has had both positive and negative effects on the manner in which the contemporary Christian thinks, behaves, and feels about existential and theological issues. An evaluation of the impact of Protestant Liberalism on present-day Christian culture affords the evaluator an avenue of appraising the Protestant Liberal tradition.

6.2 Positive Contributions of Protestant Liberalism to Contemporary Christian Culture

Protestant Liberalism has stressed the importance of context in understanding the ongoing encounter between God and humanity. Context refers to the very beginning of the cultural and historical environment within which a given people find identity and cohesion. It provides details concerning when, where, and how responsible groups of people emerged and interacted within a specific environment. Context manifests in values, norms, and interests associated with a given group of people. Any aspect of the recipients' social environment that enhances the context of a given people is accorded deep respect. This implies that Christian religious beliefs and practices ought to connect with the context of its adherents if it is to be relevant in the social biography of the contemporary individual.

Protestant liberalism has rightly criticized some Orthodox Christian traditions for distancing themselves from the social, cultural, and historical context of their audiences. Stress on the transcendental reward that awaits the Christian seems to have caused some orthodox Christian groups to focus solely on the affairs of the here-after to the utter neglect of the existential concerns of the present physical reality. For example, the notion of a celestial new world bequeathed by otherworldly notions of the kingdom of God has generated an attitude within Christendom that causes believers to recoil from social, cultural, and political matters that define what contemporary individuals value and which ones they will debase. Unable to fit themselves into the relevant concerns of contemporary individuals, orthodox Christianity struggles to maintain a balance between the values of the past and the progressive pace of the postmodern society. This has resulted in intrapersonal tensions within most mainline Christian traditions (Geertz, 1973: 320).

Perhaps this confusion is best described by Dietrich Bonhoeffer's notion of "religious escapism" (cited in De Lange, 2007: 143). By this term, Bonhoeffer traces the cause of the privatization of Christian religious beliefs (cited in De Lange, 2007: 143). In a society that has dichotomized the religious from the non-religious with no mutual grounds

for interaction, "inwardness" became the plausible habitat for the Christian God. The basis of the relegation of Christianity to the inner recesses of humanity is traceable to the inability of the postmodern individual to escape the challenges of the observable world. Protestant Liberalism offers avenue for bridging the gap between the religious and the non-religious world. Its main stress is that Christian moral resources are needed to keep a right balance between the two seemingly unrelated aspects of reality (cited in De Lange, 2007: 144). For Bonheoffer, the Christian concept of incarnation is a manifestation that the God has merged the two divide into a single reality and has subjected some under His rule (cited in De Lange, 2007: 145).

In a quest to prevent Christianity from being devalued, the Protestant Liberal tradition offers avenues for incorporating Christian religious beliefs and practices into the various social, cultural, and political contexts of its audience (Kepnes, 2007: 14). Revealed in its diverse philosophical and theological characterization, Protestant Liberalism probes cultures, social, and political structures with a view of enhancing social justice and equity for all people regardless of race, nationality, gender, or social status (Rasor, 2009: 442). Protestant Liberalism thrives on the notion that each individual has an innate capacity to decide how to respond to the universal God-consciousness. The result is that different people respond to the self-disclosure of God in different ways at different timelines and situations (Rasor, 2009: 439). For this reason, tolerance is the key to ensuring a unified and coherent society.

Another laudable characteristic of the Protestant Liberal tradition is that it attempts to preserve the essential components of Christianity within the trends of modernization (Rasor, 2009: 436-437). The term modernization is variously used to refer to unsystematic approaches of finding present-day expressions for antiquary thoughts, behaviors, and emotional expressions (Geertz, 1973: 319). It is marked by skepticism of external entities that assume the role of absolutism in existential matters (Bellah, 1976: 43-44).

Postmodernist society distastes ready-made answers from the past that purport to provide reliable and valid solution to present-day and future challenges (Bellah, 1991: 463). In the postmodern mindset, there is no absolute, all-encompassing ways to evaluate the opinions of cultured individuals. Instead, truth is seen as a scientifically valid and relative construct. This trend is also observable in religion. Claims of possessing absolute truth or sole access to salvation are viewed with suspicion. Together, the contemporary society upholds only religious expressions that have been validated through scientific and empirical scrutiny (Newbigin, 1986: 18). Consequently, some orthodox Christian teachings have been presented to the contemporary individual in a manner that remain inaccessible to scientific and empirical scrutiny. This has resulted in the removal of God's self-disclosure from the daily affairs of the contemporary society. Protestant Liberalism, in contrast, portrays the Christian God as one who participates in the affairs of the contemporary individual. This portrait is observable within the different strands of contextual theologies especially the theologies of liberation.

Another scholarly description of contemporary society represents it as "secular" (Stolz, Könemann, Purdie, Englberger, & Krüggeler, 2016: 44; Asad, 2003: 2). From its Latin root, *saeculum*, meaning "race, age, or world," the term refers to the non-sacred aspect of reality (Harakas, 1973; 173). In this realm of reality, there is a strict dichotomy between the physical and the metaphysical world such that there's no interaction between them (Schememann, 1972: 11). Accordingly, interpretation of the entailment of each reality divide is done solely within the resources provided by the specific realm without recourse to the other realm of reality (West, 1959: 3; Wuthnow, 1989: 297).

In light of this development, secularism describes the immediate context of reality void of any sacred stipulations (Schememann, 1972: 8). Within this aspect of reality, modern individuals rely on their own resources and caprices to resolve existential issues. Success in this endeavor through a given period in humanity's history has provided it with the confidence in "itself" that it can survive without recourse to any transcendental entity or preconceived antiquary stipulations that purport to guide the progressive moral "life" (Schememann, 1972: 8; Nissiotis, 1972:136; Schememann, 1979: 63). The implication is that the contemporary individual does not attach much seriousness to any ideology (whether religious, social, or cultural) that offers humanity no avenue for building innate confidence for surmounting the myriads of challenges of living in the here-and-now (Meyendorff, 1978: 152). Consequently, some orthodox Christian traditions tend to appeal to a pre-existing set of answers coupled with its large store of historical and ecclesiastical documents that has little bearing on the daily struggles of the contemporary individual.

To its credit, Protestant Liberalism attempts to offer avenues by which core content of God's self-revelation can be retained in the contemporary society. Protestant Liberalism contain inbuilt philosophies that establishes valid, scientific, and rational plausibility structures for making Christian religious experience influential in the contemporary society (Richmond, 2014: 102). By this means, Protestant Liberalism enables Christianity to contextualize itself within the thought, behavior, and emotional patterns of the contemporary society. Paul Rasor terms this versatility "critical engagement" (Rasor, 2009: 436). Stated differently, Protestant Liberalism utilizes contemporary "points of comprehension" and "points of correspondence" to articulate Christian religious beliefs in a manner that resonates and motivates the contemporary individual to respond adequately to existential concerns (Mousalimas, 1994: 131, 208).

The influence of Protestant Liberalism can also be observed in the area of biblical hermeneutics. The term *hermeneutics* is an English derivative of the Greek *ἑρμηνεύω* (*hermeneuō*, "translate, interpret") and its variants, *ἑρμηνεύς* (*hermeneus*, "translator, interpreter"), and *ἑρμηνεία* (*hermeneia*, "interpretation, explanation") (Klein, 2000: 344). Though R. S. P. Beekes (2009: 462) claims the earliest usage of the term predates the Greeks, the popular scholarly view traces the origin of the term to the Greek god, Hermes (Zimmermann, 2015: 3). As a messenger of the Greek pantheon, Hermes interpreted the otherwise ambiguous messages of the gods to human beings (Vallooran, 2015: 112). It is also popularly held that Aristotle's *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* ("*Peri Hermeneias*," translated *On Interpretation*) emphasized the significance of comprehending a text or a piece of work holistically on the basis of reason and logic (Grondin, 1994: 21). Through its long tradition, the term hermeneutics have come to refer to the principles and the methods of understanding a text and ensuring that the core of the message is transmitted in a meaningful manner to another person (Audi, 1999: 377; Reese, 1980: 221). The *Routledge Companion to Philosophy in Organizational Studies* (2015: 113) supports the interchangeable usage of the term with the term *exegesis*. The term hermeneutics has been widely applied to various fields of study. However, its application in Christian Theology is the focus of this discussion.

Biblical hermeneutics refers to the methodology for making the scriptural text comprehensible. Though principles of biblical interpretation existed before Augustine, his *De Doctrina Christianiae* has been generally considered as one of the earliest attempts to systematize the methods of biblical interpretation. He incorporated aspects of Platonism into his theology. For him, humility, love, and an understanding of divine symbolisms were the essential

characters for a proper understanding and interpretation of the biblical text (Woo, 2013: 97-98). Orthodox Christian hermeneutics, therefore, inherited a sort of prepositional and devotional principles of interpretation that regarded Jesus Christ as the Ultimate Teacher (*paidagogos*) and the scriptural text as a training system (*paideia*) (Cunningham & Theoknitoff, 2008: 27). Consequently, the interpreter had the task of deciphering the absolute message of God and applying the "unadulterated message of God" to Christian living in a manner that conforms to the "purpose, nature, and saving message" of the Bible (Cunningham & Theoknitoff, 2008: 30).

The Enlightenment inspired a hermeneutical revolution in that the Bible was now regarded as equivalent to any other ancient text. This meant that the Bible had to be interpreted just as any other text would be interpreted. Influenced by Friedrich Ast, Friedrich Schelling, Kant, and Schleiermacher's personal studies of the Greek language, Plato's writings, and the New Testament, Schleiermacher brought biblical interpretation to the center stage of philosophical discourses- *Verstehen*, meaning "understanding" (Matthers, 2011: 2; Mueller-Vollmer, 1988: 72). This shift began a chain of hermeneutical theories marked by Schleiermacher's romantic and methodological hermeneutics (Mueller-Vollmer, 1988: 72; Echeverria, 1981: 221). Eventually, other scholars and thinkers advanced this hermeneutical method. Some of these scholars and thinkers are August Böckh's version of methodological hermeneutics (Seebohm, 2007: 55), Wilhelm Dilthey's epistemological hermeneutics (Martin, Sugarmann, & Slaney, 2015: 56), Martin Heidegger's ontological hermeneutics, hermeneutic phenomenology (Heidegger, 2008: 92; Tymieniecka, 2014: 246), and transcendental hermeneutic phenomenology (Bhattacharya, 2017: 99), Hans-Georg Gadamer's ontological hermeneutics (Malpas, 2014: 259), Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenology (Ihde, 1971: 198), Walter Benjamin, Ernst Bloch, and Fredric Jameson's Marxist hermeneutics (Amacher, 2015: 11; Mohanty, 1997: 94-95), Jacques Derrida's radical hermeneutics, otherwise known as hermeneutics of deconstruction (Caputo, 1988: 5), Richard Kearney's diacritical hermeneutics (Kearney, 2011: 1), and John Thompson's critical hermeneutics (Thompson, 1984: vii), to the contemporary trajectory hermeneutics or redemptive-movement hermeneutics (Klein, Blomberg, Hubbard, 2004: 497-498; Virkler & Ayayo, 2007: 202-203).

Most importantly, Schleiermacher's notion on hermeneutics shifted attention from the literal understanding of scriptures to the quest for comprehending the subjective world of the biblical author as well as his or her perspective. According to him, proper interpretation of a text depends on an awareness of the interdependence between the "whole" and the "individual" (Schleiermacher, 1999: 329). Similarly, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) sought to communicate exactly the perspective of the biblical author through probing the historical context of the author (Hodges, 2013: 338). Later, Martin Heidegger emphasized the role of the social context of the author as a means of penetrating the inner recesses of him or her in order to participate in the experiences or encounters of the author at the time of composition (Agosta, 2010: 20). Heidegger referred to his approach as the *hermeneutic circle* (Guignon, 1993: 172).

In succeeding years, several strands developed from Heidegger's hermeneutic circle. Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) highlighted the need of deepening the original perspective of the biblical author by participating in his or her subjective world and developing new perspectives of it (Fives, 2013: 60; Segev, 2013: 70). With slight variation from each other, Bernarn Lonergan (1904-1984), Paul Ricoeur (1913-2005), and Karl-Otto Apel (b. 1922) advanced the Heideggerian hermeneutical tradition (Adkins, Brosnan, & Threadgold, 2017: 132; Zabala, 2008:

Mealey, 2009: 117; Vandeveld, 2005: 6). Setting his hermeneutical views against that of Gadamer, Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929) casted his notion of hermeneutics within critical social theory (Bernstein, 1995: 229). He incorporated social theory of interaction, communication, labor, and production into a hermeneutical approach that describes the role of political, social, and economical factors in hermeneutics (Mendelson, 1979: 45-47). In recent times, Fredric Jameson has developed an approach to biblical hermeneutics that utilizes Marxist hermeneutics to redefine the four traditional modes of biblical interpretation- literal, moral, allegorical, and anagogical (Fredric, 1982: 17-18; Kaufmann, 1997: 33).

The advancement of philosophical hermeneutics, spearheaded by Protestant Liberalism, divorced biblical interpretation from the orthodox Christian version of dogmatic and propositional set of ideas or directives to which all attempts at biblical interpretation were to conform or discover (Sutton & van der Bercken, 2003: 226; Taves, 2009: 4). Seeing the content of the Bible like any other piece of literature, exponents of Protestant Liberalism utilizes multidisciplinary approaches to probe the comprehensive context of the piece of writing, the social biography of the author, as well as the original intention of the author. The purpose of such investigation was to understand the text and communicate it in a manner that could be easily grasped by the modern individual. This method of hermeneutics has been described as biblical criticism (Davies, 2013: 3, 5-7).

In its earliest development, biblical criticism was divided into higher and lower criticism (Farnell, Andrews, Howe, Marshall, Newman, & Cocar, 2016: 1-2). While the former investigated the literary, cultural, and historical background of the biblical text, the latter analyzed the text with a view on rendering its meaning correctly. Recently, scholars prefer to divide biblical criticism into historical criticism and literary criticism (Cox & Reynolds, 1993: 3, 5-6, 27). Historical criticism focuses on understanding the origin of a text and literary criticism emphasizes the actual meaning and development of the author's message from the time of writing or utterance through to the present-day reader or listener. Exponents within the Protestant Liberal tradition has utilized the method of biblical criticism so much so that the method has developed various variants. Dominant among these variants approaches are textual criticism (Clines, 1998: 23-24), sources criticism, also referred to as *origin criticism* (Barton, 2007: 63), form criticism and tradition history (Potter & Adams, 2016: 19), redaction criticism (Carson, 2010: 155), canonical criticism (Smith, 2002: 35), rhetorical criticism (Kuypers, 2016: 1), narrative criticism (Thatcher & Moore, 2008: 1-2), psychological criticism (Kille, 2001: xiii, 1-2), socio-scientific criticism (Arp, 2013: 621), postmodernist criticism (Adam, 1995: 1-3; Barry, 2002: 91), and feminist exegesis (Schottroff & Wacker, 2012: xiii, 10). These approaches within the hermeneutical method of biblical criticism use myriads of interpretative techniques. These techniques include the "lexical-syntactical analysis," "historical/cultural analysis," "contextual analysis," "theological analysis," "special literary analysis" and the "speaker, discourse, and hearer" technique (Poythress, 1999: 109; Porter & Stovell, 2012: 27-29; Virkler, 1981).

Through the hermeneutical method of biblical criticism, Protestant Liberalism situates theological discourses within the ongoing experience of the contemporary individual. It describes the writings of the biblical authors as products of their social, cultural, and historical contexts. These authors understood God's self-disclosure and communicated these revealed messages to their immediate audience in familiar linguistic patterns determined by the comprehensive context. For this reason, Protestant Liberalism renounces the orthodox Christian notion that there is a hidden meaning to biblical texts that can be deciphered either figuratively and/or allegorically. The

emphasis on the immanence of God within the Protestant Liberal tradition necessitates that the Christian God imitates and sustains all events and activities in reality. As such, it is inconceivable how this personal God will disclose Himself to individuals or groups in unfamiliar cues of communication. In the Protestant Liberal tradition, God reveals Himself to individuals and groups in plain linguistic cues. This notion enables exponents of Protestant Liberalism to localize the Christian message into readily acceptable form within the present-day framework of reference.

6.3 Negative Effects of Protestant Liberalism on Contemporary Christian Culture

Attempts of exponents of Protestant Liberalism to make the self-disclosure of God speak to a particular context has had negative effect on genuine Christian culture. Rather than engaging critically with contexts themselves, exponents of Protestant Liberalism have often subjected the Christian religious experience to the plausibility structures determined by social, cultural, political, economic, and religious contexts. As evidenced by contextual theologies especially the theologies of liberation, the Protestant Liberal tradition emphasizes existential concerns dominant in a given context. For example, most theologies of liberation focuses on emancipation of individuals from oppression and marginalization that occur on gender, racial, ethnic, caste, economic, and political lines (Grey, 2004: 89). The focus on the suffering is so acute that victims imbibe the notion that God is the bona-fide property of the oppressed and the marginalized. By inference, then, the victims of social injustices become the ultimate context as well as the goal of theologizing (Merali & Sharbaf, 2009: 23, 25). Such a locus of theologizing has replaced core Christian religious beliefs and practices with moral matrixes that are essential for establishing and maintaining cordial human relationships (Kepnes, 2007: 14; Dorrien, 2006: 116). Within these moral matrixes, Protestant Liberalism emphasizes the structural dimension of the concept of sin. Rather than perceiving sin as both a personal and corporate affair, Protestant Liberalism proposes that societal institutions and laws that cause "injustices" are "sinful" (Dorrien, 2006: 116). Consequently, Christian religious beliefs and practices are adhered to as long as they provide the moral resources needed by the contemporary individual to fulfill existential needs (Taves, 2009: 4).

Again, the obsessive quest to make Christianity relevant in contemporary societies continue to have dire consequences for the genuine expression of the Christian religious experience. In adapting essential aspects of the Christian religious experience to the thoughts, behavior, and feelings of modernity, Protestant Liberalism places Christianity on the same pedestal as other religious experiences. This is borne out of the protestant liberal notion that all religious expressions form a meta-narrative about ongoing and universal God-consciousness. As such, the various religions are aspects of this universal reality of God (Keenes-Lund, 2007: 8-9). As a result, Christianity cannot claim religious exclusivism anymore (Razor, 2009: 437). In contradistinction, the Bible claims some uniqueness for the Christian Religious experience (Isa 8:20; Jer 10:10, 19; John 14:6; Acts 4:12; Gal 1:9). Additionally, the reconstruction of the Christian religious experiences by means of scientific and empirical investigations has cast doubt on the authenticity of the Bible. Prior to the onset of the Protestant Liberal tradition, it was generally held that adherents of Christianity could not add to the self-revelation of God deposited in the Bible. However, Protestant Liberalism has portrayed the Bible as a piece of literature that contains the subjective experiences of ancient individuals who encountered God. For this reason, the contemporary individual has the liberty to accept portions of the Bible that have a bearing on the present-day experience of God-consciousness and

reject those aspects of the Bible that have no relevance to the existential culture of contemporary society (Jordan, Lockey, & Tate, 2002: 50). Accordingly, exponents of Protestant Liberalism consider scriptural doctrines such as inspiration, the virgin birth and the resurrection of Christ, miracles, original sin, hell, and heaven as sheer indication of ignorance (Wilcox, Tice, & Kelsey, 2013: 211). Schleiermacher considered miracles as irrelevant and "altogether superfluous" to the contemporary worldview (Styles, 2004: 58-59). Harnack claimed that biblical miracles were "inauthentic" and "erroneous" additions to the biblical gospel narrative (Porter & Adams, 2016: 182; Vardy & Vardy, 2015: 151). For them, Christianity is an invitation to imitate the moral goodness of Jesus, who was like any other human being (Richmond, 2014: 102). This notion underlies both the "moral influence theory of the atonement"⁵⁰ and the "quest for the Jesus of history"⁵¹ (Frei, 1997: 177; Migliore, 2004: 185).

As a consequence to the quest to adapt Christianity to the contemporary worldview, Protestant Liberal thoughts have given rise to contemporary radical theological thoughts. Two subtypes of radical theology include the God is Dead Theology and Secular Theology. Theologically referred to as *theothanatology*, the God is dead theological movement is an umbrella expression that represents the onset of secularism and the renunciation of orthodox conception of God in the mid-nineteenth century (Gundry, 2001: 327). The basic idea is that the Godhead died in Christ; hence, there is the need for Him to be replaced by another deity superior to the orthodox Christian God. The God is Dead movement was mainly propounded in the 1950' and 1960's by Marxist theologians who rebelled against what they considered as supranatural theologies. However, the current ethos of the God is dead theology was largely influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche, 1844-1900 (Kenny, 2015: 120; Morgan & Guilherme, 2014: 90; Hood, 2015: 11). Following the tradition of the God is dead movement; the writings of scholars such as Gabriel Vahanian, Paul van Buren, William Hamilton, John Robinson, Thomas J. J. Altizer, Mark C. Taylor, and John D. Caputo have given contemporary perspective to the death of God theology (McGrath, 1997: 255).

Secular theology is an outgrowth of God is Dead Theology. Heavily influenced by the neo-orthodox thoughts of Bonhoeffer and Harvey Cox as well as the existential theological thoughts of Søren Kierkegaard and Tillich (Olson, 2013: 437; Crockett, 2001: 53), it attempts to merge secularism and Christian theology to form a scholarly driven theological approach that provides objective solutions to basic questions of religion. The fundamental principle of secular theology is that orthodox Christian portrait of God and Jesus Christ in a metaphysical or transcendental sense are to be regarded as myths void of an historical authentication. This underlining proposition allows exponents of secular theology to interact of the contemporary worldview without any setback. Though John A. T. Robinson is the main proponent (Torgerson, 2007: 16; Clements, 2017: 53), the writings of John Shelby Spong has been influential in sharpening contemporary version of secular theology (Smith, 2014: 74-75; Spong, 2007: 11-12, 24, 35, 44, 122).

The advancement of secular theology limited the understanding of the Scripture as God's self-revelation to humanity unconsciously communicated through human. Secular theology holds that the Bible is a product of the

⁵⁰The moral influence theory of the atonement, also referred to as subjective theory of the atonement claims that Jesus reconciles humanity to God by means of offering humanity a loving portrait of God's identity and not through the means of sacrifice (Frei, 1997: 177).

⁵¹The quest for the Jesus of history is a historical enquiry into the identity of Jesus as suggested by his contemporaries and not through the biblical records contained in the Gospels (Migliore, 2004: 185).

authorial voices of the Bible acting under the influence of their social, cultural, historical, and personal milieu. This view undermines the twin concept of inspiration and inerrancy of scripture.

Also, biblical criticism undermines the biblical metanarratives that runs from the Old Testament to the New Testament in sequence. By overemphasizing biblical texts as products of their respective social historical timelines, it tends to sever earlier aspects of God's self-revelation from newer versions of God's self-revelation. The underlining notion of free-thought within Protestant Liberalism enables contemporary individuals to wander from the comprehensive context of the biblical text into aspects of personal thought, behavior, and emotional patterns that may be incompatible with the intent and purposes of the biblical text. Evidently, the authorial voice in the New Testament referred to major Old Testament theological themes as a means of demonstrating that the New Testament complements God's self-revelation embedded in the Old Testament. Unfortunately, biblical criticism fractures this vital connection. Instead, it promotes particularized and divergent biblical interpretations that undermine or ignore the metanarrative acclaimed by the biblical authorial voice. The current approach to biblical hermeneutics, the historical-critical method, is an outgrowth of biblical criticism. This new phase of biblical criticism employs various critical approaches to locate the "*sitz im leben*" (situation in life) of the biblical texts (Marttila, 2006: 78; Farnell, Andrews, Howe, Marshall, & Newman, 2016: 194). In the contemporary setting, the various strands of the historical-critical method such as structuralism, post-structuralism, reader-response criticism, and radical criticism continue to abandon aspects of the Bible that appear incomprehensible to the contemporary mindset (Soulén & Soulén, 2001: 78).

6.4 Evaluation

The contextualization of the God's self-revelation to address the existential concerns of contemporary individuals is important, because it allows the self-revelation of God to be relevant to the living situation of its hearers. However, Protestant Liberalism seems to have overstretched the importance of context to such a degree that the integrity and core identity of the message of the Gospel is compromised. Protestant Liberalism risks reducing the essence of Christianity to aspects of Christian religious experience that are situated in the here-and-now. Exponents of Protestant Liberalism focus so much on the affairs of the present life that the eschatological message of the Gospel is lost. Some Protestant Liberals such as Reimarus Strauss, Johannes Weiss, and Albert Schweitzer have discounted the eschatological focus of the message of Jesus on grounds that Jesus' message offered no insight for the contemporary Christian (Witmer, 2014: 488-489). But evidence from scripture indicates that the Christian religious experience has a dual focus (1 Cor 15:19; Matt 19: 27-29; Mark 10: 29-30). Truly, the eschatological and future orientedness is so poignant that the thought of it motivates the present life of the Christian (Acts 14:12; 1 Tim 4: 8). Genuine Christianity keeps a fair balance between the concerns of both the here-and-now and the here-after. In other words, the Christian religious experiences offers resources for living in the present life as well as in the world to come (Schwarz, 2000: 125).

Adapting the Christian religious experience to scientific and empirical analysis is promising. At best, it endorses the Christian religious experience as authentic in the worldview of contemporary individuals. It forces adherents of Christianity to systematize and present their message in a coherent and consistent manner. However, the means in which Protestant Liberalism attains this reasoned Christian faith is not without reinterpretation or utter abandonment of core aspects of the Christian religious experience.

C. Stephen Evans (cited in John, 2012: 84) has correctly observed that Protestant Liberalism removes key Christian theological concepts from their established antiquary antecedents and reinterprets them in a deviating manner in order to appeal to the contemporary mind. For example, the orthodox Christian understanding of sin has shifted from describing humanity's failure to keep the just standards of God (Hanson, 2004: 51; Johnson 2006: 58) to mean any human action or inaction that enhances oppression and marginalization in the society (Russell & Clarkson, 1996: 279; Jensen, 2016: 172).

For this course, Emile Brunner hated Protestant Liberalism. He accused exponents of Protestant Liberalism of *theologismus*- the act of emphasizing doctrine instead of personal faith, the "I-Thou encounter, or *biblical personalism* (cited in Muto, 2002: 101; Brown, 2015: 80). Similarly Rudolf Bultmann, the main proponent of the demythologization, blamed Protestant Liberalism for esteeming the portrait of Jesus by his contemporaries to the neglect of the Jesus proclaimed by the early Christian church (cited in Kugler & Hartin, 2009: 535). For Reinhold Niebuhr, the subjection of the Christian religious experience to science and reason has distorted the Christian faith such that the very history of humanity has been misrepresented (Kegley, 2001: 271). In his view, the true origin of humanity emanates from the Bible in which humanity is presented as one splendidly created by God but who lost that estate of splendor and transmitted the acquired imperfection universally unto subsequent generations (Lee, 2012: 63). Accordingly, exponents have subjected Christianity to reason and science instead of faith. However, Christianity is an invitation to live the life of faith (Heb 11:6-8). The truth in Christianity is attained only through faith. According to Karl Barth, Christianity grows within the atmosphere of faith attained from God's word (cited in Gaston & Peden, 2013: 176). Consequently, individuals cannot attain the true knowledge of God without faith (McEnhill & Newlands, 2004: 112). Perhaps this is the reason for Kierkegaard's argument that science and reason cannot offer any valid solution to fundamental religious queries (cited in Dorrien, 2012: 262-263). According to him, the human life without faith is "desperate" (Stewart, 2012: 92).

The effect of Protestant Liberalism in the area of biblical interpretation is mixed. By highlighting the social, cultural, and historical contexts of the biblical text as well as the personal traits of the biblical author, Protestant Liberalism offers the contemporary reader or listener of Scripture the avenue to properly grasp the intended meaning of the text. It also elevates God's self-revelation to center-stage in the existential struggles of the contemporary individual. Yet, it has overstretched itself to the point that it has divorced major themes of God's self-revelation deposited in both the Old and New Testaments from each other (John, 2012: 84). This has had adverse effect on the nature of the original authorial voices in the Bible. A critical look at the writings of the biblical text will indicate that each biblical writer was conscious that his or her writings were part of an overarching self-disclosure of God. For example, the question on circumcision (Gen 17: 10-14; Ex 12: 43-49; Acts 15: 1-20), clean and unclean foods (Lev 11; Deut 14; 1 Tim 4:1-5), respect for non-religious authorities (Num 12: 1, 10; Rom 13: 1-7; 1 Peter 2:13-17), the incarnation (Isa 7: 14; 9: 6; Matt 1: 23), and the Lord's supper (Ex 12; 1 Cor 11: 20-26) become meaningless if they are removed from their respective Old Testament antecedents (Stuart, 2001: 60). This implies that the contemporary biblical interpreter recognizes the biblical metanarrative in aspects of individual scriptural texts and identify its role in the ongoing metanarrative concerning the God-human encounter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary

This thesis probed the connection between Classical Liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. In this direction, the present study investigated the origin, nature, and the basic tenets of Protestant Liberalism. The study also examined the effects of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture. The main argument of the study is that Protestant Liberalism has utilized fundamental concepts of Classical Liberalism such as the value of preserving and enhancing the individual's interest in all aspects of life to revise key tenets of the Christian religious experience to suit the thought, behavior, and emotional patterns of the contemporary society. This has resulted in the proliferation of several denominations within contemporary Christianity as well as the rejection of classical Christian teachings that appear irrelevant to the whims and caprices of the contemporary individual.

Dating back to Latini, Dante, and Petrarch of the Italian Renaissance, the social philosophy that stressed human autonomy as well as the accomplishments of ancient individuals became an established thought pattern during the period of the Enlightenment. In the 16th century, key concepts from Renaissance humanism and Enlightenment anthropocentrism were used to reconstruct the main elements of the Christian faith and practice so they could appeal to the scientific and the reason-based paradigm of knowing. As a theological point of view, the revised Christian religious experience, popularly referred to as Protestant Liberalism, developed through the historical periods marked by the Reformation and the three-integrated stages of modernism. Thinkers who helped to shape Protestant Liberalism included Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Herrmann, Harnack, Troeltsch, Rauschenbusch, Schweitzer, and Sölle.

Schleiermacher's view that religion is a sentimental response of humanity to the ongoing God-human encounter altered the method of theologizing. For Ritschl, the provision of ethical standards for ordering Christian thought, behavior, and feelings is the main essence of the Christian religious experience. Through the efforts of Harnack, the notion of the kingdom of God as the solution of all of humanity's problems came to occupy center-stage in theological discourses. In this vein, Harnack suggested that Christianity be reduced to a threefold component: the kingdom of God and its coming; God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; and the better righteousness and the commandment of love. Troeltsch and Herrmann used Ritschl's idea of value judgment to reject established creeds of Christian orthodoxy. For Rauschenbusch, the notion of the kingdom of God become the sole anchor for creating a just society. Similarly, Schweitzer' suggested that Christian morality should be guided by high regard for human life. Sölle gave a modern-day stress to a unity between the divine-human relationships acquired through a feeling of God-consciousness. She suggested that the unity of the divine-human encounter provides peace that has the potential of curing all social injustices.

Again, the study compared Protestant Liberalism with Classical Liberalism. It traced the roots of Classical Liberalism from antiquarian times to the present-day function of the concept as a political philosophy. In its development, the views of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls, and Milton Friedman were pivotal. Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu stressed the contractarian nature of political power. In the consideration of these three, absolute power and

authority in the society are concentrated in a person or institution for the sole purpose of protecting the negative, positive, and the republican liberties of free, rational and equal individuals who exchange solitary living for societal living. For Montesquieu, a proper check on the person or institution wielding absolute societal power or authority is necessary for effective running of the society. Moved by this suggestion, Voltaire became a key exponent for the prevention of tyrannical rule. In Rousseau, the ideals of classical liberalism was revived in the 18th century. Smith used these classical liberal ideas to proposed free-market economic structures for the purpose of aiding free, equal, and rational individuals to achieve the purpose of the *general will* or the *social contract*. Mill complemented this effort by suggesting that free, equal, and rational individuals should be allowed to think, behave, and feel in ways they determine without obstruction from other persons, institutions, provided they do not pose threat or harm to other persons, institutions, or groups. Friedman reconstructed Mill's free market structure by proposing that both the free market structure and the economic intervention of the government are needed to create a favorable situation in which free, rational, and equal individual can pursue their self-interest and self-preservation without hindrance.

Today, classical liberalism manifests in three main strands: libertarianism, anarchism, and social liberalism. Generally, classical liberalism thrives on some foundational philosophies including erosion of traditional assumptions, social contract, individualism, liberal pluralism, limitations on the power of the government, a market economy, and utilitarian ethical foundations. A comparison between classical liberalism and Protestant liberalism indicates some similarities from liberal notions such as natural rights, social contract, individualism, pluralism, secularization, and utilitarian perspective on Ethics. Yet, sharp divergence can be observed from these same liberal notions.

A description of the key teachings of Protestant Liberalism revealed that Protestant Liberalism adopts a hermeneutical approach that interprets central Christian theological concepts in a manner that sharply deviates, and sometimes contradicts, the classical interpretation of those same concepts by mainline orthodox Christianity. The rationale for such revision of the Christian religious expression is found in the liberal notion that Christian religious beliefs must fit into present-day human experience if it is to remain significant to the contemporary individual. This implied that some concepts needed to be reinterpreted to suit the understanding of the present-day individual and other concepts must be ignored because they are unreasonable or unintelligible to the contemporary individual. The consequences of this reconstruction can be observed from Protestant liberal conception of the immanence of God, anthropocentrism, focus on Jesus as an ethical example, the evolutionary view of the Bible, optimism, salvation, the church as an instrument of social progress, the kingdom of God, religious authority, continuity, modernism, and reduction of Christianity to its unchanging essence. Divine immanence suggests that the transcendent God materially intervenes in the history and lives of human beings in both explicable and inexplicable ways. The Protestant liberal tenet of anthropomorphism indicates that only humans have intrinsic worth. As such all other nonhuman creatures exist to serve the self-interest of humanity. Protestant liberals hold that the significance of Jesus in Christianity is the ability to impact His ethical life unto believers. Protestant liberals regard the Bible as containing the authentic self-disclosure of God as limited to the early church. Accordingly, divine activities contained in the Bible are part of the general record of the divine-human encounter that is ongoing. Protestant liberals are very hopeful that through education and training, humanity's dire plight can be resolved. For

Protestant liberals, salvation involves the renewal obtained from the divine-human encounter that contains the potential for societal renewal and cleansing. In light of this, the Christian church becomes an avenue by which God renews society. In this societal renewal, the notion of the kingdom of God provides significant direction. By articulating the overarching theme of God's self-revelation to the contemporary individual, Protestant liberals teach that society will see the relevance of the Christian religious experience in the contemporary setting. The revised stress on these and other concepts of the Christian religious experience marks the distinction between orthodox Christianity and Protestant Liberalism.

This distinction is observable in contemporary theologies. Most of these theologies such as Pentecostal Theology, Servant Theology, Political Theology, and the Theologies of Liberation have resulted in numerous attempts to articulate the self-revelation of God in a manner that will be relevant to the existential concerns within the comprehensive life context of the contemporary individual. Other sub-theologies within this category, the Jesus Seminar, attempts to rediscover the true portrait of Jesus Christ from sources other than the description of Jesus given by the Gospels. Pentecostal Theology generally focuses on the ongoing role of the Holy Spirit within the ongoing conversation between God and humanity. Servant Theology suggests that Christ's selfless services, represented in the concept of incarnation, should occupy center stage of all theological conversations. Political Theology attempts to incorporate Christian theological principles in the art of governance and societal organization. Theologies of Liberation generally focuses on concerns of the poor, the oppressed, and the marginalized. Examples of this type of theology include Black Theology, Latin American Theology, Feminist Theology, Asian Theology, and Palestinian Theology. Though a common strand permeates through all Theologies of Liberation, slight variations may be observed when comparisons are done within the Liberation Theology tradition. In a unique sense, the Jesus Seminar continues the cause of early exponents of Protestant Liberalism to make Jesus Christ significant to every generation of believers. The various strands within contextualization theology indicates that the divine-human encounter is ongoing.

The study assessed the impact of Protestant Liberalism on contemporary Christian culture. The study described some positive effects of Protestant Liberalism on present-day Christian culture. One of these is the incorporation of the self-revelation of God into the holistic life context of the contemporary individual. Protestant Liberalism has also made it possible for Christianity to acquire firm scientific and empirical bases. However, Protestant Liberalism has had some negative effects on contemporary Christian culture. This negative effect is observed from Protestant Liberal reduction of Christianity to the here-and-now and the neglect of the here-after. Again, Protestant Liberalism has reinterpreted key Christian doctrines to the extent that they have come to mean different things than originally intended by the writers of the Gospel. Additionally, it has even abandoned some key Christian concepts simply on the basis that the contemporary individual finds them unintelligible and irrelevant. Further, Protestant Liberalism has reduced the sacred nature of the Bible to the extent that it is viewed as another book of literature. For this reason, the study recommends that Christianity ought to keep a working balance between the here-and-now and the here-after; Christianity ought to define a working relationship between faith and human reason in understanding and interpreting God's self-revelation in the contemporary timeline; and Christianity ought to redefine its key concepts and salient theological terms in ways that appeal to the understanding of the contemporary individual.

With this conclusion, the study has provided key characteristics for identifying Protestant Liberalism. Also, the study has described the relationship between Classical Liberalism and Protestant Liberalism. In addition, the study has deepened information on the differences between Protestant Liberalism and Orthodox Christianity.

7.2 Recommendations

Following the appraisal of Protestant Liberalism in this study, it is recommended that:

1. Christianity ought to keep a working balance between the here-and-now and the here-after. By focusing on the here-and-now, Christianity will respond to the existential concerns related to the context of the contemporary society. Like the theologies of liberation, Christianity will enable contemporary individuals respond to social, economic, political, and cultural issues that confront the individual on a daily basis. This will make Christianity significant in the thought, behavior, and emotional pattern of the contemporary individual. Also, an emphasis on the here-after will cause Christianity to instill in contemporary individuals the antiquary hope in a new heaven and a new earth that has inspired Christians throughout the generations. This hope is best expressed in the Christian's witness to a historical event (1 John 1:1). This historical event revolves around the condescension, birth, life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ (1 Cor 15:1-5). A dual emphasis on both the here-and-now and the here-after will serve as an avenue for connecting contemporary Christians to the ongoing heritage that has characterized Christianity from the days of the apostles. However, the approach of momentary synchronicity should guide this quest. By this approach, the Christian will emphasize either the here-and-now, or the here-after, or both depending on what needs emphasizing in a different situation at different times and by different adherents of the Christian religious experience.
2. Christianity ought to define a working relationship between faith and human reason in understanding and interpreting God's self-revelation in the contemporary timeline. Christian faith is unflinching loyalty in God and His activities without visible evidence (Hab. 2:4; Rom 1:17). Human reason refers to a human capacity to systematically form or acquire an opinion that underlines a belief or a performance. Over the years, Christian faith has been pitched against human reason. The argument has always been that Christian faith is incompatible with human reason such that no rational person can hold belief or trust in something without proof. However, Christianity is a faith religion (Heb 11:6). By implication, Christianity is a faith response to the demands and deeds of God. Though Christianity is a faith religion, it needs human reason in order to construct its beliefs and make known its practices in ways that appear coherent, systematic, and consistent to the contemporary pattern of thoughts, actions, and feelings. Reason breaks down the content of the God-human encounter in ways that can easily be expressed and understood by humanity. Yet human reason must operate within the parameters of God's self-disclosure. It should not engage in non-faith frameworks. Such frameworks have the potential to distort the divine metanarrative deposited in Scripture. Thus autonomous human reason cannot fully explain the faith-based concepts of the Christian religious experience. Human reason should, therefore, be subjected to the Christian religious metanarrative.

3. Christianity ought to redefine its key concepts and salient theological terms in ways that appeal to the understanding of the contemporary individual. The antiquary expressions have been rendered clichés, colloquial, or vague by the ever-changing thought, behavior, and emotional patterns of the contemporary society. This means that Christianity should find new thought, behavior, and emotional patterns that express the Christian religious experience in a manner that fits into the culture of the contemporary society. However, these new expressions ought not to deviate from the root meanings and implications of the Christian religious elements that require revision. Unless new expressions of key Christian concepts and theological viewpoints remain true to their original meaning, the results will be a rewriting of Christianity that sharply contradicts genuine expressions of the self-revelation of God. To forestall this, it is suggested that the articulation of the self-revelation of God in the contemporary society use present-day communication cues and application but these must remain sincere to the principles embedded in God's self-disclosure. For example the doctrine of incarnation may be explained in the contemporary timeline as the revelation of the pre-existing God in the form of humanity in order to cure the maladies of the imprints of sin on the human race. Similarly, the doctrine of the atonement is stressed in the contemporary setting to refer to an expression of Christ's selflessness and His love for humanity. Maintaining the biblical principles of God's revelation will ensure that contemporary descriptions of key Christian doctrines are expressed in consonance with divine metanarrative (1 Cor 10: 11; Rom 15:4).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abraham, K. C. 1996. *Liberative solidarity: contemporary perspectives in mission*. Tiruvalla: Christava Sahitya Samithi.
- Abu-rabi, I. (ed.). 2006. *The Blackwell companion to contemporary Islamic thought*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Accardy, C. 1998. Neo-liberalism: the liberal ethos in Rick Warren's "The purpose driven church." *Quarterly journal for church leadership*, 7(3):94-120.
- Adam, A. K. M. 1995. *What is postmodern Biblical criticism?* Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Adam, B. & Groves, C. 2007. *Future matters: action, knowledge, ethics*. Leiden: Brill.
- Adkins, L., Brosnan, C. & Threadgold, S. (eds.). 2017. *Bourdieuian prospects*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Adler, M. J. 1993. *The difference of man and the difference it makes*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Agosta, L. 2010. *Empathy in the context of philosophy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Akasoy, A. & Giglioni, G. 2010. *Renaissance averroism and its aftermath: Arabic philosophy in early modern Europe*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Akin, D. L., Nelson, D. P. & Schemm, R. S. 2007. *A theology for the church*. Nashville: B & H Publishing Group.
- Aldridge, A. O. 1975. *Voltaire and the century of light*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Alexander of Aphrodisias. 2014. *On Aristotle prior analytics 1.23-31*. Translated from the Greek by Ian Mueller. London: Bloomsbury.
- Allan, G. & Allshouse, M. F. 2005. *Nature, truth, and value: exploring the thinking of Frederick Ferré*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Alston, W. M. 2002. *The church of the living God: a reformed perspective*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Altmaier, E. M. & Hansen, J. C. (eds.). 2012. *The Oxford handbook of counseling psychology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Amacher, R. E. & Lange, V. 2015. *New perspectives in German literary criticism: a collection of essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- anapolitanos, D. A. 2013. *Leibniz: representation, continuity, and the spatiotemporal*. Dordrecht: Springer Books.
- Anderson, G. H. (ed.). 1976. *Asian voices in Christian theology*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Anderson, R. S. 2001. *The shape of practical theology: empowering ministry with theological praxis*. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Anheier, H. K, Glasius, M. & Kaldor, M. 2005. *Global civil society 2004/5*. London: Sage.
- Ansell-Pearson, K. 1994. *An introduction to Nietzsche as political thinker: the perfect nihilist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Armstrong, A. & Hamer, J. 2002. *the European Reformation, 1500-1610*. Sandton: Heinemann.
- Arnold, J. 2011. *The great humanists: European thought on the eve of the Reformation*. New York City: I. B. Tauris Press.
- Arockiadoss, P. 1997. The significance of Dr. Ambedkar for theologising in India. In: V. Devasahayam (ed.): *Frontiers of Dalit theology*. Madras: ISPCK /Gurukul, 290-313.

- Arp, R. (ed.). 2013. 1001 ideas that changed the way we think. New York: Atria Books.
- Arcott, L. A. (1986). Black theology. *Evangelical review of theology*, 10:137-146.
- Arts, W. A., Hagenars, J., & Halman, L. (ed.). 2003. The cultural diversity of European unity: findings, explanations, and reflections from the European values study. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Asad, T. 2003. Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity. California: Stanford University Press.
- Asante, M. K. 2007. An Afrocentric manifesto: toward an African Renaissance. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Assmann, J. 1998. Moses the Egyptian: the memories of Egypt in Western monotheism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Ateek, N. S. 1989. Justice and only justice: a Palestinian theology of liberation. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Ateek, N. S. 2008. A Palestinian cry for reconciliation. New York: Orbis Books.
- Ateek, N. S. 2010. The Israeli occupation and theological thinking. *Cornerstone*, 56:1-4.
- Audi, R. (ed.). 1999. The Cambridge dictionary of philosophy, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aydinli, E. 2016. Violent non-state actors: from anarchists to jihadists. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Ayrookuzhiel, A. M. A. 2006. Essays on Dalits, religion and liberation. Bangalore: CISRS.
- Azam, G. 2014. Classical liberalism and its limits. *Philosophy and progress*, 55-56:24-48.
- Bacik, J. J. 1996. Spirituality in transition. Kansas City: Sheed & Ward.
- Bagchi, D. 2004. The Cambridge companion to Reformation theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baggini, J. & Southwell, G. 2012. Philosophy: key texts, 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bailey, A. & O'Brien, D. 2012. The continuum companion to Hume. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Bainton, R. H. 2013. Here I stand: a Life of Martin Luther. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
- Bammel, E. 1968. The life of Adolf von Harnack. New York: Scribner's Sons.
- Banks, W. L. 1972. The Black church in the U.S. Chicago: Moody Press.
- Barnes, K. C. 2015. Nazism, liberalism, and Christianity: Protestant social thought in Germany and Great Britain, 1925-1937. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Barney, G. L. 1973. The supracultural and the cultural: implications for frontier missions. In: R. Pierce Beave (ed.): The gospel and frontier people. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 233-310.
- Barney, G. L. 1981. The challenge of anthropology to current missiology. *International bulletin of missionary research*, 5(4):172-175.
- Barron, R. 2007. The priority of Christ: toward a postliberal Catholicism. Grand Rapids: Brazos Press.
- Barry, B. 2005. Why social justice matters. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Barry, P. 2002. Beginning theory: an introduction to literary and cultural theory. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Barth, K. 1961. Deliverance to the captives, translated by M. Wieser. London: SCM Press.
- Barth, K. 1995. The theology of John Calvin, translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Barton, J. 2007. The nature of Biblical criticism. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Barzun, J. 2000. From dawn to decadence: 500 years of Western cultural life, 1500 to the present. New York: HarperCollins.

- Baschera, L. & Gordon, B. 2016. *Following Zwingli: applying the past in reformation Zurich*. London: Routledge.
- Bates, T. C. 2015. The glass is half full and half empty: a population-representative twin study testing if optimism and pessimism are distinct systems. *The journal of positive psychology*, 10:533–542.
- Bauerschmidt, F. C. 2008. Aquinas. In: Peter Scott & William T. Cavanaugh (eds.): *The Blackwell companion to political theology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 35–47.
- Baum, J. A. 2013. *Montesquieu and social theory*. Oxford: Pergamum Press.
- Baumeister, R. F. & Muraven, M. 1996. Identity as adaptation to social, cultural, and historical context. *Journal of adolescence*, 19:405–416.
- Bavinck, H. 2012. The theology of Albrecht Ritschl, translated by John Bolt. *Bavinck review*, 3:123-163.
- Bawer, B. 1977. *Stealing Jesus: how fundamentalism betrays Christianity*. New York City: Author Crown.
- Bayer, O. 2008. *Martin Luther's theology: a contemporary interpretation*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Baylor, M. G. 1991. *The radical reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bayly, S. 2001. *Caste, society and politics in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bebbington, D. W. 1990. Evangelical Christianity and modernism. *Crux*, 23(2):2-9.
- Becker, L. C & Charlotte, B. 2013. *Encyclopedia of ethics*. London: Routledge.
- Beekes, R. S. P. 2009. *Etymological dictionary of Greek*. Leiden: Brill
- Bell, D. 1987. Modernism mummified. *American Quarterly*, 39(1):122-132.
- Bellah, R. 1991. Cultural barriers to the understanding of the Church and its public role. *Missiology*, 19:461-473.
- Bellah, R. N. 1976. *Beyond belief: essays on religion in a post-traditional world*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Benedict, C. T. 2007. *One God in one man*. Boulevard: AuthorHouse.
- Benjamin, W. 2009. *Origin of the German tragic drama*. London: Verso.
- Berlin, I. 1969. Two concepts of liberty. In: I. Berlin (ed.): *Four essays on liberty*. London: Oxford University Press, 118-172.
- Berlin, I. 2013. *The crooked timber of humanity: chapters in the history of ideas*, ed. Henry Hardy. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Berman, A. 1994. *Preface to modernism*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Bernstein, J. M. 1995. *Recovering ethical life: Jurgen Habermas and the future of critical theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Berofsky, B. 1995. *Liberation from self: a theory of personal autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, J. 1989. El Salvador's response to liberation theology. *The Washington post*, 4-10 Dec. 1989, 25.
- Berryman, P. 1987. *Liberation theology: Essential facts about the revolutionary movement in Latin America-and beyond*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Berterns, J. W. 1995. *The idea of the postmodern: a history*. London: Routledge.
- Bettis, J. D. 1967. Is Karl Barth a universalist. *Scottish journal of theology*, 20(4):423-36.
- Bevans, S. 1985. Models of contextual theology. *Missiology: an international review*, xiii(2): 184-201.
- Bevans, S. 2002. *Models of contextual theology, revised and expanded edition*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Bevans, S.B. 1992. *Models of contextual theology*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Bhattacharya, K. 2017. *Fundamentals of qualitative research guide: a practical guide*. New York: Routledge.
- Biddick, K. 2003. *The typological imaginary circumcision, technology, history*. Philadelphia: University of

Pennsylvania Press.

Bietenholz, P. G. & Deutscher, T. B. 2003. *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a biographical register of the renaissance and reformation*, vol. 1-3. Ontario: University of Toronto Press.

Bingham, J. 2006. *The antiquities of the Christian church*, vol. 1. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.

Black, R. 2006. The origins of humanism. In: Angelo, M. (ed.): *Interpretations of renaissance humanism*. Leiden: Brill, 37–71.

Black, R. 2006. *The renaissance: anti-humanism and anti-renaissance*. London: Routledge.

Blomberg, C. 2004. *Making sense of the New Testament*. Leiden: Brill.

Blomberg, C. A. 1995. Where do we start studying Jesus? In: *Jesus under fire: modern scholarship reinvents the historical Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Blum, P. R. 2010. *Philosophers of the renaissance*. Michigan: Catholic University of America Press.

Boa, K. & Bowman, R. M. (eds.). 2005. *Faith has its reasons: integrative approaches to defending the Christian faith*, 2nd edition: Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.

Bobro, M. E. 2014. The optimistic science of Leibniz. *The new Atlantis: a journal of technology & society*, 50-70.

Böckenförde, E. 1983. Politische theorie und politische theologie. In: Jacob Taubes (ed.): *Bemerkungen zu ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis: religionstheorie und politische theologie*, vol. 1. München: Fink, 16-25.

Boff, C. 2009. *Theology and praxis: epistemological foundations*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers.

Bohm, M. M. 1997. *Angelus Silesius' 'Cherubinischer Wandersman': a modern reading with selected translations*. New York: Peter Lang.

Booth, S. M. 2015. *The tabernacling presence of God: mission and Gospel witness*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.

Bower, J. 2013. *Views from an Irish barbarian*. Ireland: Carraig Press.

Bowker, J. 1970. *Problems of suffering in religions of the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowker, J. 1997. *The Oxford dictionary of world religions*. London: Oxford. University Press.

Boyd, G. A. & Eddy, P. R. 2009. *Across the spectrum: understanding issues in evangelical theology*, 2nd edition. Grand Rapids: Baker.

Boyd, K. (ed.). 1999. *Encyclopedia of historians and historical writing*, vol. 2. London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.

Boyer, P. S., Clark, C. E., Halttunen, K., Kett, J. F., Salisbury, N., Sitkoff, H. & Woloch, N. 2010. *The enduring vision: a history of the American people*, 7th edition. Belmont: Cengage Learning.

Bradley, A. B. 2010. *Liberating Black theology: the Bible and the Black experience in America*. Wheaton: Crossway Books.

Bramson, L. 1961. *The political context of sociology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brandt, J. M. 2001. *All things new: reform of Church and society in Schleiermacher's Christian ethics*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Bretherton, L. 2010. *Hospitality as holiness: Christian witness amid moral diversity*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Brockman, N. C. 2011. *Encyclopedia of sacred places*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. California: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Bromiley, G. W. 2000. *Historical theology: an introduction*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.

- Brown, C. 1984. *Miracles and the modern mind*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Paternoster Press.
- Brown, C. B. 2013. *Believing thinking, bounded theology: the theological methodology of Emile Brunner*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Brown, C. G. & Snape, M. (ed.). 2010. *Secularization in the Christian world: essays in honor of Hugh McLeod*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Brown, J. H. 2013. *The problem of reductionism in the philosophy of mind and its implications for theism and the principle of soul: framing the issue for further Islamic inquiry*. Abu Dhabi: Tabah Foundation.
- Bruni, F. 1994. *Letteratura e vita intellettuale*, vol. 2. Turin: UTET.
- Bruni, L. 2008. *Reciprocity, altruism and the civil society: in praise of heterogeneity*. London: Routledge.
- Brunner, E. 2002. *Man in revolt: a Christian anthropology*. Cambridge: The Lutherworth Press.
- Brunner, H. E. 1930. *The theology of crisis*. New York: Scribner.
- Bullmore, M. A. 1998. The four most important passages for a Christian environmentalism. *Trinity Journal*, 19:139-162.
- Burczak, T. A. 2006. *Socialism after Hayek*. Michigan: University of Michigan.
- Burkett, R. 1978. *Garveyism as a religious movement*. Metuchen: Scarecrow Press.
- Buss, A. R. 1979. *A dialectical psychology*. London: Ardent Media.
- Bussanich, J. & Smith, N. D. 2013. *The Bloomsbury companion to Socrates*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Butler, E. 2015. *Classical liberalism: a primer*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- Byung-Mu, A. 1992. Jesus and the Minjung in the Gospel of Mark. In: *Minjung theology: people as subjects of history*. MaryKnoll: Orbis Books, 138-152.
- Byung-Mu, A. 1985. Jesus and Ochlos. In: *Committee of theological study (ed.): Minjung and Korean theology*. Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 91-97.
- Byung-Mu, A. 1985. Jesus and the Minjung in the Gospel of Mark. In: *Minjung Theology: people as subjects of history*. MaryKnoll: Orbis Books.
- Byung-Mu, A. 1991. *Minjung shinhak iyagi (stories of Minjung theology)*. Seoul: Hankuk Shinhak Yunkuso.
- Byung-Mu, A. 1998. *Jesus of Galilee*. Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute.
- Cadegan, U. M. 2002. Modernisms literary and theological. *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 20(3):97-110.
- Caesar, M. (ed.). 1989. *Dante: the critical heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Caesar, M. (ed.). 1999. *Dante: the critical heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Cahill, E. A. 1965. Albert Schweitzer: prophet of liberalism. Pittsburgh: Transcript of Unitarian Broadcast sermon on KDKA Radio, January 3, 1965.
- Cahn, J. 2016. *The book of mysteries*. Florida: Frontline.
- Campagnolo, G. 2016. *Liberalism and Chinese economic development: perspectives from Europe and Asia*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Campbell, A. F. 2004. Preparatory issues in approaching Biblical texts. In: Leo G. Perdue (ed.): *The Blackwell companion to the Hebrew Bible*, part 1. 3-18.
- Campbell, J. E. 2016. *The Pentecostal Holiness Church, 1898-1948: its background and history*. Oregon: Wipf & Stock.
- Campbell, R. H. & Skinner, A. S. 2009. *Adam Smith, digitized edition*. London: Croom Helm.

- Camps, A. 1983. *Partners in dialogue*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Capaldi, N. 2004. *John Stuart Mill: a biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Caputo, J. D. 1988. *Radical hermeneutics: repetition, deconstruction, and the hermeneutic project*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Carley, M. & Christie, I. 2000. *Managing sustainable development*, 2nd edition. London: Earthscan.
- Carlisle, R. P. (ed.). 2005. *Encyclopedia of politics*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Carlson, W. G., Gehrz, C., Winn, C. T. C. & Horst, E. (eds.). 2012. *The Pietist impulse in Christianity*, foreword by James H. Barnes III and Peter C. Erb. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.
- Carson, D. A. (ed.). 2016. *The enduring authority of the Christian Scriptures*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Carson, D. A. 2010. *Collected writings on Scripture*. Wheaton: Crossway.
- Cercel, L., & Serban, A. (eds.). 2015. *Friedrich Schleiermacher and the question of translation*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Chakravarthi, U. 2004. *Gendering caste: through a feminist lens*. Calcutta: Street Dalit Solidarity Network.
- Chapman, M. 2001. *Ernst Troeltsch and liberal theology: religion and cultural synthesis in Wilhelmine Germany*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chapple, C. 1986. *Karma and creativity*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Childs, P. 2000. *Modernism*. London: Routledge.
- Chilton, B. & Evans, C. A. 1998. *Studying the historical Jesus: evaluations of the state of current research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cho, F. & Squier, R. K. 2008. Reductionism: be afraid, be "very" afraid. *Journal of American academy of religion*, 76(2):412-417.
- Chomsky, N. 2003. *Chomsky on democracy and education*, ed. by C. P. Otero. London: Routledge.
- Christian, C. W. 1979. *Friedrich Schleiermacher*. Waco: Word Books.
- Christian, G. L. 2015. *El Paso's muckraker: the life of Owen Payne White*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Chung, P. S. 2008. *Karl Barth: God's word in action*. Eugene: Cascade Books.
- Clark, D. K. 2003. *To know and love God: method for theology*. Wheaton: Crossway.
- Clarke, H. W. 2003. *The Gospel of Matthew and its readers: a historical introduction to the first Gospel*. Bloomington: Indian University Press.
- Clarke, S. 1999. *Dalits and Christianity: subaltern religion and liberation theology in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cleage, A. B. 1969. *The Black Messiah*. New York: Sheed and Ward.
- Clements, K. 2017. *Look back in hope: an ecumenical life*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Clifford, R. S. J. & Anatolios, K. 2005. Christian salvation: Biblical and theological perspectives. *Theological studies*, 66:739-769.
- Cline, E. M. 2013. *Confucius, Rawls, and the sense of justice*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Clines, D. J. A. 1998. Methods in Old Testament study: section textual criticism. In: *On the way to the postmodern: Old Testament essays 1967–1998*, vol. 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 23–45.
- Cohen, C. I. & Timimi, S. (eds.). 2008. *Liberatory psychiatry: philosophy, politics and mental health*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Cohen, M. 2010. *Philosophy for dummies*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Colijn, B. B. 2010. *Images of salvation in the New Testament*. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Collings, M. R. 2010. *In endless morn of light: moral freedom in Milton's universe*. Maryland: Wildside Press LLC.
- Collins, J. F. 1985. *A Primer of ecclesiastical Latin*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.
- Cone, J. H. & Wilmore, G. S. (eds.). 1979. *Black theology: a documentary history*, vol. 1. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Cone, J. H. 1969. *Black theology and Black power*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Cone, J. H. 1970. *A Black theology of liberation*. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippencott.
- Cone, J. H. 1975. *God of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Cone, J. H. 1986. Black theology in American religion. *Theology Today*, 43(1): 6-21.
- Cone, J. H. 1999. *Risks of faith*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Congdon, J. (ed.). 2009. *Jews and the Gospel at the end of history: a tribute to Moishe Rosen*. Grand Rapids: Kregel.
- Conn, H. M. 1988. Liberation theology. In: Sinclair B. Ferguson, J. I. Packer & David F. Wright (eds.): *New dictionary of theology*. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 387-389.
- Corning, P. A. 2003. "Fair Shares": beyond capitalism and socialism, or the biological basis of social justice. *Politics and the Life Sciences*, 22(2):12-32.
- Cottingham, J. (ed.). 2013. *Rene Descartes: meditations on first Philosophy with selections from the objections and replies, A Latin-English edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulter, M. L., Myers, R. S. & Varacalli, J. A. (eds.). 2012. *Encyclopedia of Catholic social thought, social science, and social policy*, vol. 3. Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Cox, J. N. & Reynolds, L. J. 1993. *New historical literary study: essays on reproducing texts, representing history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Crockett, C. (ed.). 2001. *Secular theology: American radical theological thought*. London: Routledge.
- Crofton, I. 2015. *Crypto anarchy*. North Carolina: Lulu.com Publisher Books.
- Cronk, N. (ed.). 2009. *The Cambridge companion to Voltaire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crossan, J. D. 1999. *Birth of Christianity: discovering what happened in the years immediately after the execution of Jesus*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark Limited.
- Crowder, G. 2007. Two conceptions of liberal pluralism. *Political theory*, 35(2):121-146.
- Cunliffe-Jones, H. 2006. *A history of Christian doctrine*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Cunningham, L. S. & Reich, J. J. 2010. *Culture and values: a survey of the humanities*, vol. 2, 7th edition. Boston: Cengage.
- Cunningham, M. B. & Theokritoff, E. 2008. *The Cambridge companion to Orthodox Christian theology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, N. O. 1984. *Practical reason, Aristotle, and weakness of the will*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Davies, E. W. 2013. *Biblical criticism: a guide for the perplexed*. New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark.
- Davion, V. & Wolf, C. (eds.). 2000. *The idea of a political liberalism: essays on Rawls*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

- Dawson, J. F. 2013. *Friedrich Schleiermacher: the evolution of a nationalist*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- De Lange, F. 2007. Against escapism: Dietrich Bonhoeffer's contribution to public theology. In: Len Hensen (ed.): *Christian in public: aims, methodologies and issues in public theology*, vol. 3. Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 141-152.
- Debes, R. 2017. *Dignity: a history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Demers, E. S. & Kindell, A. 2014. *Encyclopedia of populism in America: a historical encyclopedia*, vol. 2. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Desmond, W., Onnasch, E. & Cruysberghs, P. (eds.). 2004. *Philosophy and religion in German idealism*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Devasahayam, V. (ed.). 1997b. *Frontiers of Dalit theology*. Madras: ISPCCK/Gurukul Summer Institute.
- Devasahayam, V. 1997a. Doing Dalit theology: basic assumptions. In: V. Devasahayam (ed.): *Frontiers of Dalit theology*. Madras: ISPCCK/Gurukul, 270-282.
- Dewey, J. 2008. *The middle works of John Dewey: 1899-1924*, vol. 2. Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dhavamony, M. 2004. *Jesus Christ in the understanding of the World religions*. Roma: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana.
- Dickson, W. R. 2015. *Living sufism in North America: between tradition and transformation*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Dillenberger, J. & Welch, C. 1954. *Protestant Christianity: interpreted through its development*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Diller, J. & Kasher, A. (eds.). 2013. *Models of God and alternative ultimate realities*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Ditchfield, P. H. 2015. *Books fatal to their authors*. New Zealand: The Floating Press.
- Dodd, C. H. 1958. *The authority of the Bible*, 2nd edition. New York: Harper & Row.
- Doniger, W. (ed.). 1999. "Reductionism." *Merriam-Webster's encyclopedia of World religions*. Springfield: Merriam-Webster, Inc.
- Donnachie, I. & Lavin, C. (eds.). 2004. *From enlightenment to romanticism: anthology II*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Doody, J., Hughes, K. L. & Paffenroth, K. (eds.). 2005. *Augustine and politics*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Dorrien, G. 2001. *The making of America liberal theology*, vol. 1. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Dorrien, G. 2002. Modernisms in theology: interpreting American liberal theology, 1805-1950. *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy*, 23(3):200-220.
- Dorrien, G. 2012a. Kantian concepts, liberal theology, and post-Kantian idealism. *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy*, 33(1):5-31.
- Dorrien, G. 2012b. *Kantian reason and Hegelian spirit: the idealistic logic of modern theology*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Dorrien, G. J. 2003. *The making of American liberal theology: Idealism, realism, and modernity, 1900-1950*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Dorrien, G. J. 2006. *The making of American liberal theology: Crisis, irony, and postmodernity, 1950-2005*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Dorrien, G. J. 2011. *The making of American liberal theology: imagining progressive religion*, vol. 1. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

- Dowler, E. 2011. *Theological ethics*. London: SCM Press.
- Dreyer, Y. 2011. Women's spirituality and feminist theology: a hermeneutic of suspicion applied to "patriarchal marriage." *HTS teologiese studies/theological studies* 67(3):1104-1109.
- Driver, T. E. 1981. *Christ in a changing world: toward an ethical Christology*. New York: Crossroad.
- Drummond, W. F. 1955. *Social justice*. USA: The Bruce Publishing Company.
- Dugin, A. 2012. *The fourth political theory*. London: Arktos Media Limited.
- Duiker, W. J. & Spielvogel, J. J. 2006. *World history*, vol. 1. Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Dumont, L. 1980. *Homo hierarchicus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Durkheim, E. 2004. *Durkheim's philosophy lectures: notes from the Lycée de sens course, 1883–1884*, ed. Neil Gross & Robert Alun Jones. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dwight, J. S. 2015. *Dwight's journal of music*, vol. 29-30, digitized edition. Ohio: Ohio State University.
- Dymond, L. H. 2015. *A recent history of recognized economic thought: contributions of the Nobel Laureates to economic science*. Maryland: Dymond Associates, Inc.
- Dyrness, W. A. & Kärkkäinen, V. (eds.). 2008. *Global dictionary of theology: a resource for the worldwide Church*. Nottingham: Intervarsity Press.
- Echeverria, E. J. 1981. *Criticism and commitment: major themes in contemporary "post-critical" philosophy*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Eco, U. 1990. *Interpreting serials in the limits of interpretation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Edwards, M. 2012. *Pneuma and realized eschatology in the Book of Wisdom*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Eliade, M. 1982. *A history of religious ideas*, vol. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Elshtain, J. B. 2008. Augustine. In: Peter Scott & William T. Cavanaugh. *The Blackwell companion to political theology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 35–47.
- Elwell, W. A. 2001. *Evangelical dictionary of theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 1973. *Encyclopedia britannica*, vol. 6, digitized version. Chicago: William Benton Publisher.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 1991. *The new encyclopedia britannica: Marcopædia*. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc.
- Encyclopedia Britannica. 2003. *The new encyclopedia britannica*, vol. 9, 2015 edition. Michigan: University of Michigan.
- Ensminger, S. 2014. *Karl Barth's theology as a resource for a Christian theology of religions*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Erasmus, D. 2016. *Erasmus' life of Origen*, translated by Thomas P. Scheck. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- Erckel, S. 2008. *Classical social contract theory: the classical social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau compared*. Norderstedt: Druck & Bindung.
- Erickson, M. J. 1983. *Christian theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Erickson, M. J. 1998. *Christian theology*, 2nd edition. Grand Rapids: Baker Books.
- Erickson, M. J. 2001. *Introducing Christian doctrine*, 2nd edition. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.

- Erikson, E. H. 1993. *Young man Luther: a study in psychoanalysis and history*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Escobar, S. 2006. The United Bible Societies and world mission. *International journal of missionary Research*, 30(2):77-81.
- Esfeld, M. 2013. Reductionism today. In: Maria Carla Galvoti, Elisabeth Nemeth, and Friedrich Stadler (eds.): *European philosophy of science-philosophy of science in Europe and the Viennese Heritage*. Cham: Springer, 89-100.
- Estep, W. R. 1986. *Renaissance and reformation*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Ethridge, M. E. & Handelman, H. 2015. *Politics in a changing world*, 7th edition. Stamford: Cengage Learning.
- Evans, A. T. 1977. *Biblical theology and the black experience*. Dallas: Black Evangelistic Enterprise.
- Evans, C. A. (ed.). 2014. *The Routledge encyclopedia of historical Jesus*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Evans, C. H. (ed.). 2001. *The social Gospel today*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Evensky, J. 2015. *Adam Smith's wealth of nations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fabella, V. (ed.). 1980. *Asia's struggle for full humanity*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Fahlbusch, E. 1999. *The encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- Fahlbusch, E., Lochman, J. M., Mbiti, J., Pelikan, J, Vischer, L., Barret, D. B., & Bromiley, G. W. (eds.). 2005. *The encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 4. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Fairbairn, A. M. 2017. *The philosophy of the Christian religion*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Farley, E. 1988. *The fragility of knowledge: theological education in the Church and University*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Farmer, P. 2005. *Pathologies of power: health, human rights, and the new war on the poor*. California: University of California Press.
- Farnell, F. D., Andrews, E. D., Howe, T., Marshall, T. & Newman, D. 2016. *Basics of Biblical criticism: helpful Or harmful?* 2nd edition. Cambridge: Christian Publishing House.
- Farr, J. 2008. Locke, natural law, and new world slavery. *Political theory*, 36(4):495–522.
- Faulkner, P. 1990. *Modernism*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Fields, B. 2001. *Introducing black theology: three crucial questions for the evangelical Church*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Finnis, J. 2011. *Natural law and natural rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fiorenza, E. S. 1984. *In memory of her: a feminist theological reconstruction of Christian origin*. New York: Crossroad.
- Fiorenza, E. S. 2003. Liberation theology. In: *New Catholic encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, vol. 8. Detroit: Gale, 544-546.
- Firth, C. B. 1998. *An introduction to Indian church history*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Fisher, J. T., & McGuinness, M. M. 2011. *The Catholic studies reader*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Fishman, J. A. & Garcia, O. (ed.). 2010. *Handbook of language and ethnic identity: disciplinary and regional perspectives*, vol. 1, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fives, A. 2013. *Political reason: morality and the public sphere*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fleming, B. 1980. *Contextualization of theology*. Pasadena: William Carey Library.

- Fleming, B. C. E. 1977. Contextualization of theology as evidenced in Africa in the writings of John Samuel Mbiti. Trinity Evangelical Divinity School: Unpublished Th.M. Thesis.
- Fløistad, G. 2014. *Philosophy of justice*, vol. 10. New York: Springer Publishing.
- Footman, J. 2015. *The esoteric codex: Roman Catholic mystics*. North Carolina: Lulu Company.
- Force, J. E. & Hutton, S. 2004. *Newton and Newtonianism: new studies*. New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Foret, F., Aina, X. I. & Xabier, I. 2013. *Politics of religion in Western Europe: modernities in conflict?* London: Routledge.
- Forrester, A. A. 2002. *Essays and questions on Catholic theology*. Indiana: Xlibris Corporation.
- Forrester, D. B. 2000. *Truthful action: explorations in practical theology*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Forster, M. N. & Gjesdal, K. (eds.). 2015. *The Oxford handbook of German philosophy in the nineteenth century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forster, M. N. 2010. *After Herder: philosophy of language in the German tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fortin, E. L. (ed.). 2007. *Ever ancient, ever new: ruminations on the city, the soul, and the Church*, vol. 4. Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fouse, G. C. 2005. *Erlangen: an American's history of German town*. New York: University Press of America.
- France, R.T. 2003. *Divine government: God's kingship in the Gospel of Mark*. London: SPCK.
- France, R.T. 2007. *The Gospel of Matthew*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Frei, H. W. 1997. *The identity of Jesus Christ: the hermeneutical bases of dogmatic theology*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Freire, P. & Faundez, A. 1989. *Learning to question: a pedagogy of liberation*. Geneva: WCC Publications.
- Fremont-Barnes, G. (ed.). 2007. *Encyclopedia of the age of political revolutions and new ideologies, 1760-1815*, vol. 1. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Friedman, M. & Friedman, R. D. 1999. *Two lucky people: memoirs*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Friedman, M. 2002. *Classicalism and freedom, 40th anniversary edition*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Friess, H. L. 2002. *Schleiermacher's soliloquies: an English translation of the monologuen with a critical introduction and appendix*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Fubini, R. 2003. *Humanism and secularization: from Petrarch to Valla*, translated by Martha King. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Funk, R. W., Dewey, A. J. & Jesus Seminar. 2015. *The Gospel of Jesus according to the Jesus Seminar*, 2nd edition. Oregon: Polebridge Press.
- Funk, R., Hoover, R. & Jesus Seminar. 1993. *The five Gospels: what did Jesus really say?* London: Macmillan.
- Galston, W. A. 2002. *Liberal pluralism: the implications of value pluralism for political theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garcia, C. H. & Henderson, C. E. 2002. *Culture and customs of India*. California: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Gary, R. 1996. *Humanism and the rhetoric of toleration*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Gaston, J. N. & Peden, W. C. 2013. *Bernard Eugene Meland's unpublished papers*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Gatta, J. 2004. *The pastoral art of the English mystics*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.

- Geertz, C. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.
- Geisler, N. 2003. *Systematic theology*, vol. 2. Bethany House.
- George, T. 2013. *Theology of the reformers*. Nashville: B & H Publishing Group.
- Gerard, D. 2005. *Social science*, 2nd edition. New York: Open University Press.
- Gerhart, M. & Udoh, F. 2007. *The Christianity reader*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Germino, D. 1979. *Machiavelli to Marx: modern Western political thought*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gerrish, B. A. 2000. Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst. In: Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason, and Hugh Pyper (eds.). *The Oxford companion to Christian thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 644-646.
- Gerrish, B. A. 1984. *A prince of the Church: Schleiermacher and the beginnings of modern theology*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Gibellini, R. 1979. *Frontiers of theology in Latin America*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Ginzberg, E. 2002. *Adam Smith and the founding of market economics*, 2nd edition. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Godlove, T. F. 1989. Interpretation, reductionism, and belief in God. *The journal of religion*, 69(2):184-198.
- Gonzalez, J. L. & Gonzalez, C. G. 1980. *Liberation preaching*. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Gonzalez, J. L. 1993. An historical survey. In: Alice Frazer Evans, Robert A. Evans, David A. Roozen (eds.): *The globalization of theological education*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Goodrick-Clarke, N. 2008. *The Western esoteric traditions: a historical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodway, D. 2012. *Anarchist seeds beneath the snow: left-libertarian thought and British writers from William Morris to Colin Ward*. Oakwood: P. M. Press.
- Gordon, C. 2003. Gumperz and interactional sociolinguistics. In: R. Wodak, B. Johnstone & P. Kerswill (eds.): *The Sage handbook of sociolinguistics*. California: Sage, 67-84.
- Gorton, W. A. 2006. *Karl Popper and the social sciences*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Grafton, A., Most, G. W. & Settis, S. (eds.). 2010. *The classical tradition*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Granger, H. 2013. *Aristotle's idea of the soul*. New York City: Springer Books.
- Green, B. G. 2012. *Colin Gunton and the failure of Augustine: the theology of Colin Gunton in light of Augustine*, foreword by Lewis Ayres. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co.
- Green, G. 2000. *Theology, hermeneutics, and imagination: the crisis of interpretation at the end of modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, K. 1986. Rawls, women, and the priority of liberty. *Australasian journal of philosophy*, 64(1):26-36.
- Greenblatt, S. 2011. *The Swerve: how the renaissance began*. New York City: Random House.
- Greenblatt, S. 2012. *The swerve: how the Renaissance began*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gregory, F. 1992. *Nature lost? natural science and the German theological traditions of the nineteenth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Greidanus, S. 2001. *Sola Scriptura: problems and principles in preaching historical texts*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Grendler, P. 2010. *Humanism: Oxford bibliographies online research guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Grenz, S. J. & Olson, R. E. 2013. 20th-Century theology: God and the world in a transitional age. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Grenz, S. J. 2000b. Theology for the community of God. Nashville: Broadman and Holman.
- Grenz, S. J. 2000a. Culture and spirit: the role of cultural context in theological reflection. *Asbury theological journal*, 55(2):37-51.
- Grenz, S.J. 2000bc. Renewing the center: evangelical theology in a post-theological era. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Grey, M. 1982. Patriarch as a conceptual trap. Massachusetts: Roundtable.
- Grey, M. 2004. Feminist theology: a critical theology of liberation. In: C. Rowland (ed.): The Cambridge companion to liberation theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grey, M. 2004. The unheard scream: the struggles of Dalit women in India. New Delhi: Centre for Dalit/Subaltern Studies.
- Grey, M.C. 2010. A cry for dignity. Oakville: Equinox.
- Griffiths, B. 1993. Christ in India. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Griffiths, P. & Lewis, D. 1983. On grading religions, seeking truth, and being nice to people: a reply to Professor Hick. *Religious studies*, 19: 78.
- Grondin, J. 1994. Introduction to philosophical hermeneutics. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Grose, A. W. 2008. Rawls, democracy and the problem of stability. Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
- Grudin, M. 2012. Boccaccio's Decameron and the Ciceronian renaissance. New York City: Springer Books.
- Grzonka, M. 2016. Luther and his times. Rome: Clocktower Consulting.
- Guignon, C. (ed.). 1993. The Cambridge companion to Heidegger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guite, M. 2012. Faith, hope, and poetry: theology and the poetic imagination, revised edition. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Gula, R. M. 1996. Ethics in pastoral ministry. New York: Paulist Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. 1992. Contextualization revisited. In: P. Auer & A. di Luzio (eds.): The contextualization of language. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 39-53.
- Gundry, S. N. 2001. Death of God theology. In: Walter A. Elwell (ed.): Evangelical dictionary of theology. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Gutiérrez, G. 1971. A theology of liberation: history, politics, and salvation, transl. Caridad Inda & John Eagleson. Maryknoll: Orbis
- Gutiérrez, G. 1973. A theology of liberation: history, politics, and salvation, 2nd edition. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Gutiérrez, G. 1999. The density of the present: selected writings. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Guy, J. & Small, I. 2011. The Routledge concise history of nineteenth-century literature. London: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Haakonssen, K. (ed.). 2006. The Cambridge companion to Adam Smith. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haas, G. H. 1997. The concept of equity in Calvin's ethics. Cumbri: Paternoster Publishing.
- Hahn, S. & Scott, D. 2007. Letter and spirit, vol. 3. Ohio: Emmaus Road Publishing.
- Hall, D. J. 1991. Thinking the faith: Christian theology in a North American Context. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Hamilton, C. V. 1972. The Black preacher in America. New York: William Morrow.

- Hamilton, P. (ed.). 2016. *The Oxford handbook of European romanticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, R. F. 2000. *Marxism, revisionism, and Leninism: explication, assessment & commentary*. Portsmouth: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Hamowy, R. (ed.). 2011. *The collected works of F. A. Hayek, vol. 17*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hanafi, H. 2005. Tradition and modernism between continuity and discontinuity: possible models and historical options. *Asian journal of social science*, 33(3):384-393.
- Hankins, J. 2000. Rhetoric, history, and ideology: the civic panegyrics of Leonardo Bruni. In: Hankins, J. (ed.): *Renaissance civic humanism: reappraisals and reflections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 143-78.
- Hann, A. D. 2016. *Giannozzo Manetti's New Testament: translation theory and practice in fifteenth-century Italy*. Boston: Brill.
- Hanna, J. 2009. *Key concepts in modernist literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hansen, R. 2008. *The messengers*. Cramlington: Spire Publishing.
- Hanson, R. A. 2004. *Who is in control?* Florida: Xulon Press.
- Hao, Y. K. 1990. Intercontextualization: releasing the theological frog from underneath coconut shell. *Asian journal of theology*, 4(1):41-57.
- Harakas, S. S. 1972. The church and the secular world. *The Greek Orthodox theological review*, 17:173-187.
- Harnack, A. 1997. *History of dogma, vol. 1*, translated by Neil Buchanan. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Harris, E. E. 2012. *Salvation from despair: a reappraisal of Spinoza's philosophy*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Hartle, A. 2013. *Montaigne and the origins of modern philosophy*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Hass, A., Jasper, D., & Jay, E. (eds.). 2007. *The Oxford handbook of English literature and theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hastings, A., Mason, A. & Pyper, H. (eds.). 2000. *The Oxford companion to Christian thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hayek, F. 1967. *Studies in philosophy, politics and economics*. London: Routledge.
- Hayek, F. A. 1960. *The constitution of liberty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hayek, F.A. (1994). *The road to serfdom*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hedstrom, M. S. 2012. *The rise of liberal religion: book culture and American spirituality in the twentieth century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heidegger, M. 2008. *Ontology: the hermeneutics of facticity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Heijnen, A. 2013. *The social life of dreams: a thousand years of negotiated meanings in Iceland*. Berlin: Deutsche Nationalbibliothek.
- Hellwig, M. 1977. Liberation theology: an emerging school. *Scottish journal of theology*, 30: 137-141.
- Helmer, C. & Holm, B. 2015. *Luther renaissance: past and present*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co.
- Henderson, E. H. 1979. Reductionism and the practice of worship. *International journal for philosophy of religion*, 10(1):25-40.
- Hendrix, H. S. 2011. *Early Protestant spirituality*. Mahwah: Paulist Press.
- Henning, B. D. 1983. *The house of commons, 1660-1690*. London: Secker & Warburg.

- Hergenhahn, B. R. & Henley, T. 2013. An introduction to history of psychology, 7th ed. Andover: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Hergenhahn, B. R. 2008. An introduction to the history of psychology, 6th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Herrmann, W. 1971. The communion of the Christian with God: described on the basis of Luther's statements. In: Robert T. Voelkel (ed. and transl.) & Leander Keck (ed.): Lives of Jesus series. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 259-273.
- Herz-fischler, R. 2013. A mathematical history of the golden number. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Hesselgrave, D. J. & Rommen, E. 1989. Contextualization: meanings, methods, and models. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Hick, J. & Hebblethwaite, B. (eds.). 1981. Christianity and the other religions: selected readings. Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Hick, J. 1974. Truth and dialogue. London: Sheldon Press.
- Hick, J. 1977. God and the universe of faiths. London: Collins.
- Hill, J. 2013. The history of Christian thought. England: Loin Books.
- Himes, K. R. & Waznak, R. P. 1998. (eds.). New theology review: an American Catholic journal of ministry. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press.
- Hinde, R. A. 2009. Why gods persist: a scientific approach to religion. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis.
- Hobbes, T. 1997. Leviathan, ed. Michael Oakshott. New York: Touchstone Rockefeller Center.
- Hodge, C. C. (ed.). 2008. Encyclopedia of the age of imperialism, 1800-1914, vol. 1. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Hodges, H. A. 2000. Philosophy of Wilhelm Dilthey. Abingdon: Routledge, reprinted.
- Hoekema, A. A. 1994. The Bible and the future. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Höffe, O. 2015. Thomas Hobbes, translated by Nicholas Walker. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hoffmann, T. S. (ed.). 2015. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: a propaedeutic, vol. 14. Leiden: Koninklijke.
- Holder, R. W. 2009. Crisis and renewal: the era of the Reformations. Westminster: John Knox Press.
- Hollingsworth, T. 2012. Martin Luther: a reforming spirit. California: Teacher Created Materials.
- Holmes, K. R. 2016. The closing of the liberal mind: how groupthink and intolerance define the left. New York: The Heritage Foundation.
- Holmes, S. R. & Bawulski, S. 2014. Christian theology: the classics. London: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Holówka, J. & Jacórzyński, W. 2009. Authors and editors. Ethical liberalism in contemporary societies, 12, 157.
- Hood, J. 2015. The courage to be queer. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Hookway, C. 2012. The pragmatic maxim: essays on Peirce and pragmatism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Höpfl, H. (ed.). 1991. Luther and Calvin on secular authority. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkins, D. W. 2017. Black theology: essays on global perspectives. Eugene: Cascade Books.
- Hosmer, L. T. 2010. Moral leadership in business, digitized edition. Indiana: Irwin Press.
- Howe, E. M. 1982. Women and church leadership. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Howlett, S. 2016. Marsilio Ficino and his world. New York City: Springer Publishing.
- Huber, W. 2012. Christian responsibility and communicative freedom: a challenge for the future of pluralistic societies. Zurich: Lit Verlag GmbH & Co. KG Wien.
- Hull, G. 1987. Equal to serve: women and men in the Church and home. Old Tappan: Fleming H. Revell.
- Ianziti, G. 2012. Writing history in renaissance Italy. Massachusetts : Harvard University Press.

- Ihde, D. *Hermeneutic phenomenology: the philosophy of Paul Ricoeur*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Jackson, G. S. 2000. The complete Gospel: Jesus and women via the Jesus Seminar. *HTS theologiese studies/theological studies*, 56(4):1043-1056.
- Jameson, F. 1982. *The political unconscious: narrative as a socially symbolic act*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Janda, K., Berry, J. & Goldman, J. 2008. *The challenge of democracy: government in America*, 9th edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Janin, H. 2008. *The University in medieval life, 1179-1499*. Chicago: McFarland and Company.
- Jansen, K. (ed.). 2013. *Monetarism, economic crisis and the third world*. New York: Routledge.
- Jantzen, G. M. 1984. Human diversity and salvation in Christ. *Religious studies*, 20(4):579-592.
- Jarrett, C. 2007. *Spinoza: a guide for the perplexed*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Jennings, N. G. 2010. *Theology as ascetic act: disciplining Christian discourse*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Jensen, A. S. 2016. *Divine providence and human agency: Trinity, creation and freedom*. New York: Routledge.
- Jeyakumar, S. 1999. *Dalit consciousness and Christian conversion: historical resources for a contemporary debate*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Jeyakumar, A. 2004. *The history of Christianity in India*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Joan, M. 1996. *Is leadership male?* Milton Keynes: Nelson Word.
- Jodock, D. (ed.). 2000. *Catholicism contending with modernity: Roman Catholic modernism and anti-modernism in historical context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- John, V. 2012. *Truth and subjectivity, faith and history: Kierkegaard's insight for Christian faith*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Johnson, L. M. & Demetriou, D. 2016. *Honor in the modern world: interdisciplinary perspectives*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Johnson, L. T. 1996. *The real Jesus: the misguided quest for the historical Jesus and the truth of the traditional gospels*. San Francisco: HarperCollins.
- Johnson, S. C. 2006. *I'm done with Church! keys to the Kingdom*. Florida: Xulon Press.
- Jolley, N. (ed.). 1995. *The Cambridge companion to Leibniz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, B. 2016. *Dictionary of world biography*, 3rd edition. Australia: Australian University Press.
- Jones, M., & Johnstone, P. 2011. *History of criminal justice*. London: Routledge.
- Jong, G. F. D. & Faulkner, J. E. 1967. The Church, individual religiosity, and social Justice. *Sociological analysis*, 28(1): 34-43.
- Jordan, A., Lockyer, N. & Tate, E. 2002. *Philosophy of religion*, 2nd edition. Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes Limited.
- Jorgensen, L. M. 2009. The principle of continuity in Leibniz's theory of consciousness. *Journal of the history of philosophy*, 47(2):223-248.
- Juergensmeyer, M. (ed.). 2006. *The Oxford handbook of global religions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Junker, L. J. 1981. Instrumentalism, the principle of continuity and the life process. *The American journal of economics and sociology*, 40(4):381-400.
- Kaldis, B. (ed.). 2013. *Encyclopedia of philosophy and the social sciences*, vol. 1. California: Sage Publications.
- Kalevik, P. 2011. *Living hope today: a daily devotional*. Bloomington: iUniverse, Inc.

- Kantzer, K. S. 1978. *Evangelical roots: a tribute to Wilbur Smith*. Nashville: Nelson.
- Kato, B. H. 1975. The Gospel, cultural context, and religious syncretism. In: J. D. Douglas (ed.): *Let the earth hear his voice*. Minneapolis: World Wide Books.
- Kaufmann, D. 1997. Thanks for the memory: Bloch, Benjamin and the philosophy of history. In: Jamie Owen Daniel & Tom Moylan (ed.): *Not yet: reconsidering Ernst Bloch*. New York: Verson.
- Kaufmann, J. 1988. *Christianity and Judaism: two covenants*. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press.
- Kearney, R. 2011. What is diacritical hermeneutics? *Journal of applied hermeneutics*, 1-14.
- Kee, A. 2008. *The rise and demise of Black theology, enlarged edition*. London: SCM Press.
- Keen, R. 1996. Political authority and ecclesiology in Melancton's *de ecclesia autoritate*. *Church history*, 65(1):1-14.
- Keene-Lund, S. 2010. *Heaven is not the last stop: exploring a new revelation*. Florida: Document It! Publishing.
- Keer, D. 2005. *Dr. Ambedkar life and mission*. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd, reprint.
- Kegley, C. W. 2001. *Reinhold Niebuhr: his religious, social, and philosophical thought*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Keller, V. 2015. *Knowledge and the public interest, 1575-1725*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kelly, J. N. D. 2014. *Early Christian creeds*. London: Routledge.
- Kelsey, C. L. 2003. *Thinking about Christ with Schleiermacher*. London: Westminster John Knox.
- Kenny, D. T. 2015. *God, Freud and religion: the origins of faith, fear and fundamentalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Kepnes, S. 2007. *Jewish liturgical reasoning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Khoury, S. N. 2012. An introduction to challenging empire: God, faithfulness and resistance. In: N. Ateek, C. Duaybis, & M. Tobin (eds.): *Challenging empire: God, faithfulness and resistance*. Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Theology Center.
- Kidd, C. 1999. Civil theology and church establishments in revolutionary America. *The historical journal*, 42(4):1007-1026.
- Kierkegaard, S. 1946. *Concept of dread*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kierkegaard, S. 1992. *Concluding unscientific postscript to philosophical fragments, 2 vols., translated and ed. by Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kille, D. A. 2001. *Psychological Biblical criticism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Killen, P O. & Debeer, J. 1994. *The art of theological reflection*. New York: Crossroad Publishing.
- Kim, K. P. 2009. An analysis of dissertations on Church growth published during the past five years (2004-2008). Unpublished D.Min. Thesis Project: Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary.
- Kim, S. 1987. Is 'Minjung Theology' a Christian theology? *Calvin theological journal*, 22(2):251-274.
- Kimry, R. C. 2006. *Mea-Culpa*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation.
- Kinast, R. 1990. *Let ministry teach*. Maderia Beach: Center for Theological Reflection.
- King, M. L. 1986. *Venetian humanism in an age of Patrician dominance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- King, M. L. 1986. *Venetian Humanism in an age of Patrician dominance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- King, U. 1994. *Feminist theology from the third world*. New York: Orbis Books.
- Kinghorn, K. C. 2003. *Christ can make you fully human*. Toronto: Clements Publishing.
- Kingston, R. (ed.). 2009. *Montesquieu and his legacy*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Klapp, O. E. 1991. *Inflation of symbols: loss of values in American culture*. London: Transaction Publishers.

- Klassen, P. E. 2011. *Spirits of Protestantism: medicine, healing, and liberal Christianity*. California: University of California Press.
- Klein, E. A. 2000. *Complete etymological dictionary of the English language: dealing with the origin of words and their sense development, thus illustrating the history of civilization and culture*. Elsevier: Oxford.
- klein, W. W., Blomberg, C. L. & Hubbard, R. L. Jr. 2004. *Introduction to Biblical interpretation*, rev. ed. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Kleinig, J. 2011. Humiliation, degradation, and moral capacity: a response to Hörnle and Kremnitzer. *Israel law review*, 44(1-2):169-183.
- Kleinig, J., Miller, S., Mameli, P., Salane, D. & Schwartz, A. 2011. *Security and privacy: global standards for ethical identity management in contemporary liberal democratic states*. Australia: Australian National University E Press.
- Klemme, H. F. & Kuehn, M. (eds.). 2016. *The Bloomsbury dictionary of eighteenth-century German philosophers*. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark.
- Klienman, P. 2013. *Philosophy 101: from Plato and Socrates to ethics and metaphysics: an essential primer on the history of thought*. Massachusetts: Adams Media.
- Knox, P. E. & Mckeown, J. C. (eds.). 2013. *The Oxford anthology of Roman literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kohl, B. G. & Witt, R. G. 1978. *The earthly republic: Italian humanists on government and society*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.
- Korten Kemp, K. V. & Moore, C. F. 2001. Ecocentrism and anthropocentrism: moral reasoning about ecological commons dilemma. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 21:1-12.
- Kraft, C. H. 1979. *Christianity in culture*. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Kraft, C. H. 2001. *Culture, communication, and Christianity: a selection of writings*. California: William Carey Library.
- Kraft, C. H. 2005. *Appropriate Christianity*. California: William Carey Library.
- Kraus, C. N. 2004. *Jesus Christ our Lord: Christology from a disciple's perspective*, revised edition. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Krieger, J. (ed.). 2013. *The Oxford companion to comparative politics*, vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kristeller, P. O. 1961. *Renaissance thought: the classic, scholastic, and humanistic strains*, vol. 2. New York City: Harper Torchbooks.
- Kristeller, P. O. 1964. *Eight philosophers of the renaissance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Kristiansen, S. J. & Rise, S. (eds.). 2016. *Key theological thinkers: from modern to postmodern*. New York: Routledge.
- Kugel, J. L. 2007. *How to read the Bible: a guide to Scripture, then and now*. New York: Free Press.
- Kugler, R. & Hartin, P. 2009. *An introduction to the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans.
- Kunnuthara, A. V. 2008. *Schleiermacher on Christian consciousness of God's work in history*, foreword by Terrence N. Tice. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Kurian, G. T. & Smith, J. D. 2010. *The encyclopedia of Christian literature*, vol. 2. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

- Kuruvila, K. P. 2002. *The Word became flesh: a Christological paradigm for doing theology in India*. Delhi: ISPCK.
- Kuruvilla, S. J. 2013. *Radical Christianity in Palestine and Israel: liberation and theology in the Middle East*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Kuster, V. (ed.). 2009. *Reshaping Protestantism in a global context*. Munster: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf Berlin.
- Kuypers, J. A. 2016. *Rhetorical criticism: perspectives in action*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Ladd, G. E. & Hagner, D. A. 1993. *A theology of the New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- Ladd, G. E. 1993. *A theology of the New Testament, revised edition*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Ladd, G. E. 2002. *The presence of the future: the eschatology of Biblical realism, revised edition*. New York: Harper & Row, reprinted.
- Lagerlund, H. 2000. *Modal syllogistics in the Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lakshminpathy, V. 2009. Kant and the turn to Romanticism. *Kritike*, 3(2): 90-102.
- Larsen, D. L. 1998. *The company of preachers*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications.
- Lawler, E. 1991. Neohumanistic-idealistic concepts of a university. In: Herbert H. Richardson, (ed.): *Friedrich Schleiermacher and the founding of the University of Berlin: the study of religion as a scientific discipline*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 26-36.
- Lawrence, S. & McCartney, M. 2015. *Mathematicians and their Gods: interactions between Mathematics and religious beliefs, 1st edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, J. H. 2012. *Reinhold Niebuhr on world politics in nuclear age*. Florida: Xulon Press.
- Lee, S. 1993. *A comparative study between Minjung theology and reformed theology from a missiological perspective*. Reformed Theological Seminary: Unpublished D.Miss. dissertation.
- Lee, S. J. 2008. *Aspects of European history, 1789-1980*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Leeson, R. (ed.). 2013. *Hayek: a collaborative biography, part 1*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Leibniz, G. W. 1989. *Leibniz: philosophical essays, translated by Roger Ariew & Daniel Garber*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
- Leigh, R. A. (ed.). 1982. *Rousseau after 200 years: proceedings of the Cambridge bicentennial colloquium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levene, N. K. 2004. *Spinoza's revelation: religion, democracy, and reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, D. H. 1990. How not to understand liberation theology, Nicaragua or both. *Journal of inter-American studies and world affairs*, 32(3):229-245.
- Levy, J. T. 2015. *Rationalism, pluralism, and freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, G. R. & Demarest, B. A. 1996. *Integrative theology, three volumes in one edition*. Grand Rapids: Zondarvan.
- Lewis, J. R. & Petersen, J. A. (eds.) 2014. *Controversial new religions, 2nd edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, P. 2000. *Modernism, nationalism, and the novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lin, J. V. 2002. *Shaking the fundamentals: religious plurality and ecumenical movement*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Lincoln, C. E. & Lawrence, H. M. 1990. *The Black church in the African American experience*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Lincoln, C. E. 1973. The development of Black religion in America. *Review and expositor*, 70(1):295-308.
- Lindberg, C. 2009. *A brief history of Christianity*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Linde, C. 2015. *How to correct the Sacra Scriptura? Textual criticism of the Bible between the twelfth and fifteenth Century*. Nottingham: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature.
- Ling, S. N. 2005. *Communicating Christ in Myanmar: issues, interactions and perspectives*. Yangon, Myanmar: Association for Theological Education in Myanmar.
- Lippy, C. H. (ed.). 2006. *Faith in America: changes, challenges, new directions*, vol. 1. West port: Praeger Books.
- Litfin, A. D. 1982. Theological issues in contemporary feminism. In: Donald K. Campbell (ed.): *Walvoord: a tribute*. Chicago: Moody Press.
- Livingstone, E.A. (ed.). 1977. *Concise Oxford dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lloyd, S. A. (ed.). 2013. *The Bloomsbury companion to Hobbes*. London: Bloomsbury Academics.
- Lobo, L. 1996. Dalit religious movements and Dalit identity. In: Walter Fernandes (ed.): *The emerging Dalit identity: The re-assertion of the subalterns*. New Delhi: Indian Social Institute.
- Locke, A. L. 2012. *The works of Alain Locke*, ed. Charles Molesworth and foreword by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Locke, J. 1996. *Some thoughts concerning education and of the conduct of the understanding*, ed. Ruth W. Grant & Nathan Tarcov. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co.
- Locke, J. 1997. *An essay concerning human understanding*, ed. Roger Woolhouse. New York: Penguin Books.
- Locke, J. 2009. *Two treatises on government: a translation into modern English*. Manchester: Industrial Systems Research.
- Loconte, J. 2014. *God, Locke, and liberty: the struggle for religious freedom in the West*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Lonergan, B. J. F. 1972. *Method in theology*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Long, R. T. 1998. Toward a libertarian theory of class. *Social philosophy and policy*, 15(2):303-349.
- Lopezina, D. 2012. *Red ink: native Americans picking up the pen in the colonial period*. Albany: State University Press.
- Ludden, K. 2012. *Mystic apprentice: master volume with dictionary*. North Carolina: Lulu Company.
- Lybaek, L. 2002. *New and old in Matthew 11-13: normativity in the development of three theological themes*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Liotard, J. 1979. *The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Lysebeth, A. V. 1979. *Pranayama: the Yoga of breathing*. London: Unwin Paperbacks.
- Macaskill, G. 2007. *Revealed wisdom and inaugurated eschatology in ancient Judaism and early Christianity*. Leiden: Brill.
- Machen, J. G. 2009. *Christianity and liberalism*, new edition. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Machen, J. G. 2009. *Christianity and liberalism*, new edition. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

- Machen, J. G. 1990. *Christianity and liberalism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Macintyre, A.C. 1998. *A short history of ethics: a history of moral philosophy from the Homeric age to the twentieth century*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Mack, B. L. 1993. *The lost Gospel: the book of Q and Christian origins*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Mackinnon, B. 2007. *Ethics: theory and contemporary issues*, 5th edition. Belmont: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Maddox, R. L. 1999. Respected founder/neglected guide: the role of Wesley in American Methodist theology. *Methodist History* 37(2): 71–88.
- Maffettone, S. 2010. *Rawls: an introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Magill, F. N. (ed.). 2014. *The 20th century Go-N: dictionary of world biography*, vol. 8. London: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Magill, F. N. 1999. *The 17th and 18th centuries: dictionary of world biography*, vol. 4. California: Salem Press, Inc.
- Mahoney, D. F. (ed.). 2004. *The literature of German romanticism*, vol. 8. Rochester: Camden House.
- Malpas, J. & Hans-Helmuth, G. (eds.). 2014. *The Routledge companion to hermeneutics*. London: Routledge.
- Mandle, J. & Reidy, D. A. (ed.). 2014. *A companion to Rawls*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Mandle, J. 2009. Rawls' 'a theory of justice': an introduction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mann, N. 1996. The origins of humanism. In: Jill Kraye (ed.): *The Cambridge companion to renaissance humanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-19.
- Mansch, L. D. & Peters, C. 2016. *Martin Luther: the life and lessons*. Iowa: McFarland Publishing.
- Mansfield, B. 1992. *Man on his Own: interpretations of Erasmus, 1750-1920*, vol. 2. Ontario: University of Toronto Press.
- Mansfield, E. 2014. *Making art history: a changing disciple and its institutions*. London: Routledge.
- Manuel, O. & Baker, S. S. (eds.). 2002. *The urban face of mission: ministering the Gospel in a diverse and changing world*. Phillipsburg: P & R Publishing.
- Marini, M. G. 2016. *Narrative medicine: bridging the gap between evidence-based care and medical humanities*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Marsh, C. 1996. *Reclaiming Dietrich Bonhoeffer: the promise of his theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marshall, G. N. & Poling, D. 2000. *Schweitzer: a biography*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Marshall, H. 2004. *Beyond the Bible: moving from Scripture to theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Marshall, T. H. 2009. Citizenship and social class. In J. Mazna & M. Sauder (eds.): *Inequality and society: social science perspectives on social stratification*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co:148-154.
- Marthias, M. B. (ed.). 2007. *John Stuart Mill: on liberty*. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Martin, J., Sugarman, J. & Slaney, K. L. (eds.). 2015. *The Wiley handbook of theoretical and philosophical psychology: methods, approaches, and new directions for social sciences*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Martines, L. 2015. *Lawyers and statecraft in renaissance Florence*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Marttila, M. 2006. *Collective reinterpretation in the Psalms: a study of the redaction history of the Psalter*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Marty, M. E. 1986. *Modern American religion*, vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marty, M. E. 2004. *Martin Luther*. New York City: Viking Penguin.

- Masalha, N. 2007. *The Bible and Zionism: invented traditions, archaeology and post-colonialism Palestine-Israel*. New York: ZED Books.
- Masłoń, S. 2007. *Père-versions of the truth: the novels of J. M. Coetzee*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Mason, H. T. 1992. *Candide: optimism demolished*. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Mason, R. 1997. *The God of Spinoza: a philosophical study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- massey, J. (ed.). 1994. *Indigenous people: Dalit issues in today's theological debate*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- massey, J. 1988. *Ingredients for a Dalit theology*. In: M. E. Prabhakar (ed.): *Towards a Dalit theology*. New Delhi: ISPCK, 57-63.
- Massey, J. 1988. *Ingredients for a Dalit theology*. In: M.E. Prabhakar, (ed.): *Towards a Dalit theology*. New Delhi: ISPCK, 57-63.
- Massey, J. 1990. *Ingredients in Dalit theology*. In: P. A. Nirmal, & V. Devasahayam (eds.): *A reader in Dalit theology*. Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College & Research Institute, 145-150.
- Massey, J. 1996. *Roots of Dalit history, Christianity, theology and spirituality*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Massey, J. 1997. *Downtrodden: the struggle of India's Dalits for identity, solidarity and*
- Massey, J. 1997a. *Down trodden: the struggle of India's Dalits for identity, solidarity and liberation*, 1st edition. Geneva: WCC Publications.
- Massey, J. 2001. *Vision and role of Dalit theology*. In: D. R. J. Massey & F. S. Lourduswamy (eds.): *A theology from Dalit perspective*. New Delhi: Centre for Dalit Studies, 68-79.
- Mathers, N. W. 2011. *Christian hermeneutics: Dispelling the myths*. Bloomington: West Bow Press.
- Mathison, K. A. 2001. *The shape of Sola Scriptura*. Moscow: Canon Press.
- Matthews, E. M. (ed.). 2007. *The collected works of Edward M. Matthews*, vol. 3. California: St. Alban Press.
- Maxson, B. 2014. *The Humanist world of Renaissance Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayhue, R. 2006. *The emerging Church: generous orthodoxy or general obfuscation?* *The master's seminary journal*, 17(2), 191-205.
- Mcalpin, K. & Leddy, M. J. 2009. *Ministry that transforms: a contemplative process of theological reflection*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.
- Mccall, E. 1976. *Black liberation theology: a politics of freedom*. *Review and expositor*, 73(3):323-333.
- Mcclymond, M. J. 2004. *Familiar stranger: an introduction to Jesus of Nazareth*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Mcdonald, G. 2016. *Biblical criticism in early modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mcdonald, H. P. 2004. *Radical axiology: a first philosophy of values*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Mcdowell, M. L. 1994. *The contextualization of cargo cult beliefs and the Christian message in Irian Jaya, Indonesia*. Oxford: Oxford Graduate School.
- Mcelroy, W. 1996. *The free love movement and radical individualism*. *Libertarian enterprise*, 19: 1. Retrieved: <<http://www.ncc-1776.org/tle1996/le161210.html>> accessed: May 14, 2015.
- Mcenhill, P. & Newlands, G. 2004. *Fifty key Christian thinkers*. New York: Routledge.
- Mcgann, J. 2002. *Byron and romanticism*, ed. James Soderholm. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- McGavran, D. A. 1974. The dimensions of world evangelization. In: J. D. Douglas (ed.): Let the earth hear his voice: international congress on world evangelization Lausanne, Switzerland. Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 94-115.
- Mcglasson, P. C. 2015. Church doctrine, vol. 3. Eugene: Cascade Books.
- Mcgrath, A. 1998. Historical theology: an introduction to the history of Christian thought. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Mcgrath, A. E. 1994. Christian theology: an introduction. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mcgrath, A. E. 1996. Christian theology: An introduction. Cambridge: Blackwell, reprinted.
- Mcgrath, A. E. 1998. Iustitia Dei: a history of the Christian doctrine of justification. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mcguckin, J. A. (ed.). 2010. The encyclopedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. West Sussex: John Wiley.
- Mcguckin, J. A. 2010. The orthodox church: an introduction to its history, doctrine, and spiritual culture. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Mckim, D. K. 2014. Westminster dictionary of theological terms, 2nd edition. Louisville: Presbyterian Publishing.
- Mcwhorter, J. 2001. Losing the race: self-sabotage in Black America. New York: Perennial.
- Meadors, G. T. 2009. Four views on moving beyond the Bible to theology. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Mealey, A. N. 2009. The identity of Christian morality. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Medema, S. G. & Samuels, W. J. (eds.). 2013. History of economic thought reader, 2nd edition. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mendelson, J. 1979. The Habermas-Gadamer debate. *New German Critique*, 18: 44–73.
- Merali, A. & Sharbaf, J. (ed.). 2009. Towards a new liberation theology: reflections on Palestine. Wembley: Islamic Human Rights Commission.
- Metzger, B. M. & Coogan, M. D. (ed.). 2001. The Oxford guide to ideas & issues of the Bible. Oxford: Oxford: University Press.
- Meyendorff, J. 1978. Living tradition: Orthodox witness in the contemporary world. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Meyer, J. C. 1997. Christian beliefs and teachings, 2nd edition. Maryland: University Press of America.
- Meyer, M. W. & Bergel, K. 2002. Reverence for life: the ethics of Albert Schweitzer for the twenty-first century. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Meyers, R. G. 2014. Understanding empiricism. Oxon: Routledge.
- Migliore, D. L. 2004. Faith seeking understanding: an introduction to Christian Theology. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans.
- Mill, J. S. 1989. On liberty and other writings, ed. Stefan Collini. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mill, J. S. 2006. Utilitarianism, digitized edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mill, J. S. 2010. On liberty and other essays. Oxford: Digireads.com Publishing.
- Millan, E. 2012. Friedrich Schlegel and the emergence of romantic philosophy. New York: University of New York Press.
- Miller, D. E. & Miller, D. E. 1981. The case for liberal Christianity. New York City: Harper and Row.

- Miller, E. F. 2010. *Hayek's the constitution of liberty: an account of its argument*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs.
- Miller, S. & Huber, R. 2003. *The Bible: a history, the making and impact on the Bible*. England: Lion Hudson.
- Mir, R., Willmott, H. & Greenwood, M. (eds.). 2015. *The Routledge companion to philosophy in organization studies*. London: Routledge.
- Mises, L. V. 2002. *Liberalism in the classical tradition*, online edition. New York: The Foundation for Economic Education.
- Mittelstrass, J. 2014. Complexity, reductionism, and holism in science and philosophy of science. *Pontifical Academy of Sciences*, 22: 45-53.
- Moe, N. J. 2002. *The view from Vesivius: Italian culture and the southern question*. California: University of California Press.
- Mohanty, S. P. 1997. Jameson's Marxist hermeneutics and the need for an adequate epistemology. In: *Literary theory and the claims of history: postmodernism, objectivity, multicultural politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 93-115.
- Molendijk, A. L. 2011. A squeezed out lemon peel: Abraham Kuyper on modernism. *Church history and religious culture*, 91(3/4):397-412.
- Mollenkott, V. 1977. What is true Biblical feminism? *Christian life*:73-76.
- Moltmann, J. 1967. *Theology of hope*. London: SCM Press.
- Montefiore, S. S. 2011. *Jerusalem: The biography*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Montesquieu, C. S. 1984. *The spirit of laws*, ed. David Wallace Carrithers. California: university of California.
- Moon, T. H. 1982. *Korean Minjung theology*. Princeton: The Association of *Korean* Christian Scholars in North America.
- Moore, A. 2003. *Realism and the Christian faith: God, grammar, and meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moreau, S. 2010. Evangelical models of contextualization. In: Matthew Cook, Rob Haskell, Natee Tanchanpongs, and Ruth Julian (eds.): *Local theology for the global Church: principles for an evangelical approach to contextualization*. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 143-164.
- Morgan, M. L. (ed.). 2002. *Spinoza: the complete works*, translated by Samuel Shirley. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
- Morgan, W. J. & Guilherme, A. 2014. *Buber and education: dialogue as conflict resolution*. New York: Routledge.
- Moseley, A. 2014. *John Locke*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Musalimas, S.A. 1994. *The transition from Shamanism to Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Muchnik, P. (ed.). 2008. *Rethinking Kant*, vol. 1. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Mueller-Vollmer, K. (ed.). 1988. The hermeneutics reader. *Continuum*:72-97.
- Mulholland, M. (2012). *Bougeoisie liberty and the politics of fear: from absolutism to neo-conservatism*, 1st edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mullarkey, J. & Lord, B. (eds.). 2009. *The continuum companion to continental philosophy*. London: Continuum.

- Muller, R. 1988. The place and importance of Karl Barth in the twentieth century: a review essay. *Westminster theological journal*, 50(1):127-156.
- Murray, C. J. (ed.). 2004. *Encyclopedia of the romantic era, 1760-1850*, vol. 2. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Murray, L. A. 2007. *Liberal Protestantism and science*. California: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Murtaza, N. 2011. Pursuing self-interest or self-actualization? From capitalism to a steady-state, wisdom economy. *Ecological economics*, 70(4):577-584.
- Musasiwa, R. 2007. Contextualization. In John Corrie, Juan F. Martinez, & Simon Chan: *Dictionary of mission theology: evangelical foundations*. Downers Grove: IVP Academic.
- Musser, D. W. & Price, J. (eds.). 2003. *New & enlarged handbook of Christian theology*, revised edition. Nashville: Abingdon Press.
- Mustol, J. 2012. *Dusty earthlings: living as eco-physical beings in God's eco-physical world*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Muto, K. 2012. *Christianity and the notion of nothingness*, vol. 2. Leiden: Brill.
- Nadler, S. (ed.). 2014. *Spinoza and medieval Jewish philosophy*. Cambridge: University Printing House.
- Nadler, S. 2001. *Spinoza's heresy: immortality and the Jewish mind*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nadler, S. 2002. *A companion to early modern philosophy*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Nagel, T. 1991. *Equality and partiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nassar, D. (ed.). 2014. *The relevance of romanticism: essays on German romantic philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Negru, C. 2016. *History of the apocalypse*. North Carolina: Lulu Press.
- Nellas, P. 1987. *Deification in Christ*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Nessan, C. L. 2010. *Shalom church: the body of Christ as ministering community*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Neuer, W. 1990. *Man and woman in Christian perspective*. Wheaton: Crossway Books.
- Neuhouser, F. 1993. Freedom, dependence, and the general will. *Philosophical review*, 102:363-396.
- Neumann, P. D. 2012. *Pentecostal experience: an ecumenical encounter*. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Newbigin, L. 1986. *Foolishness to the Greeks*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Newbigin, L. 1989. *The Gospel in a pluralist society*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Ney, A. 2015. Reductionism. *Internet encyclopedia of philosophy*. Tennessee: University of Tennessee.
- Nida, E. & Reyburn, W. D. 1981. *Meaning across cultures*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Niebuhr, R. R. 2009. *Schleiermacher on Christ and religion: a new introduction*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Nielsen, K. B. & Tietz, C. 2007. *Mysteries in the theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer: a Copenhagen Bonhoeffer symposium*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Nirmal, A. P. 1990. *Towards a Christian Dalit theology*. Madras: CLS.
- Nirmal, A. P. 1991. *A reader in Dalit theology*. Chennai: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College and Research Institute.
- Nirmal, A.P. 1988. A dialogue with Dalit literature. In: M. E. Prabhakar (ed.): *Towards a Dalit theology*. New Delhi: ISPCK, 64-82.
- Nissiotis, N.A. 1972. Orthodoxy and the West: a response. *The Greek Orthodox theological review*, 17:132-142.

- Nix, L. E. 2010. Ernst Troeltsch and comparative theology. New York: Peter Lang.
- Noble, T. F. X., Strauss, B., Osheim, D. J., Neuschel, K. B., Accampo, E. A., Roberts, D. D. & Cohen, W. B. 2014. Western civilization: beyond boundaries, vol. 2, 7th edition. Boston: Wadsworth.
- Norman, R. 2004. On humanism. London: Routledge.
- Nunez, E. 1984. The church in the liberation theology of Gutierrez. In: D. A. Carson (ed.): Biblical interpretation and the church. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 166-194.
- Nye, R. B. 1960. The cultural life of the new nation. New York: Harper & Row.
- Nyoni, T. 2015. Milton Friedman's contribution to present day macroeconomic policy: postulates and applicability in Zimbabwe. Bloomberg: GRIN Verlag Publishing.
- O'Donovan, O. 2009. A conversation waiting to begin: the Churches and the gay controversy. London: SCM Press.
- Ogden, S. M. 1976. Sources of religious authority in liberal Protestantism. *Journal of the American academy of religion*, 44(3):403-416.
- Okoye, J. C. 2007. Jesus and the Jesus seminar. *New theology review*:27-37.
- Oliver, D. L. 2006. Dorothee Soelle: essential writings. Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- Olsen, T. 1980. Silences. London: Virago.
- Olson, C. G. 2005. Getting the Gospel right: a balanced view of salvation truth. New Jersey: Global Gospel Publishers.
- Olson, R. E. & Hall, C. A. 2002. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Olson, R. E. 2013. The journey of modern theology: from reconstruction to deconstruction. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Olson, R. G. 2012. An introduction to existentialism. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- O'Neil, K. & Black, P. 2003. The essential moral handbook, revised edition. Liguori: Liguori Publications.
- Oppenheimer, P. (ed.). 2001. The Eulenspiegel: his adventures. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Ottati, D. F. 2013. Theology for liberal Protestants: God the creator. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Otteson, J. R. (ed.). 2004. Adam Smith: selected philosophical writings. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Overman, D. L. 2001. A case against accident and self-organization. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Owen, T. (ed.). 1983. God's activity in the world: the contemporary problem. Chicago: Scholars Press.
- Pak, Y. 2001. Kumkangkyong: Buddhism seen from the perspective of Yoo Young-Mo's thought. Seoul: Dure Press.
- Pangle, T. L. & Burns, T. W. 2015. The key texts of political philosophy: an introduction. New York: University of Cambridge Press.
- Pannenberg, W. 2004. Systematic theology, vol. 2. New York: T & T Clark.
- Pappe, I. 2006. A history of modern Palestine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Park, K. 2002. The world almanac and book of facts, 2002. Crawfordsville: World Almanac Books.
- Pauck, W. 2015. Harnack and Troeltsch: two historical theologians. Eugene: Wipf & stock Publishers.
- Payton, R. L. & Moody, M. P. 2008. Understanding philanthropy: its meaning and mission. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Pearl, K. 2004. Cracking the AP European history, 2004-2005. Massachusetts: The Princeton Review.
- Pearson, L. B. 1970. Words and occasions. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Pegram, J. K. 2007. Political liberalism, religion, and the prophetic tradition. Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
- Pelikan, J. 1989. The Christian tradition. Chicago University Press.
- Peña, M. 1994. Liberation theology in Peru: an analysis of the role of intellectuals in social movements. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 33(1):34-45.
- Percy, M. & Markham, I. (eds.). 2006. Why liberal Churches are growing. New York: T & T Clark, Inc.
- Perl, J. M. 1984. The tradition of return: the implicit history of modern literature. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Perry, M. 2014. Sources of the Western tradition, vol. 1, ninth edition. Boston: Wadsworth.
- Peters, M. A. 2001. Poststructuralism, Marxism, and neoliberalism: between theory and politics. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Peters, T. 1993. God as Trinity: relationality and temporality in divine life, 1st edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Phillips, P. 2014. In his presence: intimacy with the Father. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.
- Phipps, W. E. 2002. *Darwin's religious odyssey*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International.
- Phipps, W. E. 2008. Supernaturalism in Christianity: its growth and cure. Georgia: Mercer University Press.
- Pinn, A. B. & Valentin, B. (eds.). 2001. The tie that binds: African American and Hispanic American/Latino/a Theology in dialogue. New York: Continuum.
- Pinnock, S. K. (ed.). 2003. The theology of Dorothee Soelle. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International.
- Pogge, T. W. M. 2007. John Rawls: his life and theory of justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Porter, B. F. 2001. The good life: alternatives in ethics. New York: Ardsley House Publishers.
- Porter, S. E. & Adams, S. A. (eds.). 2016. Pillars in the history of Biblical interpretation, vol. 2. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Porter, S. E. Jr. & Stovell, B. M. (eds.). 2012. Biblical hermeneutics: five views. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Porter, S. E., & Adams, S. A. (eds.). 2016. Pillars in the history of Biblical interpretation, vol. 1. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Power, F. C., Nuzzi, R. J., Narvaez, D., Lapsley, D. K. & Hunt, C. T. (eds.). 2008. Moral education: a handbook, vol. 1. Westport: Praeger.
- Poythress, V. S. 1999. God centered Biblical interpretation. New Jersey: P&R Publishing.
- Prabhakar, M. E. 1988. Towards a Dalit theology. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Prabhakar, M. E. 1990a. Towards a Christian Dalit theology. In: A. P. Nirmal & V. Devasahayam (eds.): A Reader in Dalit theology. New Delhi: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College & Research Institute, 53-70.
- Prabhakar, M. E. 1990b. The search for a Dalit theology. In: P. A. Nirmal & V. Devasahayam (eds.): A reader in Dalit theology. Madras: Gurukul Lutheran Theological College & Research Institute, 41-52.
- Prabhakar, M. E. 1994. The search for a Dalit theology. In: James Massey (ed.): Indigenous people: Dalit issues in today's theological debate. New Delhi: ISPCK, 213-230.
- Prabhakar, M. E. 1997a. Caste-Class, patriarchy and doing Dalit theology. In: V. Devasahayam (ed.): Frontiers of Dalit theology. Madras: ISPCK/Gurukul, 79-91.

- Prabhakar, M. E. 1997b. Christology in Dalit perspective. In: V.Devasahayam (ed.) *Frontiers of Dalit theology*. Madras: ISPCK/Gurukul, 402-432.
- Prasad, P. 2009. *Colonialism, race, and the French romantic imagination*. London: Routledge.
- Preus, J. S. 2009. *Spinoza and the irrelevance of Biblical authority*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press.
- Prichard, A., Kinna, R., Pinta, S. & Berry, D. (eds.). 2010. *Libertarian socialism: politics in black and red*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Prickett, S. (ed.). 2014. *European romanticism: a reader*. London: Bloomsbury Academics.
- Profitt, N. J. 2010. Spirituality, social work, and social justice: an introduction. *Canadian social work review*: 27(1):127-132.
- Qualben, L. P. 2008. *A history of the Christian church, revised and enlarged*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Quale, A. 2009. The issue of reductionism: a radical constructivist approach to the philosophy of physics . *Antimatters*, 3(4):55-68.
- Quinones, R. J. 2007. *Dualisms: the agons of the modern world*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rahner, K. (ed.). 2004. *Encyclopedia of theology: a concise sacramentum mundi*. London: Burns and Oats.
- Rahner, K. 1966. Remarks on the dogmatic treatise 'De Trinitate.' *Theological investigations*, 4:77-102.
- Raico, R. 2010. *The place of religion in the liberal philosophy of Constant, Tocqueville, and Lord Acton*. Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- Rapaport, E. 1977. Classical liberalism and Rawlsian revisionism. *Canadian journal of philosophy*, 7:95-119.
- Raphael, D. D. 2001. *Concepts of justice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rapp, J. A. 2012. *Daoism and anarchism: critiques of state autonomy in ancient and modern China*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Rasmussen, L. & Bethge, R. 2016. *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: his significance for North Americans*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Razor, P. 2009. Theological and political liberalisms. *Journal of law and religion*, 24(2):433-462.
- Rauschbauch, W. 1978. *A theology of the social Gospel*. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Rauschenbusch, W. 1996. *A theology for the Social Gospel*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Rauschenbusch, W. 1997. *A theology for the Social Gospel*, intr. Donald W. Shriver, Jr. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Rauschenbusch, W. 2003. *Christianity and the social crisis*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock, reprint.
- Rauschenbusch, W. 2011. *Christianizing the social order*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Rawls, J. (2003). *A theory of justice, revised edition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, sixth printing.
- Reardon, B. M. G. 1968. *Liberal Protestantism*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Reddie, A. G. 2008. *Working against the grain: Re-imagining Black theology in the 21st century*. Oakville: Equinox.
- Redeker, M. 1973. *Schleiermacher: life and thought*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Rees, L. 2005. *Auschwitz: a new history*. New York: Public Affairs Books.
- Reese, W. L. 1980. *Dictionary of philosophy and religion, 1st edition*. New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Regnery, A. S. 2008. *Upstream: the ascendance of American conservatism*. New York: Threshold Editions.
- Reik, M. M. 1977. *The golden lands of Thomas Hobbes*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

- Reimer, A. J. 2009. Paul Tillich: theologian of nature, culture and politics. Munster: Lit Verlag.
- Reisert, J. R. 2003. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: a friend of virtue. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Rescher, N. 2000. Optimalism and axiological metaphysics. *The review of metaphysics*, 53(4):807–835.
- Reuther, R. 1972. Liberation theology. New Jersey: Paramus.
- Reuther, R. R. 1981. To change the world: Christology and cultural criticism. New York: Crossroad.
- Reventlow, H. G. 2010. History of Biblical interpretation, vol. 3. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Rhodes, R. 1991. Black theology, black power, and the black experience. *Christian research journal*, 13(4):27-32.
- Rhodes, R. 2006. Christianity according to the Bible. Eugene: Harvest House Publishers.
- Ricardo, D. 2006. Principles of political economy and taxation. New York: Cosimo Classics, Inc.
- Richards, L. O. 1985. Expository Bible dictionary of Bible words. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Richardson, A. 1947. Christian apologetics. New York City: Harper & Brothers.
- Richardson, A. & Bowden, J. 1983. A new dictionary of Christian theology. London: SCM.
- Riches, J. 2000. The Bible: a very short introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Richmond, Q. B. 2014. Theories of inerrancy and inspiration of Biblical Scriptures. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.
- Richter, M. 1977. The political theory of Montesquieu. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rini, A. 2010. Aristotle's modal proofs: prior analytics A8-22 in predicate logic. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Ritschl, A. 2005. Albrecht Ritschl: Three essays, translated by Philip Hefner. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Ritschl, A. 2006. The Christian doctrine of justification and reconciliation, ed. H. R. Mackintosh, Hugh Ross Mackintosh, & A. B. Macauley. Montana: Kessinger Publishing.
- Roberts, D. 1971. Liberation and reconciliation: a Black theology. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Rockmore, T. 2013. Art and truth after Plato. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rodriguez-Pereyra, G. 2014. Leibniz's principle of identity of indiscernibles. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Röhl, J. C. G. 2014. Wilhelm II: into the Abyss of war and exile, 1900–1941, translated by Sheila de Bellaigue and Roy Bridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosenberg, A. 2006. Thomas Hobbes: an English philosopher in the Age of Reason. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group.
- Roth, D. T. 2015. The text of Marcion's gospel. Leiden: Brill.
- Rothbard, M. N. 2002. The ethics of liberty. New York: New York University Press.
- Rothbard, M. N. 2006. An economic thought before Adam Smith: an Austrian perspective on the history of economic thought, vol. 1, new edition. Alabama: Ludwig von Mises Institute.
- Rowe, P. S. 2010. The Middle Eastern Christian as agent. *International journal of Middle Eastern studies*, 42:472-474.
- Rowley, C. & Schneider, F. (ed.). 2004. The encyclopedia of public choice, vol. 1. Boston: Kluwer Academic Press.
- Rubanowice, R. J. 1982. Crisis in consciousness: the thought of Ernst Troeltsch. Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida.
- Rud, A. G. 2011. Albert Schweitzer's legacy for Education: reverence for life. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Rudolf, R. 2004. Anarcho-Syndicalism: theory and practice. Oakland: AK Press.

- Rugierri, G. 1997. The Unity of the Church through the Unity of Humankind. In: Giuseppe Ruggieri & Miklos Tomka (eds.): *The Church in fragments: Towards what kind of unity?* Maryknoll: Orbis, 124-147.
- Rumscheidt, M. (ed.). 1989. *The Apostles' creed: an historical account with an introduction and postscript.* London: Collins Liturgical Publications.
- Rupp, E. G., & Watson, P. S. (ed.). 1969. *Luther and Erasmus: free will and salvation.* Westminster: John Knox Press.
- Ruse, M. 2005. Entry for "reductionism." In: Ted Honderich (ed.): *The Oxford companion to philosophy*, 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russell, L. M. & Clarkson, J. S. (eds.). 1996. *Dictionary of feminist theology*, 1st edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.
- Russo, J. P. 2010. *The future without a past: the humanities in technological society.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Russo, S. 2005. *The 50 most significant individuals in recorded history: rank in descending order.* Madison: Inklings Press.
- Ryder, A. F. C. 1976. *The kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the magnanimous: the making of a modern state.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ryken, L., Wilhoit, J. C. & Longman III, T. 1998. *Dictionary of Biblical imagery*, 478-479.
- Sabbah, M. 2009. *Faithful witness: on reconciliation and peace on the Holy Land.* Hyde Park: New City Press.
- Samples, J. (ed.). 2002. *James Madison and the future of limited government.* Washington: Cato Institute.
- Sanneh, L. 1989. *Translating the message: the missionary impact on culture.* American Society of Missiology Series, no. 13. Maryknoll: Orbis.
- Sandywell, B. 2016. *Dictionary of visual discourse: a dialectical lexicon of terms.* New York: Routledge.
- Sargent, B. C. 2016. *Written for our learning: the single meaning of Scripture in Christian theology.* Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers.
- Sarton, G. 1948. *Introduction to the history of science: science and learning in the fourteenth century.* Malabar: R. E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- Savage, R. O. 2012. *Real alternatives: Leibniz's metaphysics of choice.* New York City: Springer.
- Sawyer, M. J. 2006. *The survivor's guide to theology.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Saxena, S. 2015. *Arithmetic: the foundation of mathematics*, ed. Garrett Gladle. New York: Britannica Educational Publishing in Association with the Rosen Publishing Group.
- Scanzoni, L. & Hardesty, N. 1974. *All we're meant to be.* Waco: Word Books.
- Schaeffer, F. A. 1970. *Pollution and the death of man.* Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers.
- Schelbert, L. 2014. *Historical dictionary of Switzerland.* Pennsylvania: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing.
- Schleiermacher, F. 1969. *On religion: addresses in response to its cultured critics*, translated by Terrence N. Tice. Richmond: John Knox.
- Schleiermacher, F. 1999. *The Christian faith*, 2nd edition, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and James Stuart Stewart. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Schleiermacher, F. D. E. 2006. *On religion: speeches to its cultured despisers*, translated by John Oman, digital edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Scanning Center.

- Schleiermacher, F. D. E. 1966. *Brief outline of the study of theology*, translated by T. N. Tice. Richmond: John Knox Press.
- Schleiermacher, F. D. E. 1958. *On religion: speeches to its cultured despisers*. New York: Harper.
- Schmemmann, A. 1972. *Worship in a secular age*. *St. Vladimir's theological quarterly*, 16:3-16.
- Schmemmann, A. 1979. *Church, world, mission: reflections on Orthodoxy in the West*. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Schmitt, C. 2005. *Political theology: four chapters on the concept of sovereignty*, translated by George Schwab. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schottroff, L. & Wacker, M. (eds.). 2012. *Feminist Biblical interpretation: a compendium of critical commentary on the books of the Bible and related literature*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- Schultz, D. & Vile, J. R. (eds.). 2015. *The encyclopedia of civil liberties in America*, vols. 1-3. New York: Routledge.
- Schultz, J. D., West, J. G. & Maclean, I. S. (eds.). 1999. *Encyclopedia of religion in American politics*, vol. 2. Arizona: Oryx Press.
- Schumaker, P. (ed.). 2010. *The political theory reader*. West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Schwarz, H. 2000. *Eschatology*. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans.
- Schwarz, H. 2005. *Theology in a global context: The last two hundred years*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Schweitzer, A. 1950. *The quest of the historical Jesus*. New York: Macmillan.
- Searing, E. A.M. & Searing, D. R. (eds.). 2016. *Practicing professional ethics in economics and public policy*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Seebohm, T. M. 2007. *Hermeneutics: method and methodology*. New Jersey: Springer.
- Segel, H. B. 1997. *Polish romantic drama: three plays in English translation*. Amsterdam: Overseas Publishers Association.
- Segev, A. 2013. *Thinking and killing: philosophical discourse in the shadow of the third Reich*. Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Seigel, J. E. 2015. *Rhetoric and philosophy in renaissance humanism: the union of eloquence and wisdom, Petrarch to Valla*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Shaffer, E. S. (ed.). 2001. *Comparative criticism: humanist traditions in the twentieth century*, vol. 23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shah, Z. A. 2012. *Anthropomorphic depictions of God: the concept of God in Judaic, Christian, and Islamic traditions*. Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).
- Shantz, D. 2014. *A companion to German Pietism, 1660-1800*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
- Sharot, T. 2011. *The optimism bias*. *Current biology*, 21(23):941-945.
- Shaw, Y. 1992. *An American missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Sheehan, S. 2003. *Anarchism*. London: Reaktion Books Limited.
- Shelley, B. 2013. *Church history in plain language*, 4th ed. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Shlapentokh, V. & Beasley, E. 2013. *Restricting freedoms: limitations on the individual in contemporary America*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

- Shuger, D. K. 1994. *The renaissance Bible: Scholarship, sacrifice, and subjectivity*. Oakland: University of California Press.
- Siegel, C. 2011. *Classical liberalism*. California: Preservation Institute.
- Sigmund, P. E. 1988. The development of liberation theology: continuity of change? In: Richard L. Rubenstein & John K. Roth (eds.): *The politics of Latin American liberation theology: the challenge to U.S. public policy*. Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute.
- Sigmund, P. E. 1990. *Liberation theology at the crossroads: democracy or revolution?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, A. 2011. *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, unabridged edition*. New York: Cosimo Classics.
- Smith, D. E. 2002. *The canonical function of Acts: a comparative analysis*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press.
- Smith, D. L. 2014. *Theologies of the 21st Century: trends in contemporary theology*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers.
- Smith, G. 2008. *Tennessee through time: the early years*. Utah: Gibbs Smith.
- Smith, G. S. 2000. *The search for social salvation: social Christianity and America, 1880-1925*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Smith, G. W. (ed.). 1998. *John Stuart Mill's social and political thought: critical assessments, vol. 2*. New York: Routledge.
- Smith, R. W., & Pittman, A. 1989. *Pa-kua: eight-trigram boxing*. Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle.
- Smith, W. J. 2010. *A rat is a pig is a dog is a boy: the human cost of the animal rights movement*. New York: Encounter Books.
- Snyder, H.A. & Scandrett, J. 2011. *Salvation means creation healed: the ecology of sin and grace*. Oregon: Cascade Books.
- Sockness, B. W. & Gräb, W. (eds.). 2010. *Schleiermacher, the study of religion, and the future of theology: a transatlantic dialogue*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Sölle, D. 1972. The role of political theology in relation to the liberation of men. In: James M. Robinson, (ed.): *Religion and the humanizing of man*. Ontario: Council on the Study of Religion.
- Sölle, D. 1978. *Beyond mere dialogue: on being a Christian and socialist*. Detroit: Christians for Socialism.
- Sölle, D. 1984. *The strength of the weak: toward a Christian feminist Identity*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Sölle, D. 1985. *Not just yes and amen*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Sölle, D. 1990. *The window of vulnerability: a political spirituality*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Sölle, D. 1999. *Against the wind: memoir of a radical Christian*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Sölle, D. 2001. *The silent cry: mysticism and resistance*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Soulen, R. N. & Soulen, R. K. 2001. *Handbook of Biblical criticism*. Cambridge: James Clark.
- Speckman, M. & Kaufmann, L. (eds.). 2001. *Towards an agenda for contextual theology: essays in honor of Albert Nolan*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.
- Spencer, A. B. 1985. *Beyond the curse: women called to ministry*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers.
- Spijker, W. V. 2009. *Calvin: a brief guide to his life and thought*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Spirn, C. A. 2008. *Prayer in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. New York: Peter Lang.

- Spitz, L. W. 1996. *Luther and the German Humanism*. Aldershot: Variorum.
- Spong, J. S. 2007. *Jesus for the non-religious*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Stackhouse, M. L. 1988. *Apologia: Contextualization, globalization, and mission in theological education*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Stadler, F. 2015. *The Vienna circle: studies in the origins, development, and influence of logical empiricism*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Steele, G. R. 2006. *Keynes and Hayek: the money economy*. Abingdon: Routledge, digital printing.
- Steiner, G. 1998. *After Babel*, 3rd revised edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stephens, J. C. 2012. The dreams of Aelius Aristides: a psychological interpretation. *International journal of dream research*, 5(1):76-86.
- Stewart, C. & Shaw, R. 1994. *Syncretism/anti-syncretism: the politics of religious synthesis*. London: Routledge.
- Stewart, J. B. (ed.). 2012. *Kierkegaard: influence on theology: German Protestant theology*, vol. 10. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Stinger, C. L. 1998. *The renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Stinger, C. L. 1998. *The renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Stolz, J., Könemann, J., Purdie, M. S., Englberger, T. & Krüggeler, M. 2016. (Un)Believing in modern society: religion, spirituality, and religious-secular competition. New York: Routledge.
- Stout, T. M. 2010. *A fellowship of baptism: Karl Barth's ecclesiology in light of his understanding of baptism*. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Stremba, B. & Bisson, C. A. (eds.). 2009. *Teaching adventure education theory: best practices*. Michigan: Sheridan Books.
- Strenski, I. 2003. *Theology and the first theory of sacrifice*. Leiden: Brill.
- Strickland, L. (ed.). 2016. *Leibniz on God and religion: a Reader*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Stuart, D. K. 2001. *Old Testament exegesis: a handbook for students and pastors*, 3rd edition. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Styers, R. 2004. *Making magic: Religion, magic, and science in the modern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Suh, N D. 1985. Image of Han and the examination of its theology. In: *Committee of Theological Study (ed.): Minjung and Korean theology*. Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute, 319-347.
- Suh, N. 1983. *Minjung shinhak u tamguh (A research of Minjung theology)*. Seoul: Rankilsa.
- Sutton, J. & Van den Bercken, W. P. (eds.). 2003. *Orthodox Christianity and contemporary Europe*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Swinton, J. 2012. *Dementia: living in the memories of God*. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Sykes, S. 1971. *Friedrich Schleiermacher*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press.
- Szasz, F. M. 2002. *Religion in the modern American west*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Taber, C. R. 1991. *The world is too much with us: 'culture' in modern Protestant missions (The modern missions era, 1792-1992: an appraisal)*. Macon: Mercer University Press.
- Taves, A. 2009. *Religious experience reconsidered: a building-block approach to the study of religion and other special things*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Taylor, C. 1985. Interpretation and the sciences of man. *Philosophical papers*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 15–57.
- Taylor, J. G. & Strong, J. 1985. Thayer's Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament: coded with Strong's concordance numbers, Rei-Sub edition. Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Teasedayle, W. 2003. Bede Griffiths: an introduction to his interspiritual thought. Woodstock: Skylight Paths Publishing.
- Tester, K. 1992. Civil society (RLE social contract). New York: Routledge.
- Thackeray, F. W. & finding, J. E. (eds.). 2012. Events that formed the modern world, vol. 1. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Thakur, S. 1996. Religion and social justice. New York City: Springer.
- Thatcher, A. 2007. Theology and families. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Thatcher, T. & Moore, S. D. 2008. Anatomies of narrative criticism: the past, present, and futures of the fourth Gospel as literature. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Thielicke, H. 1969. Theological ethics, vol. 1. Foundations. In: William H. Lazareth & Paul E. Kerswill (eds.): Sage handbook of sociolinguistics. London: Sage, 67-84.
- Thomas, D. & Chesworth, J. A. (eds.). 2014. Christian-Muslim relations: a Biblical history, vol. 6. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Thomas, F. C. 2009. Multiple discrimination: special characteristics of the situation of Dalit Christians. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Thompson, B. 1996. Humanists and reformers: a history of the renaissance and reformation. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans.
- Thompson, J. B. 1984. Studies in the theory of ideology. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thompson, W. F. 1998. Continuity and change, 1940-1965: history of Wisconsin, vol. 6. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
- Tierney, B. 2004. The crisis of church and state, 1050-1300. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, reprinted.
- Tillich, P. 1952. The courage to be. Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Tippett, K. 2001. Speaking of faith: why religion matters and how to talk about it. New York: Penguin Books.
- Tite, P. L. 2001. Categorical designations and methodological reductionism: gnosticism as case study. *Method & theory in the study of religion*, 13(3):269-292.
- Tombs, D. 2002. Latin American liberation theology. Boston: Brill Academic
- Tomlin, G. 2013. Luther & his World. Oxford: Lion Books.
- Topping, R. N. S. 2010. St Augustine. Bloomsbury: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Torbisco-Casals, N. 2006. Group rights as human rights. Netherlands: Springer.
- Torgerson, M. A. 2007. An architecture of immanence: architecture for worship and ministry today. Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans.
- Torrance, A. & Zachhuber, J. 2016. Individuality in late antiquity. Abingdon: Routledge, reprinted.
- Tracy, D. 1978. Blessed rage for order: the new pluralism in theology. New York: Seabury Press.
- Tracy, D. 1987. The Christian understanding of salvation-liberation. *Buddhist-Christian studies*, 7:129-138.

- Tracy, D. 1997. Fragments and forms: universality and particularity today. In: Giuseppe Ruggieri & Miklos Tomka (eds.): *The Church in fragments: towards what kind of unity?* Maryknoll: Orbis, 22-32.
- Trigg, J. D. 2001. *Baptism in the theology of Martin Luther*. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Trigger, B. G. 2006. *A history of Archeological thought*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trokan, J. 2013. Models of theological reflection: theory and praxis. *Catholic education: a journal of inquiry and practice*, 1(2):144-157.
- Tully, J. 2007. *An approach to political philosophy: Locke in contexts*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, B. S. & Saleemink, O. (eds.). 2015. *Routledge handbook of religions in Asia*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Turner, D. L. 2008. *Matthew*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Tymieniecka, A. 2014. *Phenomenology world-wide: foundations — expanding dynamics — life-engagements a guide for research and study*. New Jersey: Springer.
- Underwood, R. M. 2014. *Musings of a modern man: essays and research papers*. North Carolina: Lulu.
- Vallooran, J. D. 2015. Heidegger and Indian thinking: the hermeneutic of "belonging-together " of negation and affirmation. *Comparative philosophy*, 6(1):111-128.
- Van Bunge, W., Krop, H. & Steenbakker, P. (eds.). 2014. *The Bloomsbury companion to Spinoza*. London: Bloomsbury Academics.
- Van Der Belt, H. (ed.). 2013. *Restoration through redemption: John Calvin revisited*. London: Brill.
- Van Pelt, J. R. 1922. Wilhelm Herrmann. *The Methodist review*, 105:972-975.
- Vandevelde, P. 2005. *The task of the interpreter: text, meaning, and negotiation*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Vardy, P. & Vardy, C. 2015. *Bible matters*. Norwich: SCM Press.
- Vaughn, K. I. 2012. *John Locke: economist and social scientist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vial, T. 2013. *Schleiermacher: a guide for the perplexed*. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark.
- Vihalemm, R. 2001. *Estonian studies in the history and philosophy of science*. Dordrecht: Springer Books.
- Vine, W. E. & Kulakowski, T. (eds.). 2015. *Vines expository dictionary of New Testament words*, vol. 1. North Carolina: Lulu.
- Virkler, H. A. & Ayayo, K. G. 2007. *Hermeneutics: principles and processes of Biblical interpretation*, 2nd edition. Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing Group.
- Virkler, H. A. 1981. *Hermeneutics: principles and processes of Biblical interpretation*. Grand Rapids: Baker.
- Vischer, R. K. 2012. *Martin Luther King, Jr. and the morality of legal practice: lessons in love and justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Von Dehsen, C. D. (ed.). 2013. *Philosophers and religious leaders*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Von-Wedel, C. C. 2013. *Erasmus of Rotterdam: advocate of a new Christianity*. Ontario: University of Toronto Press.
- Vos, G. 1954. *Biblical theology: Old and New Testaments*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Wade, I. O. 2015. *Intellectual origins of the French enlightenment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wagner, D. 2016. *The spiritual battle for salvation: truth demasks deception strategies*. New Delhi: Educreation Publishing.
- Wainwright, G. 1980. *Doxology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Waltke, B. K. 2007. *An Old Testament theology: an exegetical, canonical, and thematic approach*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Ward, A. M., Heichelheim, F. M. & Yeo, C. A. 2016. *History of the Roman people*. London: Routledge.
- Ward, L. 2004. *The politics of liberty in England and revolutionary America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Warfield, B. B. 1981. The idea of systematic theology. In: Ethebert D. Warfield (ed.): *The works of B. B. Warfield*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 9-87.
- Wayne, M. 2005. *Red Kant: aesthetics, Marxism and the third critique*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Weaver-Zercher, D. L. 2016. *Martyrs mirror: a social history*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Weber, H. J. & Arfken, G. B. 2013. *Essentials of math methods for physicists*. Amsterdam: Academic Press.
- Webster, D. D. 1984. Liberation theology. In: Walter A. Elwell (ed.): *Evangelical dictionary of theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 635-637.
- Webster, J. C. B. 2007. *The Dalit Christians*. New Delhi: ISPCK.
- Welch, C. 2003. *Protestant thought in the Nineteenth century, 1870-1914, vol. 2*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Wells, D. 1985. The nature and function of theology. In: R. K. Johnston (ed.): *The use of the Bible in theology: evangelical Options*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 175-199.
- Welton, W. A. (ed.). 2002. *Plato's forms: varieties of interpretation*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- West, C. & Glaude, E. S. Jr. (eds.). 2003. *African American religious thought: an anthology*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- West, C. 1959. Background paper for the consultation on 'the meaning of the secular,' (September 15-20): 3.
- White, L. Jnr. 1967. The historical roots of our ecologic crisis. *Science*, 155: 1203-1207.
- Whitford, D. M. 2015. *A reformation life: the European reformation through the eyes of Philipp of Hesse*. California: ABC-CLIO.
- Whitford, D. M. 2017. *The curse of Ham in the early modern era: the Bible and the justifications for slavery*. London: Routledge.
- Wiker, B. 2010. *10 books every conservative must read*. Washington: Regnery Publishing.
- Wilcox, J. A., Tice, T. N. & Kelsey, C. L. (2013). *Schleiermacher's influences on American thought and religious life, 1835-1920, vol. 1*. Eugene: Wipf & Stock.
- Wilcox, J. A., Tice, T. N. & Kelsey, C. L. (eds.). 2014. *Schleiermacher's influences on American thought and religious life, vol. 1*. Eugene: Pickwick Publications.
- Williams, D. H. 1999. *Retrieving the tradition and renewing evangelicalism: a primer for suspicious Protestants*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Williams, H. 2016. *International relations and the limits of political theory*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Williams, T. 2007. *Anselm: basic writings*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.
- Willis, J., Inman, D., & Valenti, R. 2010. *Completing a professional practice dissertation: a guide for doctoral students and faculty*. Charlotte: Information Age Publishing.
- Wills, G. 2002. *A necessary evil: a history of American distrust of government*. New York: Touchstone.
- Wills, G. 2006. *What Jesus meant*. New York City: Viking Press.

- Wilmore, G. S. (ed.). 1989. African American religious studies: an interdisciplinary anthology. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Wilson, B. 1966. Religion in secular society. Harmondsworth: Pelican.
- Wilson, H. S. 1994. One faith and several theologies: a plea for contextualization. *Bangalore theological forum*, 26(2):63-66.
- Wilson, L. 1994. Steve Biko. South Africa: Jacana Media Limited.
- Wink, W. 1997. Response to Luke Timothy Johnson's the real Jesus. *Bulletin for Biblical research*, 7:233-248.
- Winston, M. & Edelbach, R. 2012. Society, ethics, and technology, 4th edition. Boston: Cengage Learning.
- Witmer, S. 2014. Keeping eschatology and ethics together: the teaching of Jesus, the work of Albert Schweitzer, and the task of the evangelical pastor-theologians. *Themelios*, 3(3): 484-500.
- Witt, R. G. 1983. Hercules at the crossroads: the life, works, and thought of Coluccio Salutati. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Witt, R. G. 2003. In the footsteps of the ancients: the origins of humanism from Lovato to Bruni. Leiden: Brill Press.
- Wittkower, R. & Hibbard, H. 1969. Essays in the history of art presented to Rudolf Wittkower. New York City: Phaidon Press.
- Wittschier, H. W. 1968. Giannozzo Manetti: aas corpus der orationes. Köln-Graz: Böhlau.
- Woo, R. 2011. God Or Allah, truth Or bull? Durham: Strategic Book Group.
- Wood, E. M. 1972. Mind and politics: an approach to the meaning of liberal and socialist individualism. California: University of California Press.
- Wood, J. C. 1991. John Stuart Mill: critical assessments, vol. 1. London: Routledge, reprinted.
- Woodward, K. L. 1989. Feminism and the churches. *Newsweek*, 13 Feb. 1989, 61.
- Worsley, P. 1957. Albert Schweitzer and the liberal conscience. *The new reasoner*, 58(3):39-54.
- Wright, A. 2004. Religion, education and post-modernity. London: Routledge.
- Wright, N. T. 1999. Five Gospels but no Gospel. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- Wuthnow, R. (ed.). 1998. The encyclopedia of politics and religion: 2-volume set. London: Routledge.
- Wuthnow, R. 1989. The restructuring of American religion. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2nd printing.
- Yan, M. 2016. Introduction to topology. Berlin: Higher Education Press and Walter de Gruyter GmbH.
- Yarnell, M. B. 2007. The formation of Christian doctrine. Nashville: B & H Publishing Group.
- Yego, J. K. 1980. Appreciation for and warnings about contextualization. *Evangelical missions quarterly*, 16(3):35-55.
- Yelle, R. A. 2012. Review of 'the unintended reformation: how a religious revolution secularized society.' *Church history*, 81(4):918-924.
- Young, D. 2014. Distractions. London: Taylor & Francis Group.
- Young, M. J. (ed.). 2006. Voltairiana: selected and translated by M. J. Young, digitized edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yuen, W. 2017. Classical liberalism and political liberalism : a philosophical comparison. Maidenhead: Open Dissertation Press.
- Yzermans, V. A. (ed.). 1954. All things in Christ. Westminster: Newman.

- Zabala, S. 2008. *The hermeneutic nature of analytic philosophy: a study of Ernst Tugendhat*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Zachman, R. C. 2012. *Reconsidering John Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zagorin, P. 2009. *Hobbes and the law of nature*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Zeidan, D. 2003. *The resurgence of religion: a comparative study of selected themes in Christian and Islamic fundamentalist discourse*. Leiden: Brill.
- Zimmermann, J. 2015. *Hermeneutics: a very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zoogah, D. B. & Beugré, C. D. 2013. *Managing organizational behavior in the African context*. New York: Routledge.
- Zuckert, M. 1996. *The natural rights republic*. Indiana: Notre Dame University Press.