Our Goal for ERiC is to create a comprehensive, easy-to-use online companion to **E**urasian **R**eligions **i**n **C**ontact that informs readers about occasions, themes, modes, conditions and consequences of contacts between religious groups and the way religious thought and practice developed in and through such contact phenomena, eventually creating both the larger and smaller religious traditions of today and the religious field as a social entity distinct from other fields such as politics, economics and art. The companion will be comprised of **case studies** with each case study focusing on a particular geographical region, a particular moment in or period of time and a particular constellation of two or more religions encountering each other. Each case study will extrapolate the occasions as well as the historical and social contexts of such encounters and, most importantly, shed light on the issues, notions, themes and practices addressed in the particular contact situation.

In each case study, authors will present their material in light of a specific theoretical concept or approach. We particularly encourage authors to consider engaging their material with theoretical concepts and approaches **developed at the KHK** *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asia and Europe* **over the past years.** This includes specific understandings of the role of concepts such as "purity", "secret", "tradition", "gender", "media", "the senses", "the immanence/transcendence-distinction" and "dynamics/stability". The **KHK Working Paper Series** informs readers about some major aspects within the KHK's thinking about these concepts. We are looking forward to your contributions to this ongoing conversation!

Towards a Typology of Religious Contact

The KHK aims to contribute to a theory of religious transfer and thus to the historiography of a perhaps emerging global history of religion. At the same time we also expect the results to produce new ideas for theories of general cultural transfer and comprehension-oriented hermeneutics. The path towards this leads from the search for suitable *tertia comparationis* to a typology of religious contacts, which is being developed using individual case studies. As the broad discussion on religious contact at the KHK cannot be represented here in full, I will limit myself to some remarks on what we have called (1) Synchronic Intra-Religious Contact and (2) Synchronic Inter-Religious Contact.

1. Synchronic Intra-Religious Contact

Synchronic intra-religious contacts include, first, processes, usually described as **schisms, the formation of confessions, sects and schools as well as the differentiation between orthodoxy, heterodoxy and heresy**. Such object-linguistic terms must carefully be

transformed into the scientific metalanguage. For example, the expansion of the reform movements during the early modern age and the popularity that can currently be seen world-wide of the Pentecostal-charismatic movements within a largely Christian-shaped culture lead to intra-religious contacts which give dynamism to the rest of the Christian complex of traditions through the reinterpretation and enrichment of Christian traditions.

Second, intra-religious plurality includes **distinguishing between different carrier strata**. The distinction between **official and popular religion or intellectual and popular religiosity** (see Vrijhof and Waardenburg 1979) may be out of date, but does at least indicate a direction of intra-religious plurality which takes into account the different supporting layers. By popular religiosity I mean different ideas and practices which emerge as a result of a monopolisation of the definition of and command over the 'holy goods' or 'religious capital' of those who are excluded from the definition of and command over these holy goods (cf. Ebertz and Schultheis 1986: 25).

Third, intra-religious plurality encompasses the **differentiation between different strata** within a religious tradition. Perhaps the distinction introduced with regard to this by Theo Sundermeier and further developed by Jan Assmann between primary and secondary religions will prove itself useful.[1] Elements of primary religions—in the sense of Edward Tylor's *survivals*—continue to exist in secondary religions. The intra-religious contact also includes internal mission. The Muslim mission (in Arabic *da'wa*) in the 20th century, for example, is not aimed first and foremost at converting non-believers, but far more at brothers and sisters in faith who—influenced by Western secularism and materialism— have allegedly lost their way (this is the position of Hasan al-Bannâ, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, for example). And, not least, the *Innere Mission* (internal mission) propagated by Johann Hinrich Wichern combines social welfare work with (re-) evangelisation initiatives.

Fourth, the encounter of geographically separated factions of the same religious tradition embedded in different cultural contexts can trigger forms of intra-religious contact. This was the case, for example, when the Theravada-Buddhist movement of laypersons' meditation was imported from Burma to Sri Lanka, causing not just an upsurge in spiritualised religiosity, but also discomfort and radical rejection of the imported practice.[2]

In addition to schisms and the formation of schools etc., non-exclusive co-existence is also possible in the form of a division of tasks, a variety of offerings or 'free cult associations'.[3] An example of this would be the accumulative initiations in text-practice complexes in Tibetan Buddhism, whereby a cluster of people around a 'guardian of tradition', usually

institutionalized locally, administers and allocates initiations and instructions in set tantric cycles. The clientele (occasional customers as opposed to the members of the cluster) travels from one center/master to the next and collects these initiations. We can assume that this form of intra-religious contact leads to particularly intense processes of exchange.

2. Synchronic Inter-Religious Contact

The following typology—based on the method of building ideal types, i.e. stressing certain aspects of empirical data—is still of a provisional and largely unsystematic nature; it has to be further developed and modified through case studies.[4] Moreover, it concentrates solely on the inner-religious impacts of the contact and takes into account neither the media of the religious contact (such as texts, images, material artefacts, architecture, cult practices) and modes of transmission, nor extra-religious conditions and consequences. The examples listed are thus not intended to form a theory, but serve purely illustrative purposes in the development of hypotheses:[5]

1.   *Identifying one's own religious tradition completely with that of another.*
     It is probably unlikely to encounter this consequence of religious contact in its pure form, as it would lead to the contours of one's own religion dissolving away in favour of diffuse and abstract religious contents.

2.   *Identifying alien elements with elements of one's own religion*
     As an illustration, let me cite the following example from Israelite religious history: El, the god equated with the clan gods, was thus conceived as a prior revelation of the god who later made himself known as Yahweh. The way was thus paved for Yahweh to take over much from El (cf. Fohrer 1969: 95; quoted according to Berner 1982: 103).

3.   *Incorporation of alien elements that remain visibly alien to some extent*
     This consequence of religious contact, too, is unlikely to occur in its pure form because alien elements continue to have an impact on innovations even in the event of a keen willingness to absorb the new religion. One example, however, is perhaps the religion of Mani (216–276 or 277 CE), which incorporated Christian, Zoroastrian and Buddhist elements.

4.   *Adaptive, but transformative use of alien elements in one's own religious tradition*
     This consequence of the contact between religions can be found, for example, in the situation that Adolf Deissmann dubbed polemic parallelism. He shows this using the historical example of the position of Christianity in the ruler cult of the Late Antiquity:

the young Christian community stubbornly refuses to recognise any divinity in the Emperor. But it did start to use titles of reverence for Christ from the terminology of the Imperial cult.[6] Polemic parallelism also exists where terms which were once part of the most original possessions of Christianity came together with similar or homonymous terms of ruler worship. In this case, Christ and the sacred ruler are both given the titles kýrios, pantokrátor and sotér.

5. *Innovative use of alien elements in the established religion (consciously or unconsciously[7])*
The innovative use of alien elements in one's own tradition has a mimetic character in terms of its outer form. The meaning and function of the elements used however vary a great deal from the original context. Let me give the following example: Whilst the Christians in Jerusalem observe the Holy Week with great ceremony every year, at the same time, the Muslims themselves hold a great celebration in honour of the Prophet Moses, in order to place an equivalent Islamic celebration alongside the Christian Easter celebrations (cf. Kawerau 1972: 199, as cited by Berner 1982: 105).

6. *Selection of alien elements with the consequence of changed emphasis of elements in the absorbing religion*
Impacts of the selection of alien elements due to a changed attention in the absorbing religion might be, for example, the attention to certain dimensions of the religious such as cult practice or the emotional-aesthetic dimension. This kind of impact of religious contact can be observed, for example, in the relationship between Christianity as it establishes itself and the Mystery religions: on the one hand, cultification is encouraged in Christianity through the contact with the Mystery religions, but on the other hand, ethicalisation is also driven forward for the purposes of differentiation between Christianity and its competitors.

7. *Institutional restructuring of a religious tradition through the influence of another*
This type of contact is connected with what is described as institutional isomorphism in the social sciences and can be observed, for example, in the Japanese policy on religion around 1900. The criteria for recognising religious communities are developed on the basis of the model of the Christian churches. Islamic currents in present-day Europe are undergoing a 'structural churchification process', by organising themselves at least in the form of associations and clubs, and – in the case of Germany – they are hoping to achieve the status of a public body in order to meet representation criteria.

8. *Coexistence (of elements) of one religious tradition with another*

The fact that an Indian King must be enthroned according to Brahmanic ceremonial protocol may be helpful in illustrating this type of contact. Many other matters of the royal court require Vedic ritual acts. Even at the Buddhist royal court of Sri Lanka, court ceremony was organised vedically. Consequently, there was always a Brahman 'high priest' *(purohita)* at the service of the King. Numerous sources report that this priest often served as an advisor and exerted a strong political influence.[8]

9. *Amalgamation of elements of different religious traditions*
One would assume that this type of contact must be one of the most common in the history of religions. Here, I would like to highlight just one example from Indian religious history. For extended periods, Buddhist Tantrism in India can be seen as an amalgamation of Buddhist and Shivaistic traditions. As the 'erotic ascetic', Shiva is the prototype of the wandering yogi smeared with the ash of the dead who seeks to appropriate the powers of enlightenment through controlled sexual practices. For early Buddhist tantric practitioners, being a Buddhist must have been irrelevant to their religious identity from a certain perspective. The tantric deities *(devatā)* are (from a historical point of view) in many ways mixtures of Buddhas/Bodhisattvas and Hindu deities or aspects/apparitions thereof.[9]

10. *Internal Developments triggered by alien elements*
Here, with reference to Günter Lanczkowski, I would like to mention a*ffinities, eclectic elective affinities and idealised projections.* I will draw examples of these from the European history of ideas:

The *Renaissance* and the *classical period* are characterised by their affinity to antiquity, its gods and myths. But neither epoch reinstated paganism. They remained Christian for all intents and purposes. The use of ancient mythology has been most common, in parts besides the Christian faith, and in parts through transfering mythological names to Christian issues of faith itself (cf. Wernle 1912: 66). The European *Enlightenment* first showed extremely strong affinities to Confucian China. They were based on what was learned from Jesuit missionaries to China who were deeply impressed by Confucian morals. I can mention Leibniz here, for example, but also Christian Wolff, whose idealisation of Confucius was famously later to become his undoing (cf. Roetz 2006: 107). By contrast, the reaction against the Enlightenment, the *romantic period,* developed a great enthusiasm for India. For the young romantics, India was the country of longing *par excellence,* the cradle of humanity where the oldest divine revelations waited to be discovered and harnessed (cf. Dawson 1936).

11. *Rejection of circulating elements by the established religion for the purpose of enhancing its own standing*

For instance, up until 1938 one could recognise orthodox synagogues in Germany by the 'lack' of the organ, a musical development that had slowly found its way into liberal synagogues since 1830, although there were discussions in liberal circles, too, as to whether the organ was a 'Christian element'.[10] In general, this type of contact stands for the fact that differentiation is also part of the modes and impacts of religious contact, because the refusal to accept alien elements does change the existing religion. Even if it is a matter of preserving the old, tried and trusted, the contact between religions forces the more traditional religion to confront alternatives and to portray itself in a way – for example by highlighting and cementing certain elements of the tradition – which would not be necessary without the religious contact.[11]

12. *Complete obliteration and replacement (of elements) of one religious tradition by another*

This consequence of contact between religions is presumably rather rare because the impact at least of elements of an existing religious tradition, even in the event of strong cultural hegemony, continue to exist through the forming, spreading or substantively expanding religion. Even in the case of the *interpretatio Romana* as the key constituent of Roman religion or in the case of the integration of indigenous elements by Catholicism, local cults continue to have an impact. One can see the suppression of 'Shamanism' by Lamaism in Mongolia as an example of the substitution of one religious tradition by another (in this case, an expanding one). According to Walther Heissig, the Shamans were subject to bloody persecution there during the expansion of Lamaism, yet their functions were taken over by the Diyance-Lamas or Gurtum-Lamas as well as by Tantrism (cf. Heissig 1970: 342f.).

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[1] To compare, and for its use in Near-Eastern religious history, cf. Wagner 2006.

[2] I owe this example to Sven Bretfeld.

[3] This consideration is based on an input from Sven Bretfeld.

[4] The method of constructing ideal types depends on the selected empirical data and on the chosen perspective. Thus, a given case of religious contact does not exactly and exclusively fit with only one of the types of the following and any modified or supplemented typology. It is of only heuristical character in order to discover different modes of religious contact and transfer.

[5] The following typological deliberations are thanks to ideas from Zürcher 2007, Berner 1982, and Lanczkowski 1971, which, admittedly, are based on different materials and systemised according to different points of view. For instance, Zürcher's systematisations are limited to the case of the integration of Buddhism into Chinese religious culture, and so only take into account one direction of the religious contact. The examples listed in each case are based on sporadic reading and discussions with members of the consortium.

[6] Cf. Deissmann 1923: 289: Thus arises a polemic parallelism between the Imperial cult and the cult of Christ, which is also felt where original words brought from the cult of Christ and from the treasure chambers of the Septuagint Bible and the Gospel meet with similar or same-sounding solemn terms from the Imperial cult.

[7] Berner (1982: 103) distinguishes between conscious and unconscious reinterpretation. To my mind, however, it is difficult to identify this difference empirically. The examples cited by him do not provide any information on this.

[8] Cf. Ariyapala 1997: 97f.; I owe this example and the source reference to Sven Bretfeld.

[9] Cf. Herrmann-Pfandt 1992: 66ff.; I owe this example and the source reference to Sven Bretfeld.

[10] On the organ in Jewish religious services cf. Frühauf 2009; I owe this example and the reference to Elisabeth Hollender.

[11] On the example of Neo-Hinduism cf. Christoph Auffarth 2005.