# Theology of religions in Martin Luther

Wilhelmina Magdalena (Elmien) Shaw
*Department of Science of Religion and Missiology*
*University of Pretoria*
*South Africa*

## ■ Background

When the recorded history of the Reformation is taken into account, it seems that the Protestants were aloof and sometimes even hostile when it came to mission and relations with other religions (Bosch 2012:248). Warneck (1906:11) described Martin Luther's conception of mission as follows: 'Luther never entered into a polemic against foreign mission; he simply didn't speak of it.' Bosch (2012:249) disagrees with this. He (and other academics) are of opinion that the Protestants are being measured against a definition of mission that did not exist until the 19th century (the great missionary century); mission as understood in the 19th century did not receive adequate attention during and even two centuries after the Reformation. Organised mission was challenging in this time and included many practical issues. Bosch (2012:250) lists five reasons for this, namely, (1) the Protestants' fundamental task was to reform the church of their time, which took up most of their time and energy, (2) the Protestants had no direct contact with non-Christian people, (3) the churches of the Reformation were constantly in survival mode and could barely organise themselves until 1648 and (4) when the Reformers left monasticism they left a developed and

effective missionary agency, and developing of such an agency would take ages (cf. Van der Westhuizen 1984:134) and (5) internal struggles and feuds amongst the Protestants kept them very busy, leaving time for few attempts to mission to those outside the Christian framework.

The above outlines the background to the context within which Martin Luther's theology developed. Next his theology and how it manifested itself in his conception of mission and other religions is discussed.

## ■ Martin Luther's theology

To say that the Protestants had no missionary awareness is to misapprehend the essence of their theology and ministry. Martin Luther's theology provided the church with solid guidelines and principles which have contributed greatly to its mission (Holl 1928:237, 238; cf. Van der Westhuizen 1984:125). Van der Westhuizen (1984:134) is of the opinion that Luther regarded the Reformation as mission because it addressed the needs of his time. Luther was renowned for his compound, well-thought through views on theological issues, and to deny his missionary awareness would be absurd (Van der Westhuizen 1984:137).

Martin Luther's theology begins and ends with reforming through and to the 'Word of God' (Van der Westhuizen 1984:138). The Word of God is needed for faith and salvation (*sola scriptura*) (Mann 2013:224). Luther understood 'the Word of God' as much broader than just the Holy Scriptures. To him any communication, particularly preaching, where the message of the Holy Scriptures is revealed, was the 'Word of God' (Mann 2013:224). Luther earnestly translated the Bible so that all people could hear the gospel in their own language (Van der Westhuizen 1984:123). This was important to him because the gospel should (Augustiny 1963:133) '*niet één of drie volken, maar die gehele Wereld zou bereiken*' [be heard by not only three of four nations, but the whole world].

The motivation behind the Reformation revolved around the right understanding of the righteousness of God (Schultze 1984:53). Luther rediscovered and introduced Pauline theology to the 16th century, with Romans 1:16–17[12] at its core (Bosch 2012:245). His theology does not begin with what man can do to receive salvation, but rather with what God has already done in Christ (*sola Christo*) through grace alone (*sola gracia*), which is received through faith alone (*sola fide*) – the channel through which grace is received and not by doing good deeds (Mann 2013:223) – the so-called tension between law and gospel (Beyers 2013:10). Man is made righteous as an act of God's mercy (Schultze 1984:59).

⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯⋯

12. (v. 16): For I am not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. (v. 17) For in it the righteousness of God is revealed from faith for faith, as it is written, 'The righteous shall live by faith'.

# Luther on mission and other religions

For Luther a fundamental theological truth was proclamation of the gospel (Van der Westhuizen 1984:132). Preaching constituted the centre of mission for him. Luther compared the church's missionary work to the ripples that a stone makes when it is thrown into water. The concentric undulations would in a societal context eventually reach others – the individual, the family and nation should become the church's bearer of the good news (Van der Westhuizen 1984:126). For Luther organised mission was a component of the Roman Catholic age, and therefore he rather encouraged organic mission. Luther was of the opinion that missionary personalities were a gift of God, but that the gospel has the ability to undulate on its own (Van der Westhuizen 1984:132).

Luther considered geographical Christianisation of heathen nations as almost completed on the grounds of the understanding of Psalm 117 and John 10 (Van der Westhuizen 1984:127, 135). He was aware of the unbelieving heathens but was of the opinion that they would not convert. Luther was initially very friendly with the Jews because he believed that the Roman Catholic Church abused them. He believed they had to be approached with kindness and taught the Word of God. He later revised this and become convinced of their inability to confess Jesus as the Christ; his approach then became judgemental and uncompromising (Van der Westhuizen 1984:128; cf. Beyers 2013:11). Luther believed (according to Jesus' teachings) that salvation does not rely on birthright – the Jews, like everyone else, are saved by faith (Mann 2013:226).

In his attempt to communicate the gospel clearly Luther differentiated between the true and the false religion. False religion is inspired by evil. Luther judged Jews and Turks (as was the custom at the time to refer to Muslims) as being part of a group of people who are considered enemies of God (Miller 2013:428). According to Luther humankind could be divided into two groups: those following the true religion and those following the false religion. False religion is based on acts of self-righteousness, where humans are dependent on their own acts to bring about salvation for themselves (Miller 2013:428). Luther does mention Jews and Muslims together in his works (Miller 2013:427), but he had different theological arguments on the theological status of each.

Apparently Luther had a positive and friendly attitude towards Jews (Kaufmann 2017:383). In his *That Jesus was born a Jew* (1523, WA, 314-336) Luther goes so far as to berate the church for treating the Jews badly. Kessler (2010:120) is of the opinion that Luther's 1523 document should be seen as a missionary guide aiding Christians to convert Jews to Christianity. Why did Luther have a positive attitude towards Jews? Two reasons are apparent. Firstly, in order to understand the Old Testament Christians had to have a good understanding of the Hebrew language. The Jewish ability to read and explain the Hebrew Old Testament was seen as an aid to Christians (Kaufmann 2017:386). Secondly, Luther considered the Reformation to be the first occasion during which the gospel was

explained correctly. This would have given the Jews the opportunity to repent their wrongs and convert to Christianity (Barth 2009:411). The Christian way of treating the Jews with love and respect was an imitation of the grace of God, and ought to have convinced the Jews to convert to Christianity. Jews were supposed to recognise God in Christ and spontaneously react with conversion (Kaufmann 2017:383).

Luther's objections towards the Jews were Christ-centred, according to Miller (2013:429). Luther was convinced that the Old Testament could be interpreted Christologically. The Jews had an incorrect (or false) interpretation of the Old Testament and were in need of correction in order to believe in Christ. The gospel as preached during the Reformation would provide the Jews with clarity on the Old Testament and lead them to conversion. Luther subscribed to supersessionism when it came to the Jews; Christians replaced Jews as the chosen people of God. Luther explained this in his commentary on the Psalms (WA 3 & 4); as punishment for turning their back on God, Jews will receive eternal punishment by God to experience exile and oppression (Miller 2013:430).

Luther was disappointed in his expectation that Jews would convert to Christianity. His apparent positive attitude towards Jews changed into growing discontent (Chazen 2000:21). This eventually turned into outright aggression towards Jews, as is clear from Luther's *On the Jews and their Lies* (1543, WA 53, 417–552). In this document Luther advises Christians to ban Jews from society, and advises them to go and live amongst the Turks (Kaufmann 2017:382). Luther even encouraged Christians to take possession of Jewish properties and burn their holy literature. Luther proclaimed that by not converting to Christianity Jews were in fact opposing the pure gospel and affirming their lies and false teachings. Luther had even more anti-Jewish literature: *On the Schem Hamphoras and on the lineage of Christ* (WA 53, 610–648) and *On the last words of David (*WA 54, 16–110).

Luther did not utilise rational or theological arguments in his writings on Jews; according to Barth (2009:411) he used emotional and irrational language. For Luther the Jews, just like the Roman Catholics, obstinately opposed the grace of God. Luther participated vehemently in the accusations and making a caricature of Jews typical of his time (Kaufmann 2017:383). As to his change of mind about the Jews, Luther responded by saying that it was ignorant naiveté on his side to once have had positive ideas about Jews (WA 53, 523). Luther's conclusion was that Jews were also now part of the enemies of the church (Kaufmann 2017:384). Jews were guilty of participating in the crucifixion of Jesus, and as punishment for this God brought about blindness upon the Jews, causing them to be unable to recognise Jesus as the Messiah and convert to faith in him (Kaufmann 2017:384).

As to Luther's view of Islam, he was also (just as with the Jews) apparently positive. From the outset Luther was opposed to military action against Muslims. Luther interpreted the Muslim threat to Europe and Christians as God's punishment of

Christians (Miller 2013:431); God sent the Muslim invaders as punishment for injustices committed by the church, using the gentile nation of the Turks as part of his plan. Luther interpreted the Muslim punishment in light of the eschatology (Miller 2013:432); for him the final judgement of God will appear after the Muslim invasion (WA 30/2, 162).

Only later on did Luther understand that military action was necessary (Kaufmann 2017:379). He became more and more negative towards Muslims, describing them as heretics and worshippers of Satan (WA 30/2, 116, 32). The fact that Muslims portrayed Jesus as a mere human being, born from a virgin and amounting to nothing more than a good prophet, convinced Luther that Muslims were heretics and followers of the false religion (WA 53, 280, 7). For Luther the vicious and cruel ways in which Muslims treated their enemies were further signs of Islam being an anti-Christian religion (Kaufmann 2017:379). For Luther Islam portrayed Jesus falsely based on heretical Christian interpretations as found amongst the Arian and Nestorian sects.

From a theological point of view Luther's distinction between law and gospel as ways of humans approaching God is important in determining Luther's theology of religions. The law would represent human efforts to approach God and convince him to provide forgiveness and grace based on human good deeds. These human efforts are filled with error and limitations – they are pure sin and false. Only the revelation in Jesus Christ can bring true knowledge of God. Knowledge of redemption is attainable only through faith through the grace of God, as revealed in the Word of God.

Luther judged that Islam was guilty of this moralism and ethical human behaviour based on the human attempt to fulfil all requirements of the law and through this, expect redemption. This caused Luther to classify Jews, Muslims with Roman Catholics as false religious-seeking redemption based on human achievement and accomplishment (Kaufmann 2017:374). It is through faith alone that redemption can take place. This makes Christianity unique amongst religions (Kaufmann 2017:376). Jews, Muslims and Gentiles do not know Christ; so too the Roman Catholics believe in the false Christ. Only Christians know Christ and believe that redemption is only through faith in him.

After apparently viewing the Muslim invasion as part of God's plan, Luther changed his mind and realised that military action against the invasion was necessary. He now rallied the German people to participate in the war against the Turks. His call to arms was, however, different than the papal call to participate in the crusades. Luther did not predict any blessing to follow upon participation in the war; no forgiveness or redemption as reward was predicted, as the Pope declared would follow participation in the crusades. Luther's call also differed in the sense that where the Pope saw the crusades as a holy war protecting the religion of Christianity, Luther saw the war against the Turks as a struggle for survival. No crusade rhetoric was permitted in talk about the struggle against the Turks (Miller 2013:432). Luther encouraged soldiers to prepare

themselves spiritually before engaging the enemy. Prayers and confession of sin was necessary before entering the battlefield.

Luther's theological position on Jews and Muslims was determined by his understanding of redemption. It was clear to Luther that Jews as well as Muslims followed self-righteous religions, trying to bring about their own salvation through their own attempts (Kaufmann 2017:380). Luther continued to hope that the Jews would convert to Christianity one day (2017:386).

As for the Muslims, it seems as if Luther also had a positive understanding of Islam. Luther encouraged Christians to study the Qur'an and know what the Muslims believe in (Miller 2013:432). Luther even praised the Muslims for their piety (Miller 2013:432). Although seeing Muslims in a positive light, Luther still judged that Jews as well as Muslims were like the Roman Catholics – participating in false religion that will eventually lead to condemnation.

Luther supposes that non-Christians are the unelect. Mission had to take place amongst those who could not provide proof of their faith, those who were stubborn and unelected – the Muslims, Jews and Gentiles (Van der Westhuizen 1984:135). Luther acknowledges that God's elect are not limited to the known and he therefore believes that there are still unknown elect, but that God himself will reach out to them (Van der Westhuizen 1984:136). Luther's interpretation of Matthew 24:10 was that the proclamation of the gospel has already been done to all of the nations, but it should be continued, especially considering the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines.

## ■ Conclusion

Martin Luther's theology always corresponded to the needs of his time. He said in his 'Table Talks' that the Holy Scripture cannot and should never be understood outside the current situation and practice (Van der Westhuizen 1984:135). This motivated him every time to go back to the Bible where he read passionately and devotedly, to come to the correct insights. It can be said that Martin Luther's conception of mission and what it entails had deficiencies, but from his Bible translation and his faithfulness to the Bible, another picture is painted (Van der Westhuizen 1984:124).

With regard to the theology of religions as explained by Paul F. Knitter (2012), Martin Luther's theology would probably be placed under the replacement model, and any dialogue would have been difficult. Although he believed that Christianity was the only true faith through the justification of God, it could never be said that he was a fundamentalist in any way. His theology contributed to the church's understanding of *missio Dei*. Martin Luther's theology attended to the needs of his time; he would now probably come to other insights in our highly pluralistic society.

# ■ Summary: Chapter 3

This chapter is a perspective on the theology of religions of the Reformation, and in particular from Martin Luther. During the year of the 500th celebration of the Reformation, it is appropriate to pay special attention to a Reformed perspective on the theology of religions. It seems as if, with the dawn of the Reformation, missionary work was no longer considered a priority for the church. This is evident from the lack of encouragement by the Reformers to carry out mission work and even the hostile attitude towards non-Christian religions. As to the lack of mission work, there are, however, scholars indicating the opposite. The definition of mission work during the Reformation period was quite different to what today is regarded as a definition of mission work. As the Reformers also focused their energy on reforming the church there was not enough energy left to put into mission work as well. Martin Luther serves as an example of the attitude Reformers exhibited towards non-Christian religions. For Luther, Judaism and Islam were evil as their followers lived according to the law, trying to justify themselves before God through performing good deeds. Luther's apparent positive attitude towards Judaism made way for a later hostile attitude towards Jews.

# References

## ◼ Chapter 1

Berkouwer, G.C., 1965, *Vatikaans concilie en nieuwe theologie*, Kok, Kampen.

Berkouwer, G.C., 1968, *Nabetrachting op het concilie*, Kok, Kampen.

Cheetham, D., 2013, *Ways of meeting and the theology of religions*, Ashgate, Burlington.

Crossan, J.D., 1999, *The birth of Christianity: Discovering what happened in the years immediately after the execution of Jesus*, Harper Collins, New York.

Daggers, J., 2013, *Postcolonial theology of religions: Particularity and pluralism in world Christianity*, Routledge, London.

D'Costa, G., 1986, *Theology and religious pluralism*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Dupuis, J., 1997, *Toward a Christian theology of religious pluralism*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY.

Dupuis, J., 2001, *Christianity and the religions: From confrontation to dialogue*, Orbis Books, New York.

Frankemölle, H., 2006, *Frühjudentum und Urchristentum: Vorgeschichte – Verlauf – Auswirkungen (4.Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.),* Verlag W., Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.

Giffen, M., 2013, *Christian and Jewish relations: A progress report*, Kindle edn.

Hedges, P., 2010, *Controversies in interreligious dialogue and the theology of religions*, SCM Press, London.

Hick, J. & Knitter, P.F., 1987, *The myth of Christian uniqueness: Toward a pluralistic theology of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Jung, M.H., 2008, *Christen und Juden: Die Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.

Kärkkäinen, V.-M., 2003, *An introduction to the theology of religions: Biblical, historical and contemporary perspectives,* InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL.

Kessler, E., 2010, *An introduction to Jewish-Christian relations,* Cambridge University Press, New York.

Knitter, P.F., 1974, *Towards a protestant theology of religions: A case study of Paul Althaus and contemporary attitudes,* NG Elwert Verlag, Marburg.

Knitter, P.F., 1985, *No other name? A critical survey of Christian attitudes toward the world religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Knitter, P.F., 2005, *Introducing theologies of religions,* Orbis Books, New York.

Kraemer, H., 1958, *Godsdienst, godsdiensten en het Christelijk geloof*, GF Callenbach, Nijkerk.

Küng, H., 1987, 'What is true religion? Toward an ecumenical Criteriology', in L. Swidler (ed.), *Toward a universal theology of religion*, pp. 231–250, Orbis Books, New York.

Neusner, J., 1984, 'Formen des Judentums im Zeitalter seiner Entstehung', in J. Neusner (ed.), *Das pharisäische und talmudische Judentum: neue Wege zum Verständnis*, pp. 3–32, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

Reed, A.Y. & Becker, A.H., 2003, 'Introduction: Traditional models and new directions', in A.Y. Reed & A.H. Becker (eds.), *The ways that never parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 1–34, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

Rendtorff, R., 1998, *Christen und Juden heute: Neue Einsichten und neue Aufgaben*, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen.

Rose, K., 2013, *Pluralism: The future of religion,* Bloomsbury, New York.

Sugirtharajah, R.S., 2006, 'Charting the aftermath: A review of postcolonial criticism', in R.S. Sugirtharajah (ed.), *The postcolonial biblical reader*, pp. 7–32, Blackwell Publishing, Cornwall.

Thomas, O.C., 1969, *Attitudes toward other religions: Some Christian interpretations,* Harper & Row, New York.

Troeltsch, E., 1912, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte*, 2nd edn., JCB Mohr, Tübingen.

# Chapter 2

Barth, K., 1969, *Ad limina apostolorum,* St Andrew Press, Edinburgh.

König, A., 1973, 'The relationship between the church and the non-Christian religions', *Theologia Evangelica* 6(2), 93.

Küng, H., 1967, 'The world religions in God's plan of salvation', in J. Neuner (ed.), *Christian revelation and world religions*, p. 27, Burn & Oates, London.

Littell, F.H., 1975, *The crucifixion of the Jews: The failure of Christians to understand the Jewish experience,* Mercer University Press, New York.

Neuner, J., 1968, 'A commentary on the declaration on non-Christian religions', in A. Flannery (ed.), *Missions and religions*, p. 45, Scepter, Dublin.

Stransky, T.F., 1966, 'The declaration on non-Christian religions', in J.H. Miller (ed.), *Vatican II: An interfaith appraisal*, p. 342, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame.

# Chapter 3

Augustiny, W., 1963, *Ga heen en verkondig – Twintig eeuwen christelijke zending*, transl. H.A. Wiersinga, Zomer en Keuning, Wageningen.

Barth, H.-M., 2009, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers: Eine kritische Würdigung,* Gütersloher Verlagshaus, Gütersloh.

Beyers, J., 2013, *GSW 810 Teologie van godsdiens en godsdienste: Studie gids,* University of Pretoria, Pretoria.

Bosch, D.J., 2012, *Transforming mission: Paradigm shifts in theology of mission*, 20th edn., Orbis Books, New York.

Chazen, R., 2000, 'Christian-Jewish interactions over the ages', in T. Frymer-Kensky, D. Novak, P. Ochs, D.F. Sandmel & M.A. Signer (eds.), *Christianity in Jewish terms*, pp. 7–24, Westview Press, Oxford.

Holl, K., 1928, 'Luther und die Mission', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* 3, 234–243.

Kaufmann, T., 2017, 'Luthers Christus und die anderen Religionen und Konfessionen', in U. Heckel, J. Kampmann, V. Leppin & C. Schwöbel (eds.), *Luther heute: Austrahlungen der Wittenberger Reformation*, pp. 371–392, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.

Kessler, E., 2010, *An introduction to Jewish-Christian relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Knitter, P.F., 2012, *Introducing theologies of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Luther, M., 1523, 'That Jesus was born a Jew', *Weimar Ausgabe* 11, 314–336.

Luther, M., 1543a, 'On the Jews and their lies', *Weimar Ausgabe* 53, 417–552.

Luther, M., 1543b, 'On the Schem Hamphoras and on the lineage of Christ', *Weimar Ausgabe* 53, 610–648.

Luther, M., 1543c, 'On the last words of David', *Weimar Ausgabe* 54, 16–100.

Mann, J.K., 2013, 'An anonymous Lutheran? Can Luther's theology permit salvation outside the church', *Dialog* 52(3), 222–231. https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12047

Miller, G.J., 2013, 'Theodor Bibliander's Machumetis saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse alcoran (1543) as the Sixteenth-century "Encyclopedia" of Islam', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24(2), 241–254. https://doi.org/10.1080/09596419.2013.772329

Schultze, C.F., 1984, 'Luther se leer van die regverdiging deur die geloof alleen', in J.H. Koekemoer (red.), *Martin Luther 1483–1546*, pp. 53–64, Kital, Pretoria.

Van der Westhuizen, H.G., 1984, 'Luther en sending – 'n halfduisend jaar (1483–1983)', in J.H. Koekemoer (red.), *Martin Luther 1483–1546*, pp. 118–140, Kital, Pretoria.

Warneck, G., 1906, *Outline of a history of Protestant mission*, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburg.

# ◼ Chapter 4

Accad, M., 2011, 'Mission at the intersection of religion and empire', *International Journal of Frontier Missiology* 28(4), 179–189.

A Common Word, 2007, *The ACW letter*, viewed 25 August 2015, from http://www.acommonword.com/the-acw-document/

Ali, M.M., 2009, 'A Muslim interfaith initiative and its Christian response', *Insights* 2(1), 115–154.

Bonhoeffer, D., 1995, *The cost of discipleship*, Touchstone, New York.

# References

Caputo, J.D., 2007, *What would Jesus deconstruct?* Baker Publishing Group, Grand Rapids, MI.

Centre for World Dialogue, n.d., *Mission*, viewed 02 September 2015, from http://www. worlddialogue.org/page.php?id=4

Fernandez, E.S., 2013, 'Christian hospitality in a world of many faiths: Equipping the new generation of religious leaders in a multifaith context', *Theological Education* 47(2), 1–7.

Gnilka, J., 1993, *Out of every tribe and nation: Christian theology at the ethnic roundtable*, Abingdon, Nashville, TN.

Green, T., 2015, *Middle East consultation session on social identity theory,* Institute for Middle Eastern Studies, viewed 07 August 2017, from http://www.imes.blog/middle-east-conference

Gutiérrez, G., 1988, *A theology of liberation: History, politics, and salvation*, Orbis Books, New York.

Haggmark, S.A., 2008, 'Islam as an enemy? A study in the social construction of realities', *Word & World* 28(1), 38–46.

Hegel, G.W.F., 1977a, *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the earliest history of Christianity*, University Press, Oxford.

Hegel, G.W.F., 1977b, *The phenomenology of the spirit*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hiebert, P., 1999, *Missiological implications of epistomological shifts*, Trinity Press International, Harrisburg.

Independent, 2010, *Violence continues over threat to burn Qur'an*, viewed 03 September 2015, from https://www.independant.co.uk/news/world/asia/violence-continues-over-threat-to-burn-koran-2077571.html

Ipgrave, M., 2008, 'One, living, reasonable: The God of Christianity and Islam', *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* 1(3), 19–32.

Knitter, P.F., 2013, *Introducing theologies of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Maqdisi, E.A. & Solomon, S., 2009, *The common word: The undermining of the church*, Advancing Native Missions, Afton, MN.

Miller, R.E., 2006, *Muslims and the gospel*, Lutheran University Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Mittelstadt, M.W., 2014, 'Eat, drink, and be merry: A theology of hospitality in Luke Acts', *Word and World* 34(2), 131–139.

Moltmann, J., 1987, 'The forgiveness and politics study project, Forty years after the Stuttgart confession', in W. Krusche (ed.), *Guilt and forgiveness, the basis of Christian peace negotiations,* pp. 23–44, New World Publications, London.

Moltmann, J., 1992, *The spirit of life: A universal affirmation*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Muck, T.C., 2011, 'Interreligious dialogue: Conversations that enable Christian witness', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35(4), 187–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/239693931103500402

Naim, C.M., 1995, 'Getting real about Christian-Muslim dialogue', *First Things Journal* November, viewed 08 August 2017, from https://www.firstthings.com/article/1995/11/003-getting-real-about-christian-muslim-dialogue

Oikoumene, 2008, *Learning to explore love together*, viewed 06 September 2015, from http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/interreligious-dialogue-and-cooperation/interreligious-trust-and-respect/learning-to-explore-love-together

Oikoumene, 2012, 'Together towards life', *International Review of Mission* 101(2), 6–42.

OpenDoors, 2015, *World watch list*, viewed 03 September 2015, from https://www.opendoorsusa.org/christian-persecution/world-watch-list/

Oppenheimer, M., 2003, 'Embracing theology: Miroslav Volf spans conflicting worlds', *The Christian Century,* viewed 17 August 2017, from https://www.christiancentury.org/article/2003-01/embracing-theology

Pew Research Forum, 2015, *Religious projection 2010–2050*, viewed 30 August 2015, from http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/

Pharshall, P., 2013, *The cross and the crescent: Understanding the Muslim heart and mind*, Intervarsity Press, Westmont.

Rasmusson, L., 2008, 'Us vs. them syndrome in Christian-Muslim conflicts', *Swedish Missiological Themes* 96(3), 9–26.

Sabra, G., 2009, 'The "Common Word" letter in the context of Christian-Muslim dialogue', *Theological Review* 30, 89–98.

Soage, A.B., 2007, 'The Muslim reaction to Pope Benedict XVI's Regensburg's address', *Cross Currents* 8(1), 137–143.

Speelman, G.M., 2010, 'The background of "A Common Word"', *Exchange* 39, 109–120.

Vatican, 1965, *Nostra aetate*, viewed 07 September 2015, from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html

Vatican, 1999, *General audience*, viewed 04 September 2015, from https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/audiences/1999/documents/hf_jp-ii_aud_05051999.html

Volf, M., 1996, *Exclusion and embrace: A theological exploration of identity, otherness, and reconciliation*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, TN.

Volf, M., 2011, *Allah: A Christian response*, HarperCollins Publishers, New York.

Wilken, R.L., 2009, 'Christianity face to face with Islam', *First Things Journal*, January, pp. 1–30.

Yale, 2009, *'A Common word' Christian response*, viewed 05 September 2015, from http://faith.yale.edu/common-word/common-word-christian-response

# Chapter 5

Almond, G.A., Appleby, R.S. & Sivan, E., 2003, *Strong religion: The rise of fundamentalisms around the world*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Berger, P.L., 2010, *Between relativism and fundamentalism*, William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.

Beyers, J., 2001, 'Sinkretisme as puralisering en sakralisering', Dissertation, University of Pretoria.

Bloom, A., 1987, *The closing of the American mind*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

# References

Braaten, C., 1992, *No other gospel: Christianity among the world's religions,* Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN.

Brümmer, V., 2005, *Atonement, Christology and the trinity*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

Cerutti, F. & Ragionieri, R., 2001, *Identities and conflicts: The Mediterranean*, Antony Rowe, Wiltshire.

Cobb, J.B., 1982, *Beyond dialogue: Toward a mutual transformation of Christianity and Buddhism*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Coleman, J.A., 2007, *Inter-religious dialogue: Urgent challenge and theological Land-Mine,* University of Notre Dame, Fremantle.

Copeland, E.L., 1999, *A mew meeting of the religions: Interreligious relationships and theological questioning*, Baylor University Press, Waco.

Cracknell, K., 1986, *Towards a new relationship. Christians and people of other faith*, Epworth Press, London.

D'Arcy May, J., 1998, *Pluralism and the religions: The theological and political dimensions*, Cassell, London.

D'Costa, G., 1986, *Theology and religious pluralism*, Oxford Publishing Services, Oxford.

D'Costa, G., 1990, *Christian uniqueness reconsidered*, Orbis Books, New York.

D'Costa, G., 2009, *Christianity and world religions: Disputed questions in the theology of religions*, Wiley, Blackwell.

Dunne, J.S., 1972, *The way of all the earth*, Macmillan, New York.

Dupuis, J., 1997, *Towards a Christian theology of religious pluralism*, Orbis Books, New York.

Gillis, C., 1951, *Pluralism: A new paradigm for theology*, Peeters, Louvain.

Hedges, P., 2010, *Controversies in interreligious dialogue and the theology of religions,* SCM Press, London.

Hick, J. & Knitter, P.F., 1987, *The myth of Christian uniqueness: Toward a pluralistic theology of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Knitter, P.F., 2008, *Introducing theologies of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Kraemer, H., 1938, *The Christian message in a non-Christian world,* Edinburgh House Press, Londen.

Krüger, J.S., 2006, 'Religious fundamentalism: Aspects of a comparative framework of understanding', *Verbum et Ecclesia* 27(3), 886–908.

Küng, H. & Moltmann, J., 1992, *Fundamentalism as an ecumenical challenge*, SCM Press, London.

McCormack, M.M., 2012, '*Like oil and water': Religious threat and prejudice in the American South*, Faculty of the Graduate School of Vanderbijl University, Nashville, TN.

McGrath, A.E., 1993, *Christian theology: An introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

Meiring, P., 1996, *Suid-Afrika, land van baie Godsdienste*, Kagiso Uitgewers, Pretoria.

Nelson, T.D. (ed.), 2009, *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.

Netland, H.A., 1991, *Dissonant voices: Religious pluralism and the question of truth*, Apollos, Leicester.

Newbigin, L., 1989, *The gospel in a pluralist society*, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI.

Panikkar, R., 1978, *The intrareligious dialogue*, Paulist Press, New York.

Pannenberg, W., 1968, *Revelation as history*, MacMillan, London.

Parsons, S., 2000, *Ungodly fear: Fundamentalist Christianity and the abuse of power,* Biddles, Oxford.

Schillbeeckx, E., 1990, *The church: The human story of God*, Crossroad, New York.

Shenk, C.E., 1997, *Who do you say that I am?: Christians encounter other religions*, Herald Press, Waterloo.

Smith, W.C., 1976, *Religious diversity: Essays by Wilfred Cantwell Smith*, Crossroad Publishing, New York.

Stephan, W.G. & Meally, M.D., 2011, *Intergroup threat theory draft*, viewed 25 August 2015, from https://researchgate.net/publication/228007072_Intergroup_Threat_Theory

Stephan, W.G., Ybara, O. & Morrison K.R., 2009, 'Intergroup threat theory', in T. Nelson (ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination*, pp. 43–60, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.

Sweet, W., 2005, 'Globalization, philosophy and the model of ecumenism', in J.P. Hogan (ed.), *Cultural identity, pluralism and globalization: Global ethics and religious pluralism*, vol. 2, The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, Washington, DC.

Swidler, L., 1987, *Towards universal theology of religion*, Orbis Books, New York.

Ter Haar, G. & Busuttil, J.J., 2003, *The freedom to do God's will: Religious fundamentalism and social change*, Routledge, London.

Tillich, P., 1963, *Christianity and the encounter of world religions*, Columbian University Press, New York.

Trigg, R., 1983, 'Religion and the threat of relativism', *Religious Studies* 19, 297–310.

Van Gelder, E., 2015, 'How a right-wing South African group incites a new wave of white fear', *Time Magazine,* 26 June.

# ◼ Chapter 6

Barnes, M., 2002, *Theology and the dialogue of religions,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. (Cambridge Studies in Christian Doctrine, 8).

Barth, K., 1956–1975, *Church dogmatics*, vol. 1, pt. 2, T&T Clark, London.

Borg, M., 1999, 'Jesus and Buddhism: A Christian view', *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 19, 96.

Bosch, D.J., 2011, *Transforming mission paradigm shift in Theology of Mission*, 20th edn., Orbis Books, New York.

Braaten, C., 1977, *The flaming centre*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Braaten, C., 1981, 'The uniqueness and universality of Jesus in Christ', in G.H. Anderson & T.F. Stransky (eds.), *Faith meets faith: Mission trends no. 5*, pp. 74–75, Paulist Press, New York.

# References

Brunner, E., 1980, 'Revelation and religion', in J. Hick & B. Hebblethwaite (eds.), *Christianity and other religions*, pp. 122–125, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Cheetham, D., 2013, *Ways of meeting and the theology of religions transcending boundaries in philosophy and theology*, Ashgate Publishing, London.

Comaroff, J., 1986, 'Christianity and colonialism in South Africa', *American Ethnologist* 13(1), 1–22.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, approved by Constitutional Court December 4, 1996; took effect February 4, 1997; amended 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003.

Gorski, E.F., 2008, *Theology of religions: A sourcebook for interreligious study*, Paulist Press, New York.

Hall, D.J., 1988, *Why Christian? For those on the edge of faith*, Fortress/Augsburg, Minneapolis, MN.

Heck, P.L., 2004, 'Jihad revisited', *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 32(1), 95–128. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0384-9694.2004.00156.x

Hedges, P., 2010, *Controversies in interreligious dialogue and the theology of religions, controversies in contextual theology series*, Hymns Ancient and Modern Ltd., London.

Heim, S.M., 1995, *Salvations: Truth and difference in religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Hick, J., 1973, *God and the universe of faiths: Essays in the philosophy of religion*, Oneworld Publications, London.

Hick, J., 2004, *An interpretation of religion, human responses to the transcendent*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Kärkkäinen, V.M., 2003, *An introduction to the theology of religions: Biblical, historical & contemporary perspectives*, Intervarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL.

Kärkkäinen, V.M., 2004, *Trinity and religious pluralism, the doctrine of trinity in Christian theology of religions*, Ashgate, Burlington, NJ.

Kearney, R., 2013, *Anatheism, returning to God after God*, Columbia University Press, West Sussex.

Kenney, J., 2000, 'World parliament of religious, Cape Town, South Africa', *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 20, 249–255.

Knitter, P.F., 1995, *One earth, many religions: Multifaith dialogue and global responsibility*, Orbis Books, New York.

Knitter, P.F., 2012, *Introducing the theologies of religions*, Orbis Books, New York.

Kritzinger, J.J., Meiring, P.G.J. & Saayman, W.A., 1994, *On being witnesses*, Orion, Pretoria.

Lalonde, R., 1994, *Unity in diversity: Acceptance and integration in an era of intolerance and fragmentation*, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Lasker, D.J., 1999, 'The impact of the crusades on the Jewish-Christian debate', *Jewish History* 13(4), 3–36. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02336578

Lindbeck, G., 1984, *The nature of doctrine: Religion and theology in a postliberal age*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, PA.

Martin, S. (ed.), 2000, 'Religion, liberation and transformation through the South African experience: Report on Seminar Series at the Parliament of the World's Religions, Cape Town, December 1999', *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 106, 61–83.

McGrath, A.E., 2007, *Christian theology, an introduction*, 4th edn., Blackwell Publishing, MI.

McLaren, B.D., 2012, *Why did Jesus, Moses, the Buddha and Mohammed cross the road? Christian identity in a multi-faith world*, Hachette, Paris.

Meeker, K., 2006, 'Exclusivism and the theoretical virtues', *Religious Studies* 42(2), 193–206. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034412506008304

Netland, H.A., 1991, *Dissonant voices, religious pluralism and the question of truth*, Regent College Publishing, Grand Rapids, MI.

Panikkar, R., 1973, *The trinity and the religious experience of man*, Orbis Books, New York.

Panikkar, R., 1974, 'Have "Religions" the monopoly on religion?', *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 11, 515–517.

Panikkar, R., 1993, *The cosmotheandric experience: Emerging religious consciousness*, Orbis Books, New York.

Pannenberg, W., 1990, 'Religious pluralism and conflicting truth claims', in G. D'Costa (ed.), *Christian uniqueness reconsidered: The myth of pluralistic theology of religions*, pp. 96–115, Orbis Books, New York.

Plantinga, A., 2000, *Warranted Christian belief*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Rahner, K., 1966, 'Christianity and the non-Christian religions', in *Theological investigations*, vol. 5, pp. 115–134, Helicon Press, Baltimore, MD.

Reston, J., 2007, *Warriors of God: Richard the Lionheart and Saladin in the Third Crusade*, Knopf Doubleday, New York.

Statistics South Africa, 2011, *Census 2001: Primary tables South Africa, census '96 and 2001 compared*, Pretoria, viewed 02 June 2014, from http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011; http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/faq.asp

Swidler, L. & Cornille, C. (eds.), 2013, 'The Wiley-Blackwell companion to Inter-religious dialogue', in *Wiley Blackwell companions to religion*, pp. i–vi, Wiley, London.

Tutu, D., 2013, *God is not a Christian, speaking truth in times of crisis*, Rider Books, Johannesburg.

World Council of Churches, Central Committee Interreligious Relations and Dialogue, 2002, *Religious plurality and Christian self-understanding*, Geneva, viewed 01 July 2014, from http://www.oikoumene.org