ECHOES OF WAR:

RELIGIOUS MILITANCY IN JUDAISM, BUDDHISM,

HINDUISM, ISLAM, AND CHRISTIANITY

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by

Mark David Harris

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Mark David Harris

Read and Approved by:

_____
George H. Martin (Chair)

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Ayman S. Ibrahim

_____
Timothy Beougher

Date_____

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PREFACE

Echoes of War is a multiyear effort which would have been impossible without the assistance of others. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary provided the education, environment, and motivation to complete this work. Dr. Danny Bowen helped markedly with the methodology, and Dr. Ayman Ibrahim with language concerns and the inclusion of Judaism. I wish to offer my sincere thanks.

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I wish to thank my children, Anna, David, Rachel, Stephen, and Sarah, for their encouragement and long suffering as their father was "dissertating." Hopefully my work will bless them in the future. Finally, I wish to thank my beloved wife, Nancy. She helped with ideas, formatting, proofreading, editing, encouraging, and in a thousand other ways. I have never known a finer Christian woman, and have no greater blessing, save Christ alone, than her.

Mark Harris

Daniels, West Virginia

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Years ago, a friend of mine, a senior medical officer in the US Army, had the

following text conversation with his teenage son:

> Father: R U going to be home to go to 9:30 mass or 11:15 or 5PM
> Teenage son: Will's here, can I just not go this week?
> Father: No, that is not an option. Will can come if he likes.
> Son: The Catholic church has survived the ages by creating wars, having corrupt
> leaders, and blaming our problems on others. I think that supporting an
> establishment that has built itself on hypocrisy is something that you shouldn't
> encourage me to do. God can be found in all things, right? Then why do we bow to
> marble tables while destroying the world he made with pollution?
> Father: I would love to have a philosophical discussion with you on this topic, but
> texting is not my preferred medium. In the mean time you will come to mass, not
> because your presence is something that either God or the Church needs but because
> 1) it is best for you, and 2) because I am telling you to come.
> Son: I'm about to go to a week in the woods! That's the holiest thing I can do. Can
> you pick us up at 11?

This short conversation raises many profound questions, including some about the

relationship between religion and war.

Does Religion Cause War?

Many luminaries of the past, such as the French writer François-Marie Arouet,

better known as Voltaire (1694 to 1778), believed that religion causes war. Contrasting

"natural religion," a deistic religion of reason, with "artificial religion," the major

religions of the world, he argued:

> Natural religion has a thousand times prevented citizens from committing crimes. A
> well-bred soul has no wish to commit them. A tender soul is afraid of them,
> remembering a just and vengeful god. But artificial religion encourages all the
> cruelties done in association, conspiracies, seditions, robbery, ambushes, attacks on

towns, pillages, murders. Each one marches gaily off to crime under the banner of his saint.[1]

Elsewhere, Voltaire called out individual religions for their martial crimes. After listing several theological disputes in the Church, he wrote, "Unfortunately, not one of these disputes failed to cause wars, and the church was always obliged to fight."[2]

Voltaire believed that Islam and Judaism also caused wars, contending in a letter written to Frederick the Great in December 1740, "Those who say that the time of these crimes has passed, that we shall never again see a Barcochebas (Simon bar Kochba), a Muhammad, a John o' Leiden, etc.; that the flames of religious wars are extinguished; in my opinion, do too much honor to human nature."[3] Voltaire lumped the Hebrews together with the Muslim Arabs in chapter 6 of his *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*. Speaking of Muhammad, Voltaire wrote, "especially we may observe a remarkable conformity between the manners of his people, and those of the ancient Hebrews (I speak here of their manners only), the same ardor to rush into battle in the name of the Lord, the same thirst for plunder, the same division of spoils, and every thing referred to this great object."[4]

Europeans in Voltaire's day sometimes combined polytheistic faiths into a group known as "idolaters." Voltaire objected to this moniker but referred to both Hindus and Buddhists as polytheists.[5] Voltaire suggested that there were no wars of religion among polytheists because the polytheists worshipped inferior gods, and each polytheist

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[1] Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, trans. Theodore Besterman (London: Penguin Books, 1971), 233.

[2] Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary,* 139.

[3] Voltaire, "Letters," *The Portable Voltaire*, ed. Ben Ray Redman (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), 456.

[4] Voltaire, *An Essay on Universal History, the Manners, and Spirit of Nations: From the Reign of Charlemaign to the Age of Lewis XIV* (London: Andesite Press, 2017), 49.

[5] Donald S. Lopez, Jr., "Voltaire and the Buddha," The Public Domain Review, last modified March 8, 2017, https://publicdomainreview.org/2017/03/08/voltaire-and-the-buddha/.

felt that others had the right to worship their own gods.[6] Specifically, he noted Hindus to be peaceful, even effeminate, and incapable of defending themselves.[7]

The British historian Edward Gibbon (1737 to 1794) took a cue from Voltaire's views on Christianity and war. He rebuked Christian inflexibility toward Roman polytheism and reported "the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissentions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other than they had experienced from the zeal of infidels."[8] Gibbon concluded, "the church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by the proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office."[9]

In the modern era, atheist Sam Harris wrote that faith and religion are "the most prolific source of violence in our history."[10] British zoologist and atheist Richard Dawkins wrote, "even more plausible as a motive for war is an unshakeable faith that one's own religion is the only true one, reinforced by a holy book that explicitly condemns all heretics and followers of rival religions to death, and explicitly promised that the soldier of God will go straight to a martyr's heaven."[11] Christopher Hitchens repeats his point ad nauseam, "Religion poisons everything," and uses many examples of war and terrorism to prove it.[12]

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[6] Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, 248.

[7] Voltaire, *An Essay on Universal History,* 30–35.

[8] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 1:233.

[9] Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1:233–34.

[10] Sam Harris, *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror, and the Future of Reason* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 27.

[11] Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 316.

[12] Christopher Hitchens, *God is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything* (New York: Hachette Book Group, 2007), 25.

Such views are not confined to uptight prose. The comedian George Carlin, in his parody on the Ten Commandments, stated that "more people have been killed in the name of God than for any other reason."[13] Carlin's statement referred to the cause and effects of war. The historian Christopher Catherwood suggested that it is not religion per se but religion, when united with politics, that caused wars.[14]

Modern thinkers have doubted that religion is a cause of war, or at least a major cause. The *National Security Strategy* of the United States is the guiding document produced by the President for the Department of Defense and the national security community. The 2017 US *National Security Strategy* mentioned the word "religion" once in sixty-eight pages, Islam nine times, and Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity not at all.[15] "Culture," sometimes used as a surrogate term for religion, was mentioned eleven times. By contrast, the word "economy" was used thirty-three times, "trade" forty-seven times, and "political" fifty-seven times. The relative frequency of such terms suggests that the authors of this document believed that economic and political factors played a much greater role in US national security than religious or cultural factors.

Charles Phillips and Alan Axelrod identified 121 wars as "religious wars" in their index, comprising only 6.9 percent of the 1763 wars listed. They stated that "early twenty-first century warfare has been almost exclusively ideological, that is to say,

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[13] George Carlin, "The Ten Commandments," accessed May 11, 2020, https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=george+carlin+ten+commandments+video&docid=608051400433994861&mid=644FA40EBB51DDAF4CD2644FA40EBB51DDAF4CD2&view=detail&FORM=VIRE.

[14] Christopher Catherwood, *Making War in the Name of God* (New York: Citadel, 2007), 171. Mr. Catherwood teaches twentieth century history and church history. His affiliations include Cambridge (UK), and the University of Richmond, Virginia Military Institute, Connecticut College, Tulane, Villanova, and Wake Forest (US).

[15] "National Security Strategy 2017," National Security Strategy Archive, last modified December 18, 2017, http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2017/.

religious, and almost always either clandestine or limited and 'asymmetrical.'"[16] Furthermore, Phillips and Axelrod noted that war before the seventeenth century was explained and justified religiously, but war after the eighteenth century was explained and justified ideologically. They argued that "the objectives of warfare were broadened from the conquest of this or that sliver of a kingdom to the spread of revolutionary ideals, and through this ideological back door something like the fervor of religion slipped back into war."[17] These observations suggest that religion is a minor but still important cause of war.

In *Death by Government*, R. J. Rummel defined democide as "government mass murder," meaning the killing of people under a given government, whether citizens, subjects, or those otherwise under the government's control.[18] He demonstrated that democide motivated by socialist, communist, or other Marxist ideology in the twentieth century (through 1987) accounted for 151,491,000 deaths.[19] Pre-twentieth century international war-related dead, those killed in every war in the world through all of history before 1900, totaled around 40,457,000. Therefore, even if all the pre-twentieth century war deaths were caused by religion, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), China, and Nazi Germany in the modern era killed almost four times as many people. This number includes only the years from 1900 to 1987 and excludes deaths caused by Imperial Japan, Cambodia, North Korea, Czarist Russia, Vietnam, and a host

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[16] Charles Phillips and Alan Axelrod, *Encyclopedia of Wars* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 2005), 1:xxiii.

[17] Phillips and Axelrod, *Encyclopedia of Wars,* 1:xxii.

[18] Rudolph Joseph Rummel, *Death by Government: Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1900*, 5th ed. (New Brunswick: Routledge, 1997), 1–2.

[19] Rummel, *Death by Government*, 4. The greatest mass murderer in the twentieth century was Josef Stalin (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics–USSR), followed by Mao Tse Tung (People's Republic of China), and Adolf Hitler (Germany). I did not include fascism separate from communism, socialism, and Marxism in the list above because fascism is arguably a type of socialism. Many people forget that the word Nazi is short for the National Socialist German Worker's Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei–NSDAP).

of other killers. Religion is in the minor leagues when it comes to blood in the streets. Nonetheless, the idea persists that religion causes more deaths than anything else, as Sam Harris and George Carlin claim.

A systematic study entitled *Five Key Questions Answered on the Link Between Peace and Religion*, conducted by the Institute for Economics and Peace, analyzed data from the Global Peace Index, the Government Restrictions Index, the Social Hostilities Index, the World Religion Project, the World Values Survey, and the Religious Diversity Index. Researchers identified a wide variety of factors that influence whether war will occur, including resources, territory, type of government, and cultural factors such as religion.[21] The authors concluded that religion is not the main source of conflict today. Out of thirty-five armed conflicts worldwide in 2013, eighty-six percent had more than one cause, and the main cause of two-thirds of these conflicts was a desire for a change in government. Religion was not the sole cause for any conflict, though it was a contributing factor in about one quarter, typically driven by the desire to move to an Islamist government.[22] The study *Five Key Questions* concluded that though religion was not the main cause of war, religion remained an important factor. The disintegration of Yugoslavia is an example of religious-sectarian violence in the post-Cold War era.[23] One wonders what the authors of *Five Key Questions* would have found if they had done the study four hundred years ago.

One side of the debate argues that religion, especially religion as united with politics, is a major cause of war. The other side contends that religion is a lesser but still

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[21] "Five Key Questions Answered on the Link Between Peace and Religion," Institute for Economics and Peace, IEP Report 29, last modified October 2014, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/184879/Peace-and-Religion-Report.pdf. The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank.

[22] Institute for Economics and Peace, "Five Key Questions" 7.

[23] Gregorio Bettiza, *Finding Faith in Foreign Policy: Religion and American Diplomacy in a Postsecular World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 28.

important cause of war. Three other factors must be considered. First, the influence of religion on war seems to be growing in the twenty-first century.[24] Second, "religious fervor is an extremely potent political force."[25] Third, the influence of religion on militancy waxes and wanes over the ages. Considering the aforementioned evidence, I conclude that in the modern day, religion is a cause of war, sometimes a major cause but more commonly a small one. The next question is: do religions differ in their promotion of war, their militancy?

Research Question

My research question is whether the four largest religions in the world (by number of adherents: Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity) and one smaller but highly influential religion (Judaism) differ in the degree to which they encourage war; a tendency that can be measured by their religious militancy. Religious militancy is comprised of two factors: doctrinal militancy and lived militancy. Militancy can be defined as "the use of confrontational or violent methods in support of a political or social cause."[27] Doctrinal militancy is defined here as the militancy encouraged by the key religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy, which is included in this study to illustrate the results of doctrinal militancy with examples over history, is defined here as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

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[24] Catherwood, *Making War in the Name of God*, 171–72. The observation that the influence of religion is growing in the twenty-first century is pivotal to this study of religious militancy. It is also supported by experts including Catherwood and Peter L. Berger, Jonathan Sacks, David Martin, Tu Weiming, George Weigel, Grace Davie and Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics,* ed. Peter L. Berger (Washington D.C.: Eerdmans, 1999).

[25] Thomas David DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 7.

[27] English Oxford Living Dictionaries, "Militancy," accessed September 29, 2018, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/militancy.

Studying the scriptures of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity is the proposed way in this dissertation to discover the doctrinal militancy of each faith.[28] Studying history reveals the lived militancy of each faith. For example, Graeme Wood argues leaders in the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) interpreted doctrinal sources and history in a way that led to militant behavior.[29] Violence was the result.

To analyze doctrinal militancy, I performed a quantitative and qualitative computer-based and manual textual analysis of scriptures in Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Based on these findings, I assigned a Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) score to each religion and compared the scores. Findings on doctrinal militancy are presented in the first half of each chapter.

Needing to limit the scope and concentrate the focus of this study, I have not attempted to quantify lived militancy as I have doctrinal militancy. Such quantification would be an excellent topic for another study. However, since lived militancy is so important to understanding behavior today, I have included examples of the military actions and history of early and later leaders in each faith to demonstrate how they lived out the militancies of their religious beliefs. These examples of lived militancy are presented in the second half of each chapter.

This study evaluates the degree of militancy as taught by the scriptures of each religion. I make no judgments on the morality, good or bad, of such militancy. Militancy sometimes leads to war, but mankind has not always believed that war is an aberration. In the ancient world, war was considered a primordial reality requiring no special

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[28] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 182. DuBois specifies that such an opinion applies "in the Western idiom." He states that while westerners may favor antiquity in their scriptures, easterners may favor newer scriptures which have evolved to what they feel is greater truth. I have tried to use older and newer scriptures, such as the Veda and the Gita, and the Old and New Testaments.

[29] Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015, 78–94.

justification. Plato wrote, "the peace of which most men talk . . . is no more than a name; in real fact, the normal attitude of a city to all other cities is one of undeclared warfare."[30] Heraclitus said, "war is the father of all and the king of all."[31] The German General Count von Moltke opined, "eternal peace is a dream --and not even a beautiful one. War is part of God's world-order. Within it unfold the noblest virtues of men, courage and renunciation, loyalty to duty and readiness for sacrifice--at the hazard of one's life. Without war the world would sink into a swamp of materialism."[32] US General George Patton said, "next to war, all other human endeavors pale into puny insignificance."[33]

**Why Does the Militancy of
Each Religion Matter?**

Why is it important to evaluate the religious militancy, especially the doctrinal militancy, of each major religion? Dr. Eric Patterson opposed the secularization of American foreign policy and its disregard for religious factors in war and diplomacy. He identified three major problems that statesmen make when they ignore religion.[34] First, they cannot take their interlocutors at face value. People who believe in a religion do things because of that religion, and sometimes only because of that religion. People who do not believe in religion or who are skeptical about any religious motivation often look for hidden agendas. Sometimes the convinced skeptic simply cannot understand someone who is not a skeptic about religion. Second, they cannot see the meaningful intersections

[30] Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato, Laws, Book 1* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 640–41.

[31] Daniel W. Graham, "Heraclitus," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, last modified September 3, 2019, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/heraclitus/.

[32] Helmut Moltke, "On the Nature of War by Helmut Moltke (the Elder)," World War I Document Archive, last modified December 11, 1880, https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/On_the_Nature_of_War_by_Helmut_Moltke_(the_Elder).

[33] Phillips and Axelrod, *Encyclopedia of Wars*, 1:xxii.

[34] Eric Patterson, *Politics in a Religious World: Building a Religiously Literate U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Continuum, 2011), vi.

between religion and culture. Third, they cannot have a savvy and engaged foreign policy across government agencies. Communication is the life blood of policy, and an inability or unwillingness to understand negotiating partners poisons attempts to jointly forge acceptable and effective policies to achieve mutual goals.

America is getting the message that America needs religious engagement as well as military, social, and economic engagement in organizations and policies. In 2013 Secretary of State John Kerry announced the establishment of the Office of Faith Based Community Initiatives and directed his diplomats to "engage religious leaders and faith-based communities" in their diplomatic work.[35] International organizations such as the European Union, the United Nations, and the World Bank have recognized religion as a factor in policy. The World Bank, for example, specifies that its Faith Initiative strives to (1) strengthen dialogue and engagement with faith-inspired organizations and religious communities; (2) foster greater operational collaboration and partnerships; and (3) strengthen the evidence base on the role and impact of faith-based and religious organizations on the ground, including within on-going World Bank Group funded projects.[36] The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has a similar focus on faith-based collaboration and similar goals as the World Bank.[37] The United Kingdom's Department for International Development's (DFID) funded the Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium to improve cooperation with faith based organizations working in development.[38]

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[35] John Kerry, "Remarks at Launch of Office of Faith Based Community Initiatives," U.S. Department of State, August 7, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPOX28vFXLs.

[36] "Faith Based and Religious Organizations," World Bank, accessed May 7, 2020, https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/partners/brief/faith-based-organizations.

[37] "Sharing Common Goals: UNICEF, Faith-based Organizations and Children," UNICEF, last modified May 2, 2003, https://www.unicef.org/media/media_4537.html.

[38] Claire Brickell, "Geographies of Contemporary Christian Mission(aries)," *Geography Compass* 6, no. 12 (2012): 725–39. doi:10.1111/gec3.12008.

Engagement with faith-inspired organizations and religious communities is necessary but not sufficient. Policymakers and other actors need to know how adherents to each religion are likely to behave in any given situation; especially how militant they are likely to be. In similar situations, past behavior is a commonly used indicator, though not the only predictor and not a guarantee, of future behavior. For example, self-injurious thoughts and behaviors confer greater risk for future suicide attempts.[39] If religious adherents, or a similar group they follow, have a history of militancy in a given situation, their likelihood of militant behavior may increase.

History contains many examples of the consequences of leaders considering or ignoring doctrinal and lived factors particular to a religion in foreign policy and war. In 417 BC, democrats in Argos attacked the city's oligarchs while the oligarchs' Spartan protectors were celebrating the religious festival Gymnopaediae.[40] A Roman army delayed its campaign against Antiochus III in 190 BC because of a taboo requiring its commander to remain stationary for the entire month of March. The Maccabean leader John Hyrcanus abandoned a siege in 135 BC because of the onset of a Sabbatical Year.[41] The Japanese timed the attack on Pearl Harbor on a Sunday, knowing that the Americans would be in church or at rest and therefore less prepared to resist. Knowing that many Jews would be engaged in religious rites, the Arabs attacked Israel on Yom Kippur, the high holy day of Judaism, in 1973.[42] The Sepoy Rebellion occurred, in part, because

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[39] J. D. Ribeiro, J. C. Franklin, K. R. Fox, K. H. Bentley, E. M. Kleiman, B. P. Chang, and M. K. Nock, "Self-injurious Thoughts and Behaviors as Risk Factors for Future Suicide Ideation, Attempts, and Death: A Meta-Analysis of Longitudinal Studies," *Psychol Med* 2016 January;46(2):225–36. doi:10.1017/S00 33291715001804. Epub 2015 September 15.

[40] M. D. Goodman and A. J. Holladay, "Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1986): 159. The forces of Argos timed their attack intentionally to rob their adversaries of Spartan assistance.

[41] Goodman and Holladay, "Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare," 166. Examples such as this show the direct impact of religious beliefs on war, a phenomenon which has lasted since the dawn of time.

[42] Jewish Virtual Library, "The Yom Kippur War: Background & Overview," accessed

colonial British authorities required Muslim and Hindu soldiers of the Indian Army to grease their Enfield rifles with pig fat or cow fat.[43] Capitalizing on religious factors aided the Greeks, the Japanese, and the Arabs in their hopes for military victory. Failing to do so precipitated a rebellion that cost the British two years and thousands of casualties.

Issues concerning differences in religion affect the commercial world as well. A Taiwanese restaurant that served pork placed an advertisement on a billboard next to a mosque. Local Muslims were furious, and the restaurant pulled down the advertisement amidst an avalanche of bad press.[44] Dana Gas, which spent ten years developing a gas field in Kurdistan, is fighting in court to restructure seven hundred million dollars in Islamic bonds due to an "evolving interpretation" of the *Sharia* regarding bond law.[45] Investors stand to lose millions, threatening investment in the Islamic bond market as a whole. These examples do not prove that one religion is more militant than another but do demonstrate that differences in religion impact the world.

Where should governmental, business, or other organizational leaders use their scarce resources? Is religious profiling acceptable to preempt militant or even violent behavior? If so, when and how? After a Muslim insider in the Paris Police Intelligence Department killed four co-workers with a butcher knife on October 3, 2019, French

February 23, 2019, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/background-and-overview-yom-kippur-war. In the Six Day War in June 1967, Israel was able to carefully monitor the situation and launch a devastating preemptive attack against Egypt and Syria using their full military capabilities. The religious duties surrounding Yom Kippur decremented the immediately available Israeli military capabilities and contributed to early Arab victories.

[43] Daniel Marston and Chandar S. Sundaram, eds., *A Military History of India and South Asia: From the East India Company to the Nuclear Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 24.

[44] Hsu Cho-hsun and Jonathan Chin, "Pork restaurant to change billboard for mosque goers," *Taipei Times,* January 24, 2019, http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2019/01/10/2003 707681.

[45] "The Infant Islamic-bond Industry Faces a Crisis," *The Economist*, June 19, 2017, https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2017/06/29/the-infant-islamic-bond-industry-faces-a-crisis. Religious scruples impact militancy and military capabilities indirectly, in this case through economic factors, as well as directly.

officials said that his conversion to Islam in 2008 and marriage to a Muslim in 2014 should have been flagged as worrisome for future terrorist activity but was not.[46] Would flagging him have been an appropriate security measure or religious bigotry?

Individuals must also consider the likelihood of religious militancy as they decide where to travel. The US Department of State (DOS) discourages Americans from visiting Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank.[47] Israel forbids its citizens from going to Gaza and the West Bank.[48] Notably, among the thirteen countries listed under "Do Not Travel" by the State Department, nine have a Muslim majority population.[49] Religious militancy can inspire violence, which can impact what people do every day.

Violence attributed by participants to religion between members of the Hindu majority and Muslims, Christians, and other minorities in India, is rising.[50] In its 2019 report, the US Commission on International Religious Freedom rated India as tier two for "systematic, ongoing, and egregious" persecution of religious minorities, the same tier as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Egypt.[51] Hindu violence towards adherents of other religions is not a new thing, despite Western perceptions of Hindu nonviolence (*ahimsa*), as Hinduism has a long history of armed and militant ascetics.[52] Religious violence is also growing in

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[46] Hugh Schofield, "Paris killings: Terror at Heart of Police HQ Jolts France," *BBC News Paris* October 12, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-49997776.

[47] U. S. Department of State–Bureau of Consular Affairs "Israel, the West Bank and Gaza," accessed March 27, 2020, https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/international-travel/Internat ional-Travel-Country-Information-Pages/IsraeltheWestBankandGaza.html.

[48] Yuval Avivi, "Israelis Travel Under Radar to Tour Jericho, Bethlehem," Al-Monitor, June 8, 2015, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/israel-tourism-pa-jerico-bethlehem-hospitality-idf.html.

[49] U. S. Department of State–Bureau of Consular Affairs, "Travel Advisories," accessed March 27, 2020, https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/traveladvisories/traveladvisories.html/.

[50] Ashish Malhotra, "Religious Violence is Rising in Narendra Modi's India. It Might Not Hurt His Reelection Hopes," *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 15, 2019, https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-india-election-religion-20190415-story.html.

[51] United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, "India," Annual Report 2019, https://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/Tier2_INDIA_2019.pdf.

[52] James G. Lochtefeld, "The Vishva Hindu Parishad and the Roots of Hindu Militancy," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 62, no. 2 (1994): 589.

Buddhist countries.[53] Buddhist majority or plurality nations such as Burma and China were rated tier one in 2019, meaning they are "countries of particular concern" with systematic, ongoing, egregious violations of religious freedom.[54] Foreign policy thinkers are struggling with reconciling peaceful Buddhist teachings with real world Buddhist violence. In these circumstances, religious militancy is impairing the religious freedom and even threatening the livelihoods and lives of religious minorities.

Personal Background

I was raised a Southern Baptist and accepted Jesus Christ as my Lord and Savior at age six. I joined the US Army in 1989 and entered active duty as a physician in 1991. Assignments and missions took me to Germany, the United Kingdom, elsewhere in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. From 2003 to 2004, I served under then Brigadier General Martin Dempsey as the Preventive Medicine Officer and Deputy Division Surgeon for the Task Force First Armored Division in Baghdad, Iraq.[55] After I returned home from my combat tour, my family and I returned to the US, where I had several senior leadership positions in the Washington DC area. I retired from active duty in 2016 and have served as a physician and health care executive in civilian roles since.

Literature Review

Some commentators suggest that Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity are equally non-violent. United Nations Secretary General António Guterres pleaded with religious leaders, "Religion is being distorted to increase differences" and "as Muslim, Jewish and Christian religious leaders, you have the opportunity to teach the

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[53] Charles Haviland, "The Darker Side of Buddhism," *BBC News Magazine*, May 30, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-32929855.

[54] Christian Caryl, "Weren't Buddhists Supposed to be Pacifists?" *Foreign Policy*, April 23, 2013, https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/04/23/werent-buddhists-supposed-to-be-pacifists/.

[55] General Dempsey later became Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under President Barack Obama.

shared humanistic values of tolerance, understanding, compassion, and peace. These are the core values embraced by all three monotheistic faiths represented here today, and they can be the catalysts for peace."[56]

Others hold that these religions are equally violent. The magazine *Foreign Policy* suggested that Christianity and Islam are equally violent.[57] The *Washington Times* made the same point.[58] The *Huffington Post* opined that Islam today is no more violent than Christianity was at the same age.[59] The *Los Angeles Times* suggested that all religions cause violence, and that secularism causes peace.[60] The opinion that religion causes violence and secularism causes peace is inconsistent with Rummel's finding in *Death by Government* as noted above. Arab Naz et al argued that social factors such as illiteracy, poverty, and a misinterpretation of Islam account for the high levels of militancy found in the area–real Islam is not to blame.[61] The authors' argument is that Islam may seem more violent than other faiths but it is not.

The idea that religions are essentially the same in their violence or non-violence, or at least morally similar, is a modern, Western view. The *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, the cornerstone document of the French Revolution, states: "No one shall

[56] United Nations Secretary-General, "Secretary-General's remarks on the Role of Religious Leaders in Peacebuilding in the Middle East," July 18, 2017, https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/ statement/2017-07-18/secretary-generals-remarks-role-religious-leaders-peacebuilding.

[57] Julia Ioffe, "If Islam is a Religion of Violence, so is Christianity," *Foreign Policy*, June 14, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/14/if-islam-is-a-religion-of-violence-so-is-christianity/.

[58] Chris Ladd, "Which Religion is the Most Violent?" *The Washington Times*, December 31, 2014, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/dec/31/which-religion-most-violent/.

[59] Osaama Salfi, "The History of Religion and Violence," *Huffpost*, April 10, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/osaama-saifi/the-history-of-religion-and_b_9653070.html.

[60] Phil Zuckerman, "Think Religion Makes Society Less Violent? Think Again," *Los Angeles Times,* November 1, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-1101-zuckerman-violence-secularism-20151101-story.html.

[61] Arab Naz et al., "Militancy: A Myth or Reality, An Exploratory Study of the Socio-economic and Religious Forces Behind Militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan," *Bangladesh e-Journal of Sociology* 10, no. 2 (July 2013): 25–40, http://www.bangladeshsociology.org/Militancy%20BEJS%2010.2%20Final-2.pdf.

be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law."[62] Considering the Protestant-Catholic carnage of the Thirty Years War only 150 years earlier, this was a remarkable change. Karl Marx (1818–1883) opined that religion was an illusion, and simultaneously that "Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in popular form, its spiritual point *d'honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, and its universal basis of consolation and justification."[63] The *Humanist Manifesto* (1933), written by the American Humanist Association, whose motto is "Good without a God," lumped together all religions, specifically traditional ones, in equivalence and obsolescence. Its successor, the *Humanist Manifesto II* (1973), did the same. The *Humanist Manifesto III* makes no mention of religion.[64]

Many who hold that religion causes war do not believe that religions are equal in their warlike tendencies. Voltaire saw the Abrahamic faiths as warlike and Hinduism, Buddhism, and other polytheistic faiths as pacific.[65] Abubaker Shekau wrote in his essay "Declaration of War Against Christians and Western Education" (July 2010): "You Christians should understand that indeed our goals are focused toward Islam. We want to fight you. You should rise with your weapons because we want to break your cross. We want to demolish all the churches, throw aside the constitution, and bring the law of

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[62] "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen 1789," National Assembly of France, last modified August 26, 1789, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rightsof.asp.

[63] Karl Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Marxists.org, last modified 2009, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm.

[64] "Humanism and Its Aspirations: Humanist Manifesto III, a Successor to the Humanist Manifesto of 1933," American Humanist Association, 2003, accessed, https://americanhumanist.org/what-is-humanism/manifesto3/.

[65] Voltaire, *The Portable Voltaire*, 456.

Islam into force, or else we will perish."[66] Insofar as his views are shared by other Muslims, religion, not illiteracy or poverty, is the primary driving factor behind Islamic militancy.

The Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs discussed the two paths of Hinduism: the Realpolitik path and the non-violent (*ahimsa*) path, the latter influenced by the example of Gandhi.[67] Peter Harvey remarked that "Pacifism has been the ideal," [68] although he notes that this does not mean that most Buddhists are pacifists.

Late Medieval Christian leaders did not believe that Christianity and Islam were equivalent in their militancies. Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos said, just before Muslim armies besieged his capital of Constantinople from 1391 to 1402, "Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached."[69] When Pope Benedict XVI quoted but disavowed Palaiologos' opinion in 2006, he faced a firestorm of criticism.[70] The Pope's crime, according to his detractors, was repeating someone who suggested that Islam and Christianity were not equivalent in militancy, or even morality, and that Islam was morally worse. Gregory Palamas, archbishop of

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[66] Abubakar Shekau, "Declaration of War Against Christians and Western Education," in *The Boko Haram Reader: From Nigerian Preachers to the Islamic State*, ed. Abdulbasit Kassim and Michael Nwankpa, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 217.

[67] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Hinduism on Peace and Violence," accessed September 23, 2018, https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/essays/hinduism-on-peace-and-violence. Realpolitik is politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives.

[68] Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History, and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 271.

[69] Manuel II Palaiologos quoted by Benedict XVI, "Faith, Reason and the University, Memories and Reflections," speech given in Regensburg during Apostolic Journey of His Holiness Benedict XVI to München, Altotting, and Regensburg, Vatican, September 12, 2006, www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2006/september/documents/hfben-xvispe2006 0912university-regensburg.html. ai

[70] Alexander Smoltczyk, "How the Pope Angered the Muslim World," *Spiegel International*, November 24, 2006, http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/reconstruction-of-a-global-crisis-how-the-pope-angered-the-muslim-world-a-450456.html.

Thessalonica, who was captured by Turkish pirates and imprisoned by the Sublime Porte in 1354, noted that religion was one of the main concerns of the Osmanlis (Ottomans).[71] Their desire to defeat Christianity showed up on the debate stage as well as on the battlefield.

Certainly, the Shinto and Buddhist leaders of the Tokugawa shogunate of Japan did not consider Christianity as pacifistic compared to their brand of Buddhism. Instead, they saw the followers of Jesus as a mortal threat. The locally ruling Matsukura clan boiled Christians alive in the hot springs at Unzen,[72] and then the government crushed the Christian-dominated Shimabara Rebellion (1637–1638).[73] Japan continued persecuting Christians for the next two hundred years.[74] The Mughal emperor Akbar (1542–1605) built a "Temple of Religion," refusing to favor one religion over another.[75] Sirhindi wrote that Muslims considered Akbar's death as "good tidings," and they hoped that his descendants on the Peacock Throne would "spread the Sharia and strengthen the community."[76] Akbar's son Jahangir (1569–1627), grandson Shah Jahan (1592–1666), and especially his great-grandson Aurangzeb (1658–1707), the later notorious for oppressing non-Muslims, did not disappoint.[77]

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[71] Daniel Sahas, "Gregory Palamas (1296–1360) on Islam," *The Muslim World* 73, no. 1 (January 1983): 9. The Sublime Porte was the historical European name for the Ottoman government.

[72] Jonathan Clements, *Christ's Samurai* (London: Robinson, 2017), 57.

[73] Portuguese Catholic missionaries first brought Christianity to Japan in the mid-16th century. The Catholic faith spread among the peasants and lower classes, alarming the ruling elite. To fund extravagant building programs and lavish lifestyles, Matsukura leaders levied heavy taxes on the people. Such taxes, alongside ferocious persecution of Christians, sparked the Shimabara Rebellion, in which many of the rebellious peasants professed the Christian faith.

[74] Clements, *Christ's Samurai*, xvii.

[75] Alain Daniélou, *A Brief History of India* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2003), 241.

[76] Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, "Maktubat," in *Source of Indian Tradition: From the Beginning to 1800*, 2nd ed, folios 52–53b, ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 429.

[77] Daniélou, *Brief History of India*, 250

Nicholas K. Meriwether proposed examining the fundamental texts of a religion, the activities of its founder (the Founding Criterion), and the history, especially of the earliest adherents (the Tradition Criterion). Using these criteria, he concluded, "even if it is debatable whether Islam itself is militant, depending, of course, on how it is defined, it is certainly not illegitimate or implausible to consider it such, and to raise serious questions as to whether it can ever be reformed."[78]

Shane Barter and Ian Zatkin-Osburn identify three ways of studying religious militancy.[79] The first examines a small sample of holy texts to determine a religion's attitude towards war. The second investigates what militants claim is the reason for whatever war they are part of. The third tactic looks at surveys, focus groups, and other means of getting quantitative measures.

This literature review has included selected texts focused on the similarities and dissimilarities in the area of militancy of the five major religions under study. Many more documents exist that can shed light on these characteristics, but the above sources provide a good overview of opinions and events regarding religious militancy.

Methodology

I chose to examine the four largest systems (and Judaism) that are classified as "religions" in common parlance. I did not define war, a task that has defied the likes of Sun Tzu, Herodotus, Clausewitz, and Keegan, but have again relied on common usage, which includes formally declared wars, undeclared wars, revolutions, and other violent physical conflicts between groups great and small.[80]

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[78] Nicholas Meriwether, "Assessing Religious Militancy," *Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals*, last modified March 2, 2018, http://www.reformation21.org/blog/2018/03/assessing-religious-militancy.php. He is a professor of philosophy at Shawnee State University.

[79] Shane Barter and Ian Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded: Islam, War, and Holy War in Southeast Asia," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53, no. 1 (2014): 187–201.

[80] Phillips and Axelrod, *Encyclopedia of Wars*, 1:xxii. Formally declared wars, undeclared

The research presented here includes the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) and a history and discussion of Lived Militancy. The DMI is the focus of this study. It was determined by the testimony of the scriptures, including the words and actions of the founder of each religion, when a founder is identified.[81] Rather than taking a small sample of key passages as Barter and Zatkin-Osburn do, I examined every instance of five key words in context for the major scriptures studied, an examination that included over five thousand words between the five religions.

The lived militancy sections recount overall military history with examples of militant actions by adherents of each religion; especially the early and later leaders, and how their actions followed or did not follow their primary scriptures. Rather than selecting a few conflicts to illustrate participants' stated motivations and actions, as Barter and Zatkin-Osburn relate, I have reviewed the military history of major groups and nations following each religion. Doctrinal militancy is the focus of this study but lived militancy illustrates doctrinal militancy.

Chapters 2 through 6 are dedicated to Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, respectively. Each has the following structure:

1. Introduction
2. Doctrinal Militancy Index–Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis
3. Doctrinal Militancy Index–Discussion, including example of the founder
4. Lived Militancy–Examples of early leaders in military history
5. Lived Militancy–Examples of later leaders in military history
6. Lived Militancy–Current Situation

wars, revolutions, and other violent physical conflicts are the types of war recognized by these authors in their work.

[81] Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity have clearly identified and well-known founders: Moses, Siddhartha Gautama, Muhammad, and Jesus Christ, respectively. ,Religious adherents' knowledge of their founder's history comes, in large part, from the scriptures of the religions that they founded. Hinduism has no identified founder, so his (or her) history is not revealed in any Hindu scripture.

7.   Conclusion

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the study and applies the lessons to three major conflict areas in the twenty-first century.

The founders of Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity produced the scriptures (orally and/or in writing) and provided the personal examples from which I have estimated the doctrinal militancy of their religions.[82] Moses fought with Amalek, Midian, and other enemies. The Buddha did not lead troops, but he closely allied the Buddhist monastic community (Sangha) with kings such as Bimbisara (558–491 BC) and Pasenadi (c. sixth century BC) who did lead troops. Jesus never led an army, and neither did His disciples or their disciples. Jesus' lack of militant words and actions, interpreted in context, would make Christianity less doctrinally militant. By AD 625, only three years after the Muslims' flight from Mecca (the Hijra), Muhammad commanded at least seven hundred veteran warriors.[83] Muhammad's abundance of militant words and actions, interpreted in context, would make Islam more doctrinally militant. Even though Hinduism has no identified founder, its scriptures contain stories, poems, and rules that impact violence and contribute to Hinduism's doctrinal militancy.

Why should one study the examples of early leaders to understand the militancies of their religions?[84] The early leaders in a religion have assembled the oral and written fragments of scriptures into books and decide which belong in the respective

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[82] As noted elsewhere, the founder of Hinduism is unknown. Whichever individual or group wrote the scriptures provided the ideas from which I have estimated the doctrinal militancy of the faith.

[83] Ayman S. Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion* (New York: Peter Lang, 2018), 80.

[84] Early leaders are defined as living within the first three hundred years or ten generations of the founder.

canons.[85] Early leaders are closest to the founder of that religion. The world they inhabited was similar to that in which the founder lived and worked.

The earliest leaders in Christianity heavily influenced its doctrinal militancy. Luke, Paul, Matthew, Mark, John, Peter, James, and Jude did not found Christianity, but they wrote the New Testament, thereby establishing doctrines and behavioral precedents. John included these words of Jesus in his Gospel: "My kingdom is not of this world. If My kingdom were of this world, then My servants would be fighting so that I would not be handed over to the Jews; but as it is, My kingdom is not of this realm" (John 18:36). Paul wrote, "For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the powers, against the world forces of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenly places" (Eph 6:12). These verses have dampened the doctrinal militancy of Christianity. The Church Fathers, from Ignatius of Antioch (35–110) to Origin (185–254) neither promoted nor engaged in war or other forms of physical militancy.

The earliest leaders in Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam influenced the words and actions of successors in their respective religions. Joshua did not provide the Law but demonstrated how to carry it out. Siddhartha Gautama founded Buddhism, but Ananda and the earliest monks of the Sangha recorded his words and actions in the Pali Canon. The Mauryan empire (322–180 BC), especially while under the influence of Emperor Ashoka, set precedents on how Buddhism would be lived out in the wider culture. Hinduism identifies no individual founder, preferring to affirm that its truths emanate from pre-history, but the Gupta Empire (third century to AD 590) helped transform the religion of the Vedas (c. 1500 to 500 BC), the Upanishads (c. 600 to 200 BC), and the *Bhagavad Gita* (c. 200 BC to AD 100) into classical Hinduism (c. 200 BC

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[85] For example, the Christian canon, which books were considered scriptural, was largely agreed upon by AD 200. The Muslim Quran was finalized by Caliph Uthman (577–656). The Theraveda Buddhist Tipitaka developed between 550 BC and the first century BC.

to AD 1100). Muhammad founded Islam and conquered the Hejaz and parts of Arabia, but the Rashidun, Umayyad, and early Abbasid caliphs united Arabia, subdued the Middle East, Persia, North Africa, and Andalusia, set the Islamic canon (c. 650), gathered the *hadiths* (c. 850), and guided how followers of the Prophet lived out their faith.

Why should one study the examples of later leaders to understand the militancy of their religions?[86] History records and helps explain how the world became what it is today. Imagine a traveler who appeared in Constantinople and then Damascus in AD 800. He would have seen Islamic civilization at its height and its enemies in retreat on all fronts. He would probably assume that Islam would sweep away every foe in the next few centuries. How puzzled such a traveler would be if he returned in 2021 and saw Islam as it is today. Seeing the weakness of Muslim majority nations compared to Buddhist, Hindu, or Christian nations, he might ask, "What happened?" His question could only be answered by looking at the history of Islam from 800 to 2021.

Additionally, seminal events happen in later history that shape attitudes and actions today.[87] The founding of modern Israel is a seminal event for modern Judaism. The Crusades and the Fall of Constantinople are such events for Christianity and Islam. The Mughal invasion of India was seminal for Hinduism and World War II for Buddhism. Contemporary leaders cannot understand modern attitudes towards religious militancy if they are not aware of these events and the people and circumstances behind them.

Later leaders also impact the perceived and lived militancies of their religions. Riley-Smith argues that many eleventh century European soldiers understood the Crusades and justified their participation by their reading of the writings of Augustine

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[86] Later leaders are defined as those that lived more than three hundred years after the founding of a religion.

[87] A seminal event is one which "strongly influences later developments." The Fall of Constantinople laid eastern Europe open to Ottoman and Muslim influences for over six hundred years. The effects of the Crusades also resonate today. The Mughal Empire vastly increased the Muslim influence in predominately Hindu India, which remains a source of conflict in the modern world. World War II revolutionized Buddhist nations, resulting in the fall of Japan and the Communist takeover in China.

(354–430).[88] Later religious leaders can permanently change key aspects of their historical creeds, or at least the common understanding of them. For example, when the Pope speaks "ex cathedra," Catholics consider his utterances to be infallible, having the same authority as scripture. Even without the formal authority of the Pope, Mohandas Gandhi almost singlehandedly gave Hinduism a nonviolent image, both for Hindus and for non-Hindus, despite millennia of conflict and clear scriptural injunctions for Hindus to fight. Leaders' examples color followers' perceptions.

Recognizing the importance of studying examples of militancy in both early and later leaders in each religion, the next task is to identify how a leader, or a people, will be classified into a religion. How does one decide which religion a leader or a group belongs to?

The religion of each combatant nation, group, or leader will be identified by three criteria. First, if a nation, group, or leader identifies itself or himself as being of a certain religion, I classify that nation, group, or leader as their preferred religion. For example, since the Islamic Republic of Iran classifies itself as Islamic, I have also classified it as Islamic. Subsequently, I have classified wars involving that nation, group, or person with the same religion. Consistent with the previous example, I have classified wars involving the Islamic Republic of Iran as Islamic. Harun al Rashid claimed to be Muslim, and I take him at his word. Since Harun al Rashid was caliph, I classify wars in which his empire was involved as Islamic.

Additionally, if a nation or group contains a majority of inhabitants who claim adherence to a certain religion, I will identify that nation or group with that religion. Luna Bolivar has pointed out that though European leaders may refuse to acknowledge their Christian heritage, all European Union countries have majorities that claim Christianity

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[88] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 16. This is not to say that their understandings of Augustine were inconsistent with Augustine's intent.

as their faith.[89] Therefore, I have classified their countries as Christian. Finally, when demographic information on religion is not available, such as in antiquity, I have assigned a religion to a nation or group based on the religion of the leader of that nation or group. For example, I classified the Roman Empire as pagan until after Constantine, the first Christian emperor. This practice is consistent with ancient tradition as recognized in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which understood that the people of a region follow the religion of their ruler: *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose the rule, his the religion).[90]

Source Materials

I have used three criteria to identify the scriptures to identify the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) for each religion. First is the importance of the source in the religion. If a source claims to be preeminent in a faith tradition, like the Bible (to AD 100) in Christianity and the Quran (AD 650) in Islam, I have used that source.

If a source does not claim to be preeminent, but adherents to that faith have generally indicated that it is preeminent, I have used that source. I have not found a worldwide scientific study measuring the relative importance of each holy book in each religion, but such a study would be cross-sectional, only evaluating opinions at the time of the study. It would miss opinions before and after. In the absence of quantitative research, I have used the reports of experts as noted below in religion and history to select the key scriptures in Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

H. Wayne House in *Charts of World Religions*, Jack Miles in the *Norton Anthology of World Religions*, and Harold Coward in *Scripture in the World Religions* include the *Vedas* (1500 BC), the *Upanishads* (c. 700–400 BC), and the *Bhagavat Gita* (c.

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[89] Luna Bolivar, "Most European Nations Keep God Out of Constitution," *DW*, September 9, 2007, https://www.dw.com/en/most-european-nations-keep-god-out-of-constitution/a-2767589/.

[90] Jack Miles, *The Norton Anthology of World Religions* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2015), 22.

100 BC–AD 100) in their works on world religions.[91] The *Vedas* and *Upanishads* are *sruti* (revealed), the highest form of Hindu holy texts.[92] In fact, the *Upanishads* are considered "the end of the *Vedas*."[93]

The *Bhagavat Gita* is part of the *smrti* (recorded) Mahabharata, the longest epic poem in the world. Today the *Bhagavat Gita* is so well known and influential that it is popularly called, "The Hindu Bible."[94] The Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University calls the *Bhagavat Gita* "the tradition's most powerful condensation of the broad spectrum of Vedic thought."[95] Thomas Coburn writes, "The *Bhagavat Gita* may have originated as *smrti*, but it appears to have functioned in Hindu life very much as *sruti*."[96] For these reasons, I have included the *Bhagavat Gita* in this analysis.

However, the concept of *smrti* is open-ended. Coburn writes, "it is senseless even to attempt to circumscribe the material that Hindus have designated as *smrti*."[97] Regarding the rest of the *smrti* in general and the Puranas in particular, Coburn cites Hindu scholar MacKenzie Brown, "The *Puranas* represent, then, an interpretation or clarification of the *sruti*, revealing the eternal, immutable truth in a comprehensible form

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[91] H. Wayne House, *Charts of World Religions* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), chart 8; Miles, *The Norton Anthology of World Religions*, v–xviii; Harold Coward, *Scripture in the World Religions* (London: One World Publications, 2000), 106–108. While these men are not the preeminent experts in Hinduism, they cite those experts in their works.

[92] Coward, *Scripture in the World Religions*, 106–108.

[93] Thomas B. Coburn, "Scripture in India: Towards a Typology of the Word in Hindu Life," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 52, no. 3 (1984): 448. Thomas Coburn is an expert in the Hindu scriptures, and as noted above, identifies the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Gita as most influential in Hindu life.

[94] Coward, *Scripture in the World Religions*, 107.

[95] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, & World Affairs, "Hindu Scriptures," accessed August 19, 2019, https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/essays/hindu-scriptures.

[96] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 449.

[97] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 440.

to all mankind in his changing, historical situation."[98] Since the Puranas explain the more fundamental *sruti* works rather than serving as original revelation, I will not include them. The Hindu war epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* specifically deal with the topic of war, but they are so long that adding every key word occurrence would result in oversampling Hindu sources relative to the other religions. I performed a subgroup analysis of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* of a sample of the key militancy word references to compare their DMI to that of the larger Hinduism analysis. Results are presented in chapter 4.

The *Tipitaka* (Three Baskets) of the Pali Canon (first century BC) is foundational in the Theravada Buddhist tradition and includes the *Vinaya Pitaka*, *Sutta Pitaka*, and *Abhidharma Pitaka*.[99] The *Tipitaka* is also foundational in the Mahayana tradition. Since my intention is to include only those scriptures that are foundational in each religion, I included the *Tipitaka* in my DMI analysis. I did not include scriptures such as the *Lotus Sutra* because it is accepted only in the Mahayana, not the Theravada, tradition.

Antiquity is the second major consideration in deciding which scriptures to analyze. All the texts noted above are among the oldest major texts in their religious tradition and have had at least fourteen hundred years to influence thought and action regarding war. I have used the King James Version (KJV) of the Bible (1611) because it has been around the longest of the modern English translations and therefore has had the longest time to influence the world. Furthermore, as of 2011, the KJV was the most popular English Bible translation ever and was the most commonly read Bible translation

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[98] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 440.

[99] Sariputta, "English Tipitaka," accessed August 20, 2019, https://www.sariputta.com/tipitaka/ english.

in America.[100] In fact, its use is going up, unlike most other Bible translations.[101] Using the qualitative analysis software NVivo, I have analyzed the words "battle," "conquer," "fight," "sword," and "war," and their derivatives. I found 1001 results for the New International Version (1984) while the same analysis for the KJV found 994 results. Therefore, it is not likely that using a different Bible version would result in significantly different results.

The manner in which adherents to a religion use a scriptural document is the third consideration. Muslims use not only the Quran but also the sayings of the Prophet as assembled in the *hadiths*. The *hadiths* are compelling in Muslim life, revealing Allah's instructions through the sayings of the Prophet in areas about which the Quran is silent or unclear. I will examine the *Sahih al Bukhari* (Bukhari *hadiths*) since they are the most authoritative *hadiths* in all of Sunni Islam, which accounts for 90 percent of all Muslims.[102] In discussing Ismail al-Bukhari, Miles notes, "Muslims revere his *Authentic Collection*, one of the six canonical collections of Sunni hadith."[103]

The scriptures of Christianity include the Old Testament, which includes laws for an ancient nation, and the New Testament, which incorporates little about temporal law and government. I will examine each Testament separately. For Judaism, I will study the *Tanakh* and the *Babylonian Talmud*, encompassing both the written and the oral

[100] Mark Noll, "A World Without the King James Version," *Christianity Today*, May 6, 2011, https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2011/may/worldwithoutkjv.html.

[101] Sarah Zylstra, "The Most Popular and Fastest Growing Bible Translation Isn't What You Think It Is," *Christianity Today*, March 13, 2014, https://www.christianitytoday.com/news/2014/march/most-popular-and-fastest-growing-bible-translation-niv-kjv.html. Zylstra's information is from the study, "The Bible in American Life," a lengthy report by the Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture at Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI). Funded by the Lilly Foundation, researchers asked questions on what David Briggs of the ARDA, which first reported the results, calls "two of the most highly respected data sources for American religion"—the General Social Survey and the National Congregations Study. The ARDA is the Association of Religion Data Archives.

[102] "Sahih al-Bukhari," Oxford Islamic Studies Online, accessed March 20, 2019, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2056.

[103] Jane Dammen McAuliffe, ed. "Islam," in Miles, *The Norton Anthology of World Religions*, 1498.

Torah. Both are considered to be given by Moses, and the *Talmud* was for many centuries the root of Jewish practice.

Doctrinal Militancy

To estimate the doctrinal militancy and the resultant Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) for each religion, I analyzed Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, and Christian content with NVivo 12 Plus, a computerized, qualitative, text-based system. First, I autocoded each scriptural text to identify themes, making sure that I did not miss key relationships. Second, I analyzed each word related to militancy, including the terms "war," "conquer," "fight," "sword," "battle," and their common extensions such as "conquered" or "fighting." These words were chosen because word frequency analysis demonstrated that these militancy-related words were used most frequently in the selected scriptural texts (Table 1). Third, my NVivo study included a text search with narrow and broad context and a word tree analysis.

I selected "conquer," "fight," and "sword" since each was the most frequently appearing militancy-related word in one of the major religions, as shown in table 1. I ranked each key word by usage in each religion and compared rankings. For example, "battle" was in the fifth position in Judaism, fourth in Buddhism, third in Hinduism and Christianity, and second in Islam. Therefore, its rankings were 5+4+3+3+2 = 17. By the same methodology, "war" had twenty-one rankings. The closest non-included competitor, "arrow," had twenty-five rankings.

I did not include the words "kill" or "slay" for several reasons. First, in the Jewish, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian traditions, the object of killing is often animals inside or outside the sacrificial system. In the Buddhist tradition, "kill" refers to taking the life of any living being in a large portion of cases. The instances of these words would not be germane to this study. Second, "kill" or "slay" often have connotations like murder, which none of these religious traditions condone outside proper legal authority.

Third, "kill" and "slay" refer to one event, the ending of a life, which is not necessary for militancy.

The word "chariot" was the most frequent militancy-related word in Buddhism but is not present in the Quran or the *Sahih al Bukhari* because chariots were obsolete by the time of Muhammad.[104] A study must use the same measure (in this case, militant words) for every subject (in this case, the five major world religions), so I did not choose "chariot" as a key word. Due to its prevalence, though, I took a sample of ten percent of the 675 appearances of "chariot" in the Buddhist *Tipitaka*. The *Tipitaka* sample demonstrated a religious militancy index of 2.81, which is 0.16 higher than the 2.65 for the key words (battle, conquer, fight, sword, war) for Buddhism.

I consulted scholars in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and Sanskrit to identify nuances in militancy-related words. Ms. Niha Tiwari, a Sanskrit instructor in India, provided perspectives on appropriate words to use in Sanskrit to evaluate militancy. She agreed with "fight," "battle," "war," and "sword," although "bow" and "arrow" communicate similar ideas. I did not select "jihad" as a key word for every language because "*jihad*" is not found in Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, or Christianity. Dr. Ayman Ibrahim, a noted Arabic expert, recommended a subgroup analysis of "*jihad*" and "striving." I investigated all sixty-five instances of the Arabic word "*jihad*" and forty-five instances of "strive" found in the Quran and in the *Sahih al Bukhari*. The DMI calculated using only "*jihad*" and "striving" was 3.81 compared to an overall Islamic DMI of 3.73; a difference that would increase the DMI of Islam but would not change the DMI relative to the other religions.

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[104] By the time of the New Testament, chariots were no longer used in battle in the Western world. They were still popular for entertainment in chariot races and remained so until the 6th century. The Persian defeat at the Battle of Gaugamela (331 BC) ended Persia's common use of the chariot. China and India effectively stopped using the chariot within two centuries afterward. By the time of Muhammad (7th century AD), chariots had passed into history.

Dr. Peter Gentry, a well-known authority in Hebrew and Greek, noted that Hebrew uses the word "capture" more often than "conquer." "Capture" is not found in the King James Version (KJV) of the Bible but is found in the New International Version (NIV). "Capture" appears ninety-five times in the Old Testament in the NIV. The DMI calculated on a sample of thirty using only the word "capture" was 3.10. This value might raise the DMI of Judaism and Christianity slightly but would not change their doctrinal militancy ranking relative to each other or to that of Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam. The scholar did not recommend additional words for Greek and did not feel that more investigation needed to be done in Aramaic.

I examined the textual context of each key word to determine if the term referred to a physical phenomenon directed against humans (and their divine patrons).[105] For example, "fight" can be targeted against human enemies or against one's own weaknesses, and "conquer" can refer to human foes, to one's frailties, to the forces of nature, to disease, or to other non-human targets. Table 1 reveals the ten most common militancy words in the five major world religions according to the NVivo analysis. The table includes the number of times that each word has appeared in the scriptures analyzed, listed by number of appearances. The word "arrow," for example, appears 207 times in the Buddhist scriptures analyzed and is ranked fifth. The same word appears fifty-seven times in the Christian Bible and is ranked eighth.

Instances of key words referring to physical struggles against human enemies, either directly or with their patron deities, were divided into five groups: (1) prohibits physical violence, (2) discourages physical violence (directly or by examples of defeat), (3) neutral towards or says nothing about physical violence, (4) encourages physical

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[105] It was common in antiquity for scriptures to refer to one tribe's gods fighting against another tribe's gods when the tribes fought against each other. In Judges 16 in the Old Testament, the Israelite prophet Samson asks his God, YHWH, to grant him revenge on the Philistines in the temple of their god, Dagon. The Vedas contain many references to their gods, Agni and Indra, fighting with their people against the gods of the enemies of their people.

violence (directly or by examples of victory), or (5) commands physical violence.[106]
"Prohibits" received one point per occurrence, "Discourages" two, "Says nothing or
neutral" three, "Encourages" four, and "Commands" five points per occurrence.

Table 1. Militancy word frequencies in five major religions

Rank	Judaism	#	Buddhism	#	Hinduism	#	Islam	#	Christianity	#
1	Sword	152	Chariot	675	Conquer	436	Fight	395	Sword	449
2	War	118	Army	394	Chariot	413	Battle	309	War	253
3	Arrow	51	Sword	361	Battle	392	War	149	Battle	177
4	Chariot	43	Battle	264	Fight	252	Arrow	106	Chariot	177
5	Battle	33	Arrow	207	Arrow	174	Sword	84	Army	125
6	Violence	30	Fight	198	War	149	Army	81	Fight	113
7	Conquer	29	Conquer	158	Army	93	Jihad	65	Violence	58
8	Army	28	War	85	Combat	44	Conquer	35	Arrow	57
9	Fight	25	Struggle	77	Sword	31	Violence	11	Conquer	2
10	Struggle	25	Combat	23	Struggle	5	Struggle	4	Struggle	1

I searched the five key words in each holy book and analyzed the words and
concepts with NVivo Pro 12 and manually. The decision about which category to assign a
given instance of key word use was based on a context analysis of each instance of each
word. I included roots such as "battle" and stems such as "battles." I analyzed the context
of every appearance of each key word to decide which category to assign to that usage:

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[106] The Rigveda Hymn 7:48. Ribhus. 2b–3a reads "May Vaja aid us in the fight for booty, and helped by Indra may we quell the foeman. For they rule many tribes with high dominion, and conquer all their foes in close encounter." This is one of many examples in Hinduism in which a human group asks their god for help in physically defeating an enemy of the human group.

the "prohibit" category, the "discourage" category, the "neutral/no mention" category, the "encourage" category, or the "command" category. In this case, a command to "sheath the sword" went into the "prohibit" category and a command to "draw the sword" went into the "command" category. Passages promising or implying victory in war, those promising or suggesting booty, those in which a deity promises to fight for a human or group ("God will fight for you"), or those that refer to other benefits given to humans were graded as encouraging war. Passages suggesting that a deity will fight for the group's enemies, promise or imply defeat ("God will fight against you"), or otherwise have a negative outcome, were graded as discouraging war. For example, "the prince had a sword" was neutral. Passages that were unclear despite context analysis or that stated a fact without violent context, like "look, here at two swords" (Luke 22:38), were graded as neutral.

I used commentaries from each religion to inform my manual context analysis and classification of each key word. The footnotes and bibliography contain specific references and explanatory notes. Including details of commentary-informed discussions for every appearance of each key word in this study is not practical due to space limitations. However, if a certain passage had a high concentration of key words or was especially important in the context, I included a commentary-informed discussion of that passage. For example, Deuteronomy 20 contains the laws of war for ancient Israel and is critical in the study of early militancy in Judaism and Christianity. A commentary-informed discussion on this passage is found in chapter 2.

In Deuteronomy 2:9, God tells Israel not to fight the Moabites because He has given the land of Moab to the sons of Lot. This is clearly a prohibition to fight. In Deuteronomy 2:24, He commands Israel to fight Sihon the Amorite because He has given Israel Sihon's land. Some examples are less clear. The civil war in Judges 20 could be considered an encouragement to fight to punish an evil, or a discouragement since Israelites are fighting their brothers.

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The Battle of Badr was Muhammad's first great victory, and presence at that engagement was considered a "coveted distinction" in early Islam.[107] Several *hadiths* chastise Muslims who rebuke soldiers who fought at Badr. Conversely, the Battle of Uhud was a Muslim defeat, in which the believers did not get angelic help as at Badr, but they disobeyed a divine vision commanding them not to fight. The circumstances of these battles also influence whether a reference including them is considered an encouragement, a discouragement, or neutral.

Each occurrence of these key words (and meaningful combinations) was examined via NVivo, as noted above, and manually in context. I followed a hermeneutic of authorial intent, endeavoring to ascertain the author's intended meaning as I categorized each instance of every key word. Once every key word use was assigned to a category, the scores were calculated as follows:

DMI Score = (prohibit x 1 + discourage x 2 + neutral/nothing x 3 + encourage x 4 +

command x 5)/(total appearances of the key word related to physical violence)

Having calculated the scores for each use of each key word, I have calculated an overall score for the DMI of the book.

Doctrinal Militancy Index

The Doctrinal Militancy Index identifies a relative militancy score based on the analysis of key militancy-related words in Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, and Christian scriptures. "Total appearances" refers to the total number of times that each key militancy word (battle, conquer, fight, sword, or war) appears in the respective holy

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[107] Ted Byfield and Paul Stanway, eds., *The Sword of Islam, AD 565-740*, The Christians: Their First Two Thousand Years (Edmonton, Alberta: Christian History Project, 2004), 74. Badr is unique among early Islamic battles in its perceived importance. It is not an overstatement to say that had Muhammad lost at Badr, Islam as we know it may not exist.

books. "Non-count" refers to words that are related to but are not key words, signified by "OW" indicating "other word." Examples include "battlefield" instead of "battle," "warlord" instead of "war," or "swordsman" instead of sword. "Non-count" also includes words found in the Index, Table of Contents, Commentary, or Notes (ITCN), and which are not part of the original text. "Non-physical/Non-human" captures instances in which the key militancy word refers to a spiritual concept (i.e., conquering one's bad nature) or an event not involving humans (i.e., a lion fighting a boar). Physical and human but non-violent references might include "fighting disease" or "conquering a physical problem." Occurrences of words in any of these categories are not included in the DMI calculation.

The final Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) score is the average of the scores of the selected books of scripture in that tradition. Comparing the DMIs is useful to demonstrate the militancy of each religion relative to the others, but not the absolute or proportional differences in militancy. Therefore, a religion with an DMI of 4.2 is not necessarily twice as militant as a religion with an DMI of 2.1.

Limitations, Delimitations, and Challenges

This study has several limitations (restrictions, variables that the researcher is unable to control) and delimitations (parameters that the researcher makes to narrow his scope of research).

Limitations

First, I am not sufficiently fluent in Arabic, Sanskrit, Hebrew, or Greek to be able to read primary sources in their original language. Therefore, I must use English translations for my research.[108] However, I have inquired of scholars in Arabic, Greek,

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[108] Translations to be used will include *The King James Bible*, *The Quran* (Abdullah Yusuf Ali. University of Punjab, promoted by the Saudi King Fahd, published in 1987), *Sahih al Bukhari* (M. Muhsin Khan, University of Punjab, Lahore), *The Vedas* (Ralph T. H. Griffith, Oxford, Benares College, and Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University), *The Upanishads* (Swami Paramananda, Ramakrishna

Hebrew, and Sanskrit and performed subgroup analyses of individual words (such as "*jihad*," which is not found in any other language, and "chariot," which is not found in Islam, as is noted above) to minimize the chance of missing subtle nuances in language. Second, as a Christian I am approaching the Christian material as an insider, having an emic perspective. Conversely, I approach the Jewish, Buddhism, Hindu, and Muslim scriptures as an outsider, having an etic perspective and therefore "focusing on the physical data of what is going on."[109]

Delimitations

Time and space will not permit a study of the militancy of every religion, so I have included only the four with the greatest number of adherents–Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and one with an outsized impact despite its small size, Judaism. Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity are commonly noted among major publications in the field of militancy in world religions. Coward's *Scripture in the World Religions* uses the four largest religions and adds Judaism and Sikhism, while Popovski's *World Religions and Norms of War* includes Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. The *Five Key Questions* study mentions only Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity.[110]

I have not studied the peace promoting effects of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Each religion analyzed here has peace promoting aspects, but that is a subject for further research. I have sometimes briefly mentioned but have not thoroughly investigated major divisions within each religion.

Order, New York Vedanta Society), *The Bhagavad Gita* (Shri Purohit Swami, Deccan College and Bombay University), *The Tipitaka* (Caroline A. F. Rhy-Davids, University of Manchester, President of the Pāli Text Society).

[109] Carol V. McKinney, *Globe Trotting in Sandals: A Field Guide to Cultural Research* (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), 4.

[110] Institute for Economics and Peace, "Five Key Questions."

I have delimited the sources that I will use, selecting the most highly regarded sources. As noted earlier, I could have added Mahayana Buddhist scripture to the overall Buddhist analysis, but adding such would misrepresent the Theravada tradition. Muslims read *hadith* other than Bukhari, but Bukhari is the most authoritative as noted above. Catholics and Orthodox Christians include the Apocrypha in their canon, but I did not include those books, choosing instead to focus on those about which all agree.

Challenges

The first challenge in this study is that historical research is different from the naturalistic research of the sciences.[111] Medical and other scientific research studies physical objects and phenomena such as trees, organic compounds, and supernovas, which behave predictably and have had little or no fundamental change in the past six millennia.[112] The heart of Pharaoh Tutankhamen (1343 to 1321 BC) is like the heart of any long-dead corpse, as are his bones, liver, and muscles. A forensic anthropologist can examine his deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), culture his tissues, and discover objective facts about his life and death, just as a modern pathologist can. Historical research is different. Though geography and natural laws remain largely the same over the centuries, language, culture, technology, and patterns of thought change.

Unlike events in the physical world, historical events cannot be repeated. Laboratory researchers can run experiments dozens of times, changing individual or groups of variables to test hypotheses and quantify outcomes. Historical researchers cannot do this. No one can design an experiment to determine whether Theodore

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[111] Merriam-Webster online defines "hard sciences" as a science (such as chemistry, physics, or astronomy) that deals with things that can be observed and measured, accessed February 23, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hard%20science.

[112] The universe is constantly changing, as bacteria develop resistance to chemicals such as antibiotics, rivers and lakes fill with silt, coastlines move, volcanoes erupt, geological features erode, and stars explode. However, the biology, physiology, chemistry, and physics of the natural world have remained fundamentally the same. The same cannot be said for human cultures, technology, and history.

Roosevelt could have prevented World War I or could have mediated an early end to it if he had won the American presidential election in 1912. Conditions surrounding historical events simply cannot be reproduced like conditions in scientific events can. Furthermore, unlike chemicals and physical phenomena, humans are poorly predictable. These limitations of historical research prevent me from figuratively "going back in time" to repeat key events such as the Hijra to better understand Islamic militancy.

A second challenge is that available texts may have been altered over time, intentionally or unintentionally. In the *Sahih al Bukhari*, Zaid bin Thabit Al-Ansari narrates that he "started locating Quranic material and collecting it from parchments, scapula, leaf-stalks of date palms and from the memories of men (who knew it by heart)."[113] Several versions appeared. Later, the Caliph Uthman (579 to 656) suppressed alternate versions of the Quran, thus discouraging the sort of textual criticism which the Bible has undergone.[114] In fact, Keith Small writes that there is "no critical edition of the text, no free access to all of the relevant manuscript evidence, no clear conception of the cultural and linguistic profile of the milieu within which it (the Quran) has emerged, and no consensus on the basic issues of methodology."[115] Small notes that Homer's work has been more thoroughly critiqued than the foundational text of Islam.

The Indian government sponsors the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, which contains a collection of early Hindu manuscripts. The oldest manuscript in their collection is the palm-leaf *Upamitibhavaprapañcakatha* (*Prakrta-Bharati pushpa*),

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[113] Sahih Bukhari, *Prophetic Commentary on The Qur'an*, book 60 (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Darussalam Publishers, 1997), 6:1024.

[114] Keith E. Small, *Holy Books Have a History: Textual Histories of the New Testament and the Qur'an* (Monument, CO: Avant, 2009), 17. Understanding that all Holy Books have developed over time may come as a shock to those who hold that holy books are "sent down directly from God." This does not imply that such books did not come ultimately from God, but rather that the process of canonization is slow and often controversial.

[115] Keith E. Small, *Textual Criticism and Quran Manuscripts* (Plymouth UK: Lexington Books, 2011), 4. The late Keith Small taught at the London School of Theology.

written in AD 906, which records sayings from the time of the *Upanishads*.[116] The late date does not prove that the manuscript incorrectly records what it purports to report, but researchers must wonder how well a tenth-century document communicates information from 1400 to 1600 years earlier. The problem is not unique to religious documents. The historical evidence for Julius Caesar (100 to 44 BC) rests primarily on twelve extant manuscripts copied over the centuries from the work of Cicero (106 to 43 BC), Salust (86 to 35 BC), Suetonius (66 to 122), Plutarch (46 to 120), and Caesar himself. These manuscripts range from the fifth to the eleventh centuries, at least 450 years after Caesar's death.[117]

Another challenge to this study is publication or recording bias. Events that happened are recorded, while events that failed to happen, such as wars prevented, are not. For example, if a Hindu priest used the Vedas to incite his king to war, that influence is more likely to be recorded and therefore available to posterity than if a Muslim imam used the Quran to dissuade his ruler from fighting.

The nature of scripture in Abrahamic traditions is different than the nature of scripture in traditions from the Indian subcontinent. Thomas B. Coburn speaks of "crystallization," the process by which oral and textual traditions attain the status of written scriptures in the lives of their adherents.[118] Crystallization in Islam was abrupt, and in the Judeo-Christian tradition it occurred over centuries. Crystallization of the Indian traditions, however, has been still slower and even incomplete. Unlike in the Middle East, scribes in early India had a low social standing, and their work was ritually

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[116] The Manuscript Department, The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, accessed December 16, 2018, http://www.bori.ac.in/manuscript_department.html.

[117] Darrell Bock, "Sources for Caesar and Jesus Compared," The Gospel Coalition, last modified June 11, 2015, https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/sources-for-caesar-and-jesus-compared/. Religious and secular texts that are written down closer to the times of the founder are considered to be more accurate and less likely corrupted than those written down centuries later.

[118] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 437. Dr. Coburn is the former Associate Professor of Religious Studies and Classical Languages at St. Lawrence University.

polluting. Coburn writes that "a pupil should not recite the *Veda* after he has eaten meat, seen blood or a dead body, had intercourse, or engaged in writing."[119] Vedic religious traditions carried more authority in the ears of the listeners when spoken, and variation was common. The god Krishna tells Prince Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gita*, "scriptures are of little use to the illuminated man."[120] Coburn holds that the concept of scriptures as a "reified, boundaried entity," such as seen in Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, may not do justice to the Hindu tradition, or to the Buddhist tradition, which grew from the Hindu cultural milieu.[122] Hindus distinguish the highest form of scriptures, *sruti* (revealed), from the lower form, *smrti* (remembered). The distinction between *sruti* and *smrti* has also been made chronologically (*sruti* texts preceded Buddhism while *smrti* texts followed it), or functionally (*sruti* texts relate to Brahmanism, with its focus on sacrifice, while *smrti* texts focus on Bhakti, devotion to a personal god). Practically, this results in Hinduism and Buddhism having far more scriptures than Islam and Christianity. The proliferation of scriptures in Hinduism and Buddhism may diminish the authority of each scripture.

Modern scholars, such as those noted below, argue against studies that compare entire religious traditions. They argue that "big comparisons are vague, unilluminating, and misleading. . . . because religions are too big and internally diverse to helpfully compare."[123] Even more concerning, "big comparison is ethically and

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[119] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 437.

[120] Eknath Easwaran, trans., *The Bhagavad Gita*, 2nd ed. (Tomales, CA: Nilgiri Press, 2007), 94. Though Krishna tells Arjuna that scriptures matter little to the illuminated man in this famous passage in the Bhagavad Gita, he refers in the same dialogue to *dharma*, reincarnation, and other key tenets of Hinduism found in the Vedas and other key texts. Perhaps Krishna's real point is that few, if any, men are illuminated.

[122] Coburn, "Scripture in India," 437.

[123] David Decosimo, "For Big Comparison: Why the Arguments against Comparing Entire Religious Traditions Fail," *Religion Compass* 12 (2018), 5–6, https://doi.org/10.1111/rec3.12265.

politically dangerous, a haunted corpse of the discipline's essentializing, colonizing, and Christianity-prioritizing past."[124] Thomas David Dubois argues,

> When scholars try to compare religions (for example, by teaching a course in world religions), they are implicitly comparing other religions against a Christian standard, one that would consequently make non-Western religions look either incomplete or primitive.[125]

However, as the examples above demonstrate, people will make "big comparisons," often with insufficient academic rigor and historical background. David Decosimo states, "In our silence, there are plenty of less conscientious folks who, to achieve political and ethical aims, will promulgate big comparison of the most uninformed and pernicious sort."[126] A comprehensive academic study might partially protect against such misinformation. Further, such comparisons provide insight to important political, social, and even missional questions. A "big comparison" is the goal of this dissertation.

Significance of Religious Militancy, the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) and Lived Militancy

In the conclusion, the final chapter, I have summarized the findings of this study and presented recommendations for leaders, advisors, and citizens at all levels. I have commented on the relationship between religious militancy, violence, and secular power. I have suggested how doctrinal and lived militancy can be changed, and ways to evaluate the religiosity of conflicts. Those interested in shaping religious militancy should know their goals, take religion and history seriously, and understand the differences in militancy between religions. They must engage at all levels, get past the past, and engage domestic and international audiences.

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[124] Decosimo, "For Big Comparison," 2.

[125] Dubois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 9.

[126] Decosimo, "For Big Comparison," 5–6.

Finally, I have reviewed three modern geographic conflict areas: (1) India (Hindu) vs. Pakistan (Muslim), (2) China (Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, Communist) vs. Southeast Asia and Japan (Buddhist, Christian), and (3) Israel and the West (Jewish, Christian) versus neighbors in the Middle East (Muslim). I have chosen these conflicts for three reasons. First, the conflicts are graded to have either critical or significant impact on US interests according to the Council of Foreign Relations global conflict tracker.[127] Second, the conflicts have deep historical roots; having been present for centuries. Third, the conflicts pit a group that predominately follows one religion against a group that predominately follows another. For example, in the writings of key Muslim leaders, such as Al-Qaeda leader Ayman Zawahiri, their war is against the "Jewish-Crusader alliance, led by the United States."[128] Analyzing these conflicts brings insight into the role of religion in world conflicts today, and may provide clues about how to deal with such conflicts.

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[127] Council on Foreign Relations, "Global Conflict Tracker," last modified March 29, 2019, https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/?category=us.

[128] Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 23.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELIGIOUS MILITANCY OF JUDAISM

In the spring of 2019, my family and I traveled to Israel. We were riding in a taxi from the Mount of Olives to the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem on Eid al-Fitr (June 4) when our Palestinian Arab driver struck up a conversation about the Jews. He complained that the Jews "oppressed Arabs," were "violent" and "greedy," and were "running the United States." On the West Bank near Bethlehem, crowds in the streets protested the wall that Israel built separating Israel from the West Bank and Gaza strip. Israel states that the wall is necessary to keep terrorists and criminals out, thereby promoting peace. Palestinians see it as a land grab, an "apartheid wall," and a sign of Jewish militancy.[1]

Such opinions are not limited to Palestinian Arab taxi drivers. While in Baghdad with the US Army in 2003 to 2004, we hosted a medical conference on obstetrics for physicians. The Iraqi doctors were pleasant and professional, even on such traditionally taboo topics as religion and politics. But when someone mentioned the Jews, the tone in the room changed. Jews were "dirty," "violent," "deceitful," and worse. These experiences raise many questions for the present study: "How doctrinally militant is Judaism?" Do Jewish scriptures promote the sort of militancy that people in the examples above perceived?

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[1] Ben Gilbert, "A Visit to Israel's Wall with Palestine Gave Me a Sobering Perspective," *Busines Insider*, July 27, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.in/slideshows/miscellaneous/a-visit-to-israels-wall-with-palestine-gave-me-a-sobering-perspective/slidelist/65167191.cms#slideid=65167194. Media use the term "Apartheid wall" to tie the Israeli practice in the minds of people throughout the world to the former South African practice of separating blacks and whites.

The Doctrinal Militancy of Judaism

Seeking answers to the above questions, I analyzed the Jewish *Bible* (*Tanakh*) and the *Mishna* and *Gemara* as assembled in the *Babylonian Talmud*. The discussion of the Religious Militancy of Judaism must begin with the doctrinal militancy of Judaism.

The Doctrinal Militancy
Index (DMI) Analysis

Using the DMI methodology detailed in chapter 1, I have evaluated every occurrence of five key militancy-related words in the *Tanakh*, known to Christians as the Old Testament. The results are found in the tables below. Table 2 presents the number of occurrences of these words in the *Tanakh* and characterizes word usage.

Table 2. Analysis results (*Tanakh*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	172	0	100	412	231	915
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	1	0	1	1	1	4
Non-Physical or Non-Human	5	0	2	15	3	25
Physical/Human	166	0	97	396	227	886
Non-violent	3	0	0	2	0	5
Violent	163	0	97	394	227	881
Prohibits violence (1)	4	0	3	2	2	11
Discourages violence (2)	45	0	31	180	59	315
Neutral, nothing (3)	41	0	24	117	105	287
Encourages violence (4)	66	0	36	91	51	244
Commands violence (5)	7	0	3	4	10	24
DMI	*3.17*	–	*3.05*	*2.78*	*3.04*	*2.95*

While commentaries and scholarly articles generally do not directly answer the question "Does the use of this word in this context prohibit, discourage, encourage, or command militancy, or is this word use neutral towards it?" such works do discuss nuances in word meaning in the various contexts. Thus, commentaries and scholarly articles were used in categorizing the militancy terms in this study.

Deuteronomy 20 is a critical passage in discussing the militancy of Judaism because it recounts the Laws of War for the early Hebrews. The word "battle" is found six times in Deuteronomy 20. In verse one, the Lord tells Israel not to be afraid of the number or power of their enemies, because He would be with Israel. Verses two and three refer to the priest, the representative of God, encouraging the people prior to the battle. These three verses were coded as encouraging physical violence. Verses five, six, and seven also mention the word "battle" but describe reasons to exempt a man from war. These are commands and therefore were coded as prohibiting physical violence. Earl S. Kalland's discussion reflects similar interpretations.[2] Clement of Alexandria refers to these Deuteronomy 20 restrictions on war as "humane law orders to be relieved from military service."[3] The explanation of the passage in Keil's work likewise explains the requirements for mercy and the role of the priest and emphasizes for Israel that "all wars against their enemies, even though they were superior to them in resources, were to be entered upon by them without fear in reliance upon the might of their God."[4] Laura Quick agrees that verses one to four intend to encourage the forces, and suggests that verses five to nine prohibit certain groups from fighting to avert futility curses common in the Near Eastern tradition.[5] Bernard M. Levinson emphasizes that the context of Deuteronomy 20 was a holy war, one in which Israel was to "extirpate iniquity and create a covenantal

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[2] Earl S. Kalland, *Deuteronomy*, in vol. 3 of *Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank Gaebelin (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 127–28. These laws of war applied to the conquest period.

[3] Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata, or Miscellanies* 2.18, ed. Peter Kirby, Early Christian Writings, accessed March 26, 2021, http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/clement-stromata-book2.html. Clement provides an ancient perspective in contrast to the modern perspectives in other commentaries.

[4] Karl Friedreich Keil, *Deuteronomy*, in vol. 1 of *Commentary on the Old Testament*, ed. Karl Friedreich Keil and Franz Delitzsch (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), Deuteronomy 20, Kindle 30892.

[5] Laura Quick, "Averting Curses in the Law of War (Deuteronomy 20)," *Zeitschrift Fur Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 132, no. 2 (2020): 209–23. A futility curse promises the hearer that he will fail in whatever he is trying to do if he fails to obey certain commands.

community organized by divine law."[6] He affirms the writer's primary concern of encouraging the people to victory and exempting some men from fighting to preserve the future vitality of the community.

The tragic story of Israel's war against Benjamin in Judges 20 contains ten appearances of "battle," one appearance of "fight," eight appearances of "sword," and one appearance of "war." Most of these instances were coded as "discourages" violence because this was Israel's first civil war, a battle between brothers. Israel's early losses and Benjamin's ultimate defeat and near extinction were tragedies from the Hebrew point of view. Israel's actions in Judges 21 confirm that the eleven tribes of Israel did not want their brother annihilated. In Judges 20:18, 23, and 28, however, God commands Israel to fight against Benjamin and these instances of the conflict were coded as "commands." Judges 20:2, 15, and 17 simply record a number of men on each side of the battle and received a "neutral" designation. Yairah Amit acknowledges the tragic and senseless nature of the war, as Israel wanted only to bring the guilty to justice, but Benjamin wanted to fight.[7] Keil's interpretation runs along the same lines, as they point out that the other tribes "would not rest until the crime was punished as it deserved," while Benjamin refused to listen despite their guilt.[8]

First Chronicles 12:1–22 lists men who came to David at Ziklag while he was still running from Saul. Verses 23–40 relate David's supporters in Hebron. Bernard M. Levinson mentions that the chronicler is communicating: (1) David enjoyed broad-based support, even among Saul's relatives, (2) David's regency was commanded by God, (3)

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[6] Bernard M. Levinson, "Deuteronomy,*"* in *The Jewish Study Bible,* ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 391–92.

[7] Yairah Amit, "Judges," in Berlin and Brettlerr, *The Jewish Study Bible*, 538–42. "Israel" refers to the coalition of the other eleven tribes.

[8] Karl Friedreich Keil, *Judges*, in vol. 2 of *Commentary on the Old Testament*, ed. Karl Friedreich Keil and Franz Delitzsch (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988), Judges 20, Kindle 237176.

The hyperbolic numbers are meant to support David's greatness as a current warrior and future king.[9] The passages mention "war" sixteen times, all in the context of "men of war." Each instance was coded in this study as "neutral."

First Chronicles 21 covers David's sinful census and God's judgment in the aftermath. It mentions the word "sword" seven times. Verse five speaks twice of men who "drew the sword." Verse twelve twice recounts, "while the sword of your enemy overtakes you." All four of these instances were coded as neutral since they neither encouraged nor discouraged the subject, David, from taking up arms. The three occurrences in verses 16, 27, and 30 tell of the Angel of the Lord drawing his sword against Israel and then sheathing it again. These were coded as a discouragement to war since God clearly opposed His people in that instance. Nicolas Wyatt agrees that God's action is punishment for the census, but sees the punishments, three years of famine, three months of war, or three days of plague, as indicative of the failure of the economic, military, and priestly sectors of society.[10] God's displeasure as manifested in any of these ways would be a discouragement to warfare in a premodern state.

Taking a different tack, David Rothstein begins by noting the differences between the 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles accounts, wherein the former places the event at the end of David's reign and the latter at the beginning. The themes of God's displeasure (in terms of taboo) and David's repentance are consistent with the presentation of the interpreters above.[11]

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[9] David Rothstein, "I Chronicles," in Berlin and Brettler, *The Jewish Study Bible,* 1747–48. Rothstein opines that the numbers cited are "hyperbolic," an assertion not found in the other commentaries that I examined. Whether or not he is correct has no bearing on the militancy score.

[10] Nicholas Wyatt, "David's Census and the Tripartite Theory," *Vetus Testamentum* 40, no. 3 (1990): 352–60. Throughout the world, ancient man was keenly attuned to unseen (spiritual) forces, and changed his actions because of his perceptions of these forces.

[11] Rothstein, "I Chronicles," 1732–34. The timing of these events does not change their militancy.

The famous "Parable of the Sword of the Lord" (Ezek 21) includes sixteen references to "sword." Fourteen of sixteen describe God wielding His sword through Babylonia, devastating His own people in punishment for their idolatry. They were all coded as discouraging war. "Discouraging" was selected instead of "neutral" since God guaranteed that Israel would lose. No person reading this text, including the sixth century BC Hebrew target audience, would feel encouraged or even neutral about fighting a war that they could not win. The remaining two were listed as neutral because they refer to God punishing Ammon. Babylon, not Judah, would be involved. The Jewish army leaders say as much in the analogous situation in Jeremiah 38, when they throw the prophet into the cistern. Ralph H. Alexander portrays a similar picture as does Keil. Harvey H. Guthrie, Jr interprets the chapter as composite poetry, mixing military symbolism with a classic prophetic oracle of judgment against Judah, but affirms the deadly seriousness of the judgment against Judah.[12]

Teva Ganzel notes that God's sword is wielded against Judah, and He will destroy the righteous and the unrighteous through the tool of Babylon. Zedekiah is the primary target in this drama, as he betrayed and resisted his former ally. Babylon herself would collapse in only one lifetime. This was a sword of destruction that Judah should not resist.[13]

The total DMI for the *Tanakh* is 2.95, which is the total weighted score divided by the number of violent appearances. Mathematically, the equation is:

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[12] Harvey H. Guthrie, Jr., "Ezekiel 21," *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74, no. 3 (1962): 268–81. Poetry can speak in ways inaccessible to prose, making God's message of judgment even more horrifying.

[13] Teva Ganzel, "Ezekiel," in Berlin and Brettler, *The Jewish Study Bible,* 1068–69. The sword of God that Babylon wielded against Judah would soon turn and destroy Babylon herself.

[(Prohibits x 1) + (Discourages x 2) + (Neutral x 3) + (Encourages x 4) + (Commands x 5)]/Number of violent key word appearances. Adding in numbers, the equation is as follows: [(11 x 1) + (315 x 2) + (287 x 3) + (244 x 4) + (24 x 5)]/881 or 2598/881 = 2.95.[14]

A striking omission in the *Tanakh* is the use of the word "conquer." According to the Bible, the Jews conquered the Canaanites, which means that they militarily overcame them and took control of their territory. This activity is in line with the commands of God, who gave Israel the land from the river of Egypt, as far as the river Euphrates (Gen 15:18). God did not allow conquest and settlement outside that territory, whether Edom, Ammon, or Moab, because He had given that land to others (Deut 2:5,9,19). Later, Saul fought Edom, Ammon, Moab, the kings of Zobah (1 Sam 14:47–48), the Philistines, and the Amalekites. Shaul Bar of the University of Memphis argues that these wars were "defensive in nature," serving to secure Hebrew frontier settlements, hold agricultural ground, or weaken alliances arrayed against Saul, such as the alliance between Moab, Ammon, and David, the next anointed Hebrew king.[15] Bar also posits economic reasons for the wars of Saul. Edom "controlled the maritime industry at the port at Ezion-Geber, Elath," at the Gulf of Aqabah.[16] Edom dominated the King's Highway trade route to the east of the Jordan River, and was allied with Amalek, who stood athwart key trade routes with Arabia. Finally, Edom had copper and iron mines, which Israel needed for bronze and iron tools and weapons. David fought the same nations as Saul (2 Sam 8:2–5, 12–14) for similar reasons and with greater success, but

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[14] The point of the multipliers is to progressively weight the categories (prohibits, discourages, neutral, encourages, and commands). If every category had the same multiplier, or no multiplier, it would not be possible to derive a numeric score. Since the same procedure is done with every religion studied, no religion will be disadvantaged. Chapter 1 covers the methodology in more detail.

[15] Shaul Bar, "Saul's Wars against Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Zobah," *Old Testament Essays* 27, no. 3 (2014): 825–38. The political nature of the wars of the united monarchy can be missed in modern studies but was often compelling in the minds of contemporaries. Trusting God sometimes seemed in opposition to political wisdom, and common custom.

[16] Bar, *Old Testament Essays*. In the absence of the Suez Canal, trade from India and the East could reach Elath, transit overland trade routes, and reembark on the Mediterranean coast for shipment to Europe.

neither king annexed them to his domains.[17] In summary, neither Saul nor David (nor Solomon later) sought to conquer and take control of those lands in the sense of sending Hebrews to settle, as they did in Canaan. They did not seek further "living space" as Hitler sought "lebensraum" for German settlers in Poland and Ukraine during World War II.[18]

The *Babylonian Talmud* is another key Jewish scripture. Results for the Doctrinal Militancy Index for the *Babylonian Talmud* are found in table 3. The DMI scores are calculated in the same manner as for the *Tanakh*.

Table 3. Analysis results (*Babylonian Talmud*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	33	29	25	152	118	328
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	1	1	1	1	10	13
Non-Physical or Non-Human	2	6	2	16	10	30
Physical/Human	30	22	22	135	98	285
Non-violent	5	3	4	6	0	15
Violent	25	19	18	129	98	270
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	3	2	4	14	9	30
Neutral, nothing (3)	16	4	7	96	61	180
Encourages violence (4)	6	13	7	19	27	59
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	1	1
DMI	*3.12*	*3.58*	*3.17*	*3.04*	*3.20*	*3.11*

The *Talmud* does not share the aversion to the word "conquer" found in the *Tanakh*, and "conquer" is the most militant word in the group (DMI = 3.58). "Sword" and

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[17] There are exceptions. First Chr 5:10 states that Saul made war on the Hagarites and his people occupied their tents.

[18] William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 82. In his definitive history of WW2, Shirer emphasized the starvation of German civilians due to the British blockade in WW1, and Hitler's determination to conquer enough agricultural land so that it would never happen again. Israel needed additional agricultural land but did not seek it in areas denied by YHWH. They had enough trouble holding what they already had.

"war" are much more prominent than the other three militancy words. Table 4 reveals the final DMI score for Judaism. The Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) scale ranges from one to five, with three being the median value. The DMI score of 3.03 reveals that the Jewish scriptures evaluated neither encourage nor discourage physical violence, but the attitude of these scriptures towards militancy varies over time and between documents.

The *Babylonian Talmud* Tract Sabbath Book I, volume I, chapter II, "Regulations Concerning the Sabbath and Hanukah Light," explains the miracle of the oil at Hanukkah in the aftermath of Jewish military victory, testifying to YHWH's provision for His people.[19] The victory and affirming miracle amount to an encouragement of violence in similar circumstances. Conversely, *Tract Taanith* Volume VIII, Chapter IV uses "conquer" in its mention of the fall of the Jewish city of Bethar. Such a military tragedy would be a disincentive to war. *Tract Abuda Zara* (Idolatry), Vol X (XVIII) chapter I reads, "We have constructed many bridges, conquered many great cities, we were engaged in many wars, all for the sake of Israel to enable them to study the law, etc." The text also includes the phrase "Happy is he who conquers his evil spirit." The first case was coded as encouraging violence due to the expectation of victory while the second case was coded as non-physical since it refers to a man conquering his evil nature.

The juxtaposition of physical and non-physical blessings is common in the *Talmud*. Rev. Abraham Cohen, in the *Tractate Berakot*, notes that reading the *Sh'ma* (Deut 6:4–9) protects against evil spirits but also against the things listed in Deuteronomy 32:24, which lists famine, plague, destruction ("cutting off"), beasts, and venom.[20] Verse twenty-five continues by including "sword." Several passages offer remedies for the "evil eye" which brings a curse of physical sickness, war, or other disaster.

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[19] YHWH is the Hebrew term for the supreme God. Verbs are often added, rendering the word "Yahweh."

[20] Abraham Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Brakot* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 19–20.

The *Talmud* advises readers to "contend with the wicked in this world," which in that context alludes to the tyrannical power of Rome, but advises caution in so doing.[21] Later it recounts Moses' victory over Og (Num 21), retaining its physical and violent nature but adding fantastic elements.[22] *Tractate Berakot* does the same with the fall of Jericho.[23] In another example, the *Talmud* suggests that "if one seeks to kill you, you should kill him first," inferring from Exodus 22:1–2, but necessarily promoting preemptive violence.[24] The Six Day War is a modern example in which a Jewish state (Israel) used preemptive violence against her Arab foes.[25] The same passage speaks of God's physical victories through the Jewish people against Amalek, Sisera, Canaanites, and Rome, citing the relevant Biblical passages, many of which contain militancy key words of this study. Finally, Abraham Cohen agrees that numbering Israel was David's sin and physical plague from the angelic sword was a consequence.[26]

Table 4. Doctrinal militancy index (DMI) score–Judaism

Religion	Source of Authority	Score (1–5)
Judaism	*Tanakh*	2.95
	Babylonian Talmud	3.11
	Average (DMI score)	3.03

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[21] Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud,* 41–42. Balancing the religious duty to obey God alone with the practical need to avoid destruction at the hands of an ancient superpower (Rome) influenced both ancient writings and modern interpretations.

[22] Og is said to have moved mountains. Moses is said to have stood ten cubits high, jumped up ten cubits, and struck Og on the ankle.

[23] Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud,* 352–53.

[24] Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud*, 383.

[25] Ersun N. Kurtulus, "The Notion of a "Pre-Emptive War:" the Six Day War Revisited," *Middle East Journal* 61, no. 2 (2007): 220–38, www.jstor.org/stable/4330386. Preemptive war is controversial, as nations try to anticipate the actions of enemies and strike first. The Pearl Harbor attack could be justified as preemptive by the Japanese.

[26] Cohen, *The Babylonian Talmud,* 413–14.

Hymen Polano's work on the *Talmud* includes selections from the *Talmud* and commentary. His book is a commentary, not the actual *Talmud*, so these numbers were not included in the study key word totals. However, the proportions reflect the greater militancy of the *Talmud* over the *Tanach*.[27] Finding greater militancy in the *Talmud* than in the Tanach is consistent with the discussions of the *Talmud* and the *Tanach* above and the doctrinal militancy value in Table 4.

When considering the numbers presented above and the notable correlation between these findings and the scholarly commentaries and journal articles referenced, the *Tanakh* mentions physical violence often but prohibits or discourages violence as much as it commands or encourages it. This fact could surprise some. The famous militant atheist Richard Dawkins writes, "the God of the Old Testament is arguably the most unpleasant character in all fiction: jealous and proud of it; a petty, unjust, unforgiving control freak; a vindictive, bloodthirsty ethnic cleanser; a misogynistic, homophobic, racist, infanticidal, genocidal, filicidal, pestilential, megalomaniacal, sadomasochistic, capriciously malevolent bully."[28] More succinctly, Sam Harris pens, "the God of Abraham is not only unworthy of the immensity of creation; he is unworthy even of man."[29] If the God of the Jews is violent, it stands to reason that the Jewish religion, and related faiths such as Christianity and Islam, would also be violent. The DMI of this study suggests that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is not nearly as violent as these atheists surmise.

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[27] Hyman Polano, *The Talmud: Selections from the Contents of the Ancient Book, It's Commentaries, Teachings, Poetry, and Legends*, ed. Darrel Rusher (London: HardPress Publishing, 2013). Polano's commentary on the *Talmud* mentions "battle" ten times. Eight refer to physical, human, violent battles, two discourage it, and six encourage it. One refers to fighting a battle with prayer, and the last references battling non-human monsters in a dream. "Conquer" appears eight times, of which four were non-human and four physical and encouraging violence. Proportions for "fight" were eleven encourages, three neutral and four discourages. "Sword" was eight encourages, four neutral and four discourages. "War" was twelve encourages, four neutral and six discourages.

[28] Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 51.

[29] Sam Harris, *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror, and the Future of Reason* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), 226.

Table 5. Use of key militancy words by era in the *Tanakh*

	Prohibits	Discourages	Neutral	Encourages	Commands
1. Genesis–Joshua					
Battle	4	1	0	12	3
Conquer	0	0	0	0	0
Fight	1	1	2	9	1
Sword	1	12	8	28	3
War	2	6	31	21	8
Total	8	20	41	70	15
%	*5*	*13*	*27*	*45*	*10*
2. Judges–2 Samuel					
Battle	0	19	17	19	3
Conquer	0	0	0	0	0
Fight	0	9	14	6	2
Sword	0	22	20	18	1
War	0	8	15	7	0
Total	0	58	66	50	6
%	*0*	*32*	*37*	*28*	*3*
3. 1–2 Kings					
Battle	0	3	4	4	1
Conquer	0	0	0	0	0
Fight	1	2	4	3	0
Sword	1	3	9	5	0
War	0	7	13	5	0
Total	2	15	30	17	1
%	*3*	*23*	*46*	*26*	*2*

The *Tanakh* was compiled over nearly one thousand years and the doctrinal militancy of Judaism changed over the centuries (Table 5). The *Tanakh* is most militant during the period of the Law and the Conquest of Canaan (Period 1 in Table 5). During this period, when the Israelites were multiplying, being freed from Egypt, being made into a nation, and securing their land, forty-five percent of the key militancy word references encouraged militancy, and ten percent commanded it. Only thirteen percent

discouraged militant behavior. Once the Hebrews had secured the land, the period from Judges to Second Samuel (the second period noted), only twenty-eight percent of the militancy references encouraged violence, while thirty-two percent discouraged it. In the period covering First and Second Kings (the Third or Last period), references that encouraged and discouraged fighting were about equal. In summary, periods two and three were far less militant than period one.

Table 5 excludes references in the *Tanakh* beyond Second Kings. However, the *Tanakh* discourages militancy overall. Consider that the ratio of (prohibits + discourages) to (commands + encourages) is 28/85 from Moses to Joshua, 58/56 from the Judges to David, and 17/18 from Solomon to Zedekiah. The ratio is 31/28 overall, which is only possible if militancy-related words from Chronicles to Malachi largely discourage militancy. The pattern in Judaism is therefore that early texts encourage militancy more than later texts.

Discussion of the Doctrinal Militancy of
Judaism–Scriptures and Founder

As noted above, the Written Torah (the Law, Writings, and Prophets) and the Oral *Torah* (*Mishna* and *Gemara* as compiled in the Babylonian *Talmud*) are the preeminent scriptures in Judaism. War is known to have been prevalent since antiquity, but the first notable example of war in the Pentateuch is found in Genesis 14. As recorded, four kings from Mesopotamia attacked five kings from the region around the Dead Sea when the latter rebelled. The Mesopotamian rulers prevailed and were camped with the spoils of their victory when a small party under Abraham struck their weary forces at night. Abraham's small army defeated the Mesopotamian coalition, recaptured their belongings, freed the captives, and recovered his nephew Lot. John H. Walton accepts the historicity of the account while addressing common questions, such as how

Abram's 318 men could have defeated a coalition of four large nations.[30] John H. Sailhamer ties the international event of four kings fighting five kings with the physical and emotional separation between Abram and Lot. He concludes that God promises to bless those who ally with Abram (Gen 12:2–3) and that God showed the first military evidence for that promise in this account.[31] As such, it could be seen as encouraging militancy among early Hebrews. The narrative of Isaac as the legitimate heir of Abraham, Ishmael as illegitimate, and their descendants being perpetually at war looms large in Jewish militancy to this day.[32]

Focused on the descendants of Abraham, the Bible does not highlight war again until the Hebrews battle the Amalekites at Rephidim during the Exodus from Egypt (Exod 17:8–16). At that time, the Lord proclaimed that the Amalekites would be the perennial enemies of Israel, and that one day the memory of Amalek would be "blotted out" under heaven (17:14).

Judaism designates a perennial ethnic enemy, the Amalekites, destined to be utterly destroyed. Is this evidence of Jewish religious militancy? Perhaps. Consider the Hindu example. According to an NVivo analysis, on forty different occasions the Hindu *Vedas* describe the Aryans facing their recurrent enemy, the *Dasyu*. None of these instances curse the *Dasyu* to annihilation as the Jewish Bible does the Amalekites. The Law of Manu characterizes the *Dasyu* as "the castes in the world that are outside those born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet–whether they speak foreign or Arya

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[30] John H. Walton, *Genesis,* The NIV Application Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 416–18. Skeptics sometimes use such questions to attack the historical reliability of the Bible.

[31] John H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, in vol. 2 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary,* ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 121.

[32] Jonathan Lusthaus, "Religion and State Violence: Legitimation in Israel, the USA and Iran," *Contemporary Politics* 17, no. 1 (2011): 1–17. Arabs contend that the legitimate line of Abraham passes through Ishmael, not Isaac. Therefore, Arabs are the rightful heirs of the patriarch.

language–tradition calls *Dasyus*."[33] Therefore, the term *Dasyu* reflects a generic enemy rather than a specific people group as Amalekite does, and such a generic enemy cannot practically be eliminated like a specific group can. Islam instructs the faithful to fight against the infidels, at least in specified circumstances, as will be discussed in chapter 5, and it always opposes idolatry or polytheism (shirk). Yet, Islam does not specify a single perennial ethnic enemy.

During the Exodus, the Torah records the Hebrews' war against the Amorites under King Sihon and, shortly afterwards, the war against King Og. The Jewish scriptures record that God gave His people victory (Num 21:21–35). These were the last victories under the leadership of Moses and before the Israelites entered the Promised Land under Joshua.

Abraham founded the family that later became the Hebrew tribes, but Moses founded the Hebrew nation that later became Israel. As the founder, the lawgiver, and the precedent setter, Moses set the stage for all subsequent activities in the Promised Land, including the military activities. Compared to the founders of the other four world religions, Moses is more militant than Jesus and Siddhartha Gautama. The founder of Hinduism is unknown. Only Muhammad, the founder of Islam, has more blood on his hands than Moses. Nevertheless, Moses' leadership against the attacking Amalekites was not that of a general directing troops but of a prophet encouraging them (Exod 17:8–16). Hendrik Bosman argues that in the Deuteronomic, Yahwistic, and Priestly traditions, Moses behaves as a leader and lawgiver in times of peace and "recedes into the background" in time of war.[34]

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[33] Patrick Olivelle, trans., *The Law Code of Manu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 183.

[34] Hendrik Bosman, "Remembering Moses As a Model of Israelite and Early Jewish Identity," *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa* 96, no. 1 (2007): 326–33.

For conquests outside Canaan, the Israelites were required to offer terms of surrender to cities they attacked. If the people surrendered, they became slaves. If the people did not, the Hebrews were commanded to kill the men and take the women, children, animals, and belongings as spoil (Deut 20:10–14). Crucially, however, these rules of engagement applied only to enemies outside the Promised Land (Deut 20:15). Peoples of the Land were to be annihilated: men, women, children, and even animals.[35] The command to destroy the inhabitants of Canaan is one reason that some people consider Judaism to be militaristic and YHWH to be cruel. The Bible's stated reason for this command is, "that they may not teach you to do according to all their detestable things which they have done for their gods, so that you would sin against the Lord your God" (Deut 20:18).

Many Jewish and Christian apologists view the bloody conquest of Canaan not as genocide but as capital punishment for the sins of the Canaanites, similar to God's judgment with the Flood and His later destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.[36] In depopulating the Promised Land, the Hebrews would ensure room for themselves, living in houses they did not build and eating food they did not grow (Deut 6:10–12). Simultaneously, they would diminish the influence of the pagan Canaanites and reduce their likelihood of falling away from the Law of God. Later biblical texts and modern science, however, show that total genocide of Canaan did not happen. The Hivites, Jebusites, and other groups in Canaan existed later into Hebrew history (Deut 7:1–2).

[35] Verse 15 tells Joshua and the Israelites to slaughter "anything that breathes." The Israelites were not to destroy trees and plants, however.

[36] Eric A. Seibert, "Recent Research on Divine Violence in the Old Testament (with Special Attention to Christian Theological Perspectives)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 15, no. 1 (2016): 8–40. doi:10.1177/1476993 X15600588. Seibert's study compares justifications for such violence in the past and present.

Using genetic data from deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), a recent study discovered that modern Jews and Arabs are at least fifty percent Canaanite.[37]

Sabbath Law had a perplexing impact on Jewish warfare. Wars were prohibited during the Sabbath Year, as well as during the three obligatory feasts: Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. The Sabbath Day was a day of rest, and marching and fighting were not considered rest. These religious commands, impractical from a military standpoint and confusing from a religious one, resulted in changing practices. Historically, mercenaries have been required to fight at any time or place specified by their employer, even in violation of their religious scruples. Jews often served as mercenaries for Persia or Greece, but after the Maccabees and by the first century they were rarely found as mercenaries or in Roman military service.[38]

Rabbinical law, written after the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans and after the destruction of the Temple, identifies two types of war. First is the obligatory war, such as the initial conquest of Canaan and subsequent wars of self-defense. Second is the discretionary war, done for the glory of the king and national expansion.[39] To declare discretionary war, the consensus was that Israel had to be a sovereign state, have a sovereign, have a high priest with his vestments, and have the Urim and Thummin.[40] However, the last mention of the Urim and Thummin in scripture suggests that both were

[37] Lily Agranat-Tamir, Shamam Waldman, Mario A. S. Martin, et al, "The Genomic History of the Bronze Age Southern Levant," *Cell* 181, no. 5 (2020): 1146–1157. https://www.cell.com/cell/fulltext/S0092-8674 (20)30487-6.

[38] M. D. Goodman and A. J. Holladay, "Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1986): 169–70. During the ascendancy of Persia and Greece, Israel was not an independent state. The Maccabees restored Israelite independence, which may explain the decrease in Jews serving foreign powers as mercenaries.

[39] Jack Bemporad, "Norms of War in Judaism," in *World Religions and Norms of War*, ed. Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner (New York: United Nations University Press 2009), 114–15. The two types of war listed suggest an early idea of just and unjust war.

[40] Bemporad, "Norms of War in Judaism," 114–15.

lost by the time of the restoration from the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:63). Therefore, discretionary war became impossible.

The post-Roman rabbis also modified a traditional interpretation of the laws of Deuteronomy. In wars other than the original conquest of Canaan, Israelite armies besieging a town had to allow a way of peace (Deut 20:10). The medieval Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides (1135 to 1204) shows that Bronze Age Deuteronomic and Roman Age rabbinical restrictions on warfare remained in force centuries later. He argues that the Israelite king "follows the path of Torah and mitzvot and fights the wars of God,"[41]

The Lived Militancy of Judaism

While the doctrinal militancy of Judaism is moderate (DMI = 3.03), such is only part of the total militancy of Judaism. The historical example, known here as the lived militancy, reveals how Jews in the past have understood the militancy of their religion and how they have acted in response.[42]

Examples of the Early Leaders of Judaism

Scholars have debated whether the Israelite Exodus from Egypt occurred in the mid-fifteenth or mid-thirteenth century BC.[45] Tremper Longman and Raymond Dillard favor the fifteenth century BC option.[46] Without knowing the date of the Exodus, it is

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[41] Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon ("Maimonides"), *Melachim uMilchamot* Chapter 1, trans. Eliyahu Touger, accessed June 19, 2020, https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/1188345/jewish/Melachim-uMilchamot-Chapter-1.htm.

[42] As noted in chapter 1, doctrinal militancy is defined here as the militancy encouraged by the religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy is defined as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

[45] Bryant G. Wood, "The Rise and Fall of the 13th-Century Exodus-Conquest Theory," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48, no. 3 (2005): 475–90. Wood's excellent discussion covers the origin of the 13th century BC theory due to the archeological findings of William F. Albright and the supporting arguments from Kenneth A. Kitchen.

[46] Tremper Longman III and Raymond Dillard, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Press, 2006), 65.

impossible to precisely date the death of Moses. Using the former date places the end of the first ten generations of the ancient Hebrew faith in the twelfth century BC, the times of the Judges. Using the latter date places the end of the first ten generations in the times of King David (c.1040 to 970 BC). Either way, the early period of Israelite history was bloody. Joshua's conquest of Canaan included the utter destruction of the Canaanite city of Jericho (Josh 6:21–24). The next several years saw the wholesale defeat of vast enemy armies and the annihilation of soldiers and many civilians (Josh 10:28, 35–39, 11:10–14).

Joshua, the son of Nun, can most properly be called the disciple of Moses in the *Tanakh* and should therefore be considered the first early leader in this study. According to the Jewish Bible, God chose Joshua as the successor to Moses and told him to lead the Hebrew people in their conquest of the Promised Land (Josh 1). Joshua was a skilled military leader. Joshua's tactics against Jericho mirror an early Roman use of ruse to conquer a fortified city, as do his strategies at Ai.[47] By attacking Canaan in the center, Joshua risked being flanked by the north and south Canaanite coalitions simultaneously if the Canaanites united. Their combined forces could have overwhelmed Israel. Joshua knew, however, that politically and culturally the Canaanite city states would never unite. Therefore, his central strategy enabled him to defeat the northern and southern Canaanite coalitions separately.

Five factors aided the Israelite invasion and subsequent settlement of Canaan. First, Canaan had become part of the Egyptian empire after the Battle of Megiddo (1457 BC) and with the drowning of a large portion of the Egyptian Army in the Red Sea (Exod 14:23–28), the Canaanite city-states were left militarily on their own,[48] Second, the

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[47] Yigael Yadin, "Military and Archeological Aspects of the Conquest of Canaan in the Book of Joshua," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (2004): 7–15. Military experts acknowledge the riskiness of such a strategy, while also acknowledging the benefits of dividing the enemy forces.

[48] J. P. Van der Westhuizen, "The Situation in Syro-Palestine Prior to the Exodus Conquest/Settlement as Reflected in the Amarna Letters," *Journal for Semitics* 7, no. 2 (1995): 196–231. These articles provide valuable insight into the cultural and political milieu into which the Israelites invaded under Joshua.

Amarna Letters describe conflict between these city-states as endemic and alliances shifting and weak.[49] Third, the recurrent invasions of Egypt, Asia Minor, and western Canaan by the "Sea Peoples" between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries depleted the Egyptians, Hittites, and the other eastern Mediterranean empires.[50] Fourth, the Egyptians demanded heavy tribute from the Canaanite cities, limited their income from trade, and gave little in return, thus economically bleeding the country.[51] Fifth, strong Hittite pressure in Syria after the Battle of Kadesh (1274 BC) prevented the Israelites from moving farther north in the Transjordan.[52] Modern Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) see God's hand in Israel's history, with the conquest of Canaan as one of the prime examples, and their official prayer reflects this sentiment. The militancy of the Israelites under Joshua thus affects life today. The IDF prayer reads as follows: [53]

> He Who blessed our forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob -- may He bless the fighters of the Israel Defense Forces, who stand guard over our land and the cities of our God, from the border of the Lebanon to the desert of Egypt, and from the Great Sea unto the approach of the Aravah, on the land, in the air, and on the sea.
>
> May the Almighty cause the enemies who rise up against us to be struck down before them. May the Holy One, Blessed is He, preserve and rescue our fighters from every trouble and distress and from every plague and illness, and may He send blessing and success in their every endeavor.
>
> May He lead our enemies under our soldiers' sway and may He grant them salvation and crown them with victory. And may there be fulfilled for them the verse: For it is the Lord your God, Who goes with you to battle your enemies for you to save you.

[49] Van der Westhuizen, "The Situation in Syro-Palestine." 205. The independent nature of city states contributes to their isolation and subsequent weakness against major threats.

[50] Eric H. Clinie, *1177 BC, The Year Civilization Collapsed* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1–4. The Philistines are included in the "Sea Peoples."

[51] Van der Westhuizen, "The Situation in Syro-Palestine." 210. Hittites and Egyptians, controlling either end of the major trade routes through Canaan, could tax or even block trade along the routes, dramatically impacting the local economies.

[52] Van der Westhuizen, "The Situation in Syro-Palestine." 225. Kadesh pitted the Hittites against the Egyptians. While technically a draw, the Hittites dominated the area.

[53] Jewish Virtual Library, "Jewish Prayers: Prayer for the Well-Being of the Israel Defense Forces," accessed July 21, 2020, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/prayer-for-the-well-being-of-the-israel-defense-forces.

There is no biblical evidence that Joshua objected to the carnage of war, as Arjuna did in the *Bhagavad Gita*. Two explanations stand out. First, the enemies in Joshua are the foreign, wicked Canaanite tribes, "from the shady edges of known civilization," as Mark Juergensmeyer puts it in his book *God and War*.[54] Arjuna's enemies in the *Gita* are his family members. The "Us-Them" distinction required for war was dominant in the Book of Joshua but minimized in the *Bhagavad Gita*. Second, the *Gita* was written a millennium after Joshua, so the difference may reflect changing ideas over time.[55]

Warfare during the period of the Judges records Israelite disobedience, foreign oppression, God-ordained deliverers, and the victories of God's people (Judg 2:10–23). Common offenders included Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and Edom, and less frequent but more powerful offenders included Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt. Since God had given the Promised Land to Israel, the Jews considered these invasions to be unlawful and Hebrew opposition to be just.[56] Territorial challenges continued into the reign of Saul. King David finished what Saul began in securing the territorial integrity and independence of Israel, at least for a century, after which the kingdom divided and the Egyptian Pharoah Shishak attacked.

Judges ruled over Israel at a time when the twelve tribes were establishing themselves in the land and consolidating their territory. The history of Israel under the judges is a repeating cycle of sin, oppression, deliverance, and sin, over three hundred

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[54] Mark Juergensmeyer, *God and War: A Meditation on Religion and Warfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 19.

[55] The Jewish Bible discourages violence more and more over time. Chapter 4 will reveal that the earlier Vedas are more militant than the later Upanishads and Bhagavad Gita. Within the Christian tradition, the New Testament is less doctrinally militant than the Old Testament. Islamic scriptures were developed and codified over a much shorter period of time and therefore have less time to display this trend.

[56] Robert M. Good, "The Just War in Ancient Israel," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 104, no. 3 (1985): 388–396. Likewise, Israel's opponents found their claims just and Israel's unjust. Some things never change.

years. Individual judges raised up tribal militia, primarily light infantry and slingers, to fight the standing armies of the oppressors.[57] Light infantry, foot-bound soldiers with little or no armor, few shields, spears, and occasionally short bronze swords, were no match for the heavily armored, iron wielding Philistines (1 Sam 13:19–22). Slingers, wielding leather slings and smooth stones, were at a disadvantage compared to archers.[58] As illustrated in the *Arthashastra*, *The Prince*, and other tomes on statecraft throughout the world, military weakness is a disincentive to overt violence by the weaker state but an invitation to violence by stronger ones. Weaker states and other groups, however, can use expressions of militancy rather than open war, such as covert actions.

The period of the Judges corresponded with the beginning of the Iron Age in the ancient Near East.[59] Iron was discovered and worked in the Aegean region, Edom, Egypt, and Anatolia, from which these nations produced iron tools, swords, and chariots for themselves and any realm with the money to buy them, including Israel's enemies. Israel's lack of iron meant that they could not use the most effective tools for agriculture and manufacturing. Also, copper production requires two to four times the amount of energy that iron processing does, depleting wood supplies.[60] Israel's lack of iron consumed valuable resources and limited her wealth and production capability. Most critically, the disunited confederation of Hebrew tribes led by a group of bickering tribal leaders could not long stand against their more centralized enemies, especially the

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[57] Philip King and Lawrence Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 239–40. Such tribal levies lacked the training of standing armies and could not be used during planting or harvest times because the members were also the agricultural workforce.

[58] Martin J. Dougherty, Michael E. Haskew, Phyllis G. Jestis, and Rob S. Rice, *Battles of the Bible: 1400 BC to AD 73* (New York: Metro Books, 2008), 7–9. Stones also lacked the armor penetrating capabilities of arrows.

[59] James K Hoffmeier, *The Archeology of the Bible* (Oxford: Lion Hudson PLC, 2008), 83. The coming of iron presented as big a social disruption in the ancient Middle East as the advent of gunpowder in Europe in the fourteenth century.

[60] King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 169. Wood was the primary fuel source in much of the ancient world.

Philistines, who had a king.[61] The Israelites, therefore, asked the prophet Samuel to give them a king (1 Sam 8). The United Monarchy under Saul, David, and Solomon began.

How might these Iron Age technological and social factors have influenced Hebrew militancy? External influences such as the Philistines and the distribution of resources were used by God at that time to develop Israel into a then-modern state. As exemplified by the Israeli Defense Forces above, such a keen sense of the hand of God shaping one's history provides a cosmic imprimatur to one's actions.

Early Jewish leaders such as Joshua and the judges generally followed Moses' example and scriptural instructions regarding violence. The initial conquest of Canaan was clearly commanded by Israel's God, as were the rebellions of the judges (Gideon, Samson, etc.) against foreign oppression. Early Hebrew lived militancy followed closely the dictates of early Hebrew doctrinal militancy.

Examples of the Later Leaders of Judaism

David's many wars made Israel a strong nation for nearly half a century and brought peace and prosperity to his people. However, David's wars prevented him from building the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Chron 17:4–10, 22:7–10).[62] Even during the golden age of Israel, God restrained militant behavior by His people.

In First Samuel 14:37–45, Saul asked God whether he should go down to fight the Philistines. The Jewish Bible also recorded David, and later Solomon, seeking divine guidance for their actions. The Jewish Bible lauded King Hezekiah as a very faithful king. In the Assyrian crisis, Hezekiah went to Isaiah to ask for God's help in defending

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[61] The explanation that Israel wanted a king to unite the disparate tribes against the Philistine threat is a secular argument. The orthodox argument, whether Christian or Jewish, is that Israel's fundamental problem was not disunity but a lack of faith in God.

[62] Piet B. Dirksen, "Why Was David Disqualified as Temple Builder? The Meaning of 1 Chronicles 22:8," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 21, no. 70, (1996): 51–56. Historically, kings have tried to cement their legacy in one of two ways, as warriors or as builders. David the Warrior and Solomon the Builder (Eccl 2) exemplify this distinction.

Judah (Isa 37), but only after he rebelled against the Assyrians (2 Kgs 18:7), attacked their Philistine allies (2 Kgs 18:8), strengthened Judah (2 Kgs 20:20, 2 Chr 32), apologized to Assyria and paid tribute (2 Kgs 18:13–16), and finally sent a mission to Egypt/Ethiopia to beg for help (Isa 18:1–2).[63]

The Bible contains no record of several kings of Judah or Israel requesting divine guidance in war. There is no record of even the good King Josiah asking for God's guidance in his fatal decision to fight the Egyptians under Pharaoh Neco (2 Chr 35:20–24). The decreasing tendency of Hebrew kings to ask God for guidance on war over the centuries supports Goodman and Holladay's assertion that "early Israelites had waged holy war" but "war was secularized from the tenth century BC."[64] Unfortunately for Israel, God's military support of Israel early in its history transitioned to His opposition to Israel due to its sin. A century after the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (721 BC), God's prophets portrayed Judah's God as using the Babylonians to fight against the Jews, His own people, because of their wickedness.

Scripture and history tell of major conflicts during the period of the divided kingdom including the Aramean siege of Samaria (1 Kgs 20, c. 890 BC), a second Aramean invasion in the Golan Heights (c. 874 BC), the Battle of Qarqar against Assyria (c. 853 BC), a fight against Moab (850 BC), a struggle against Edom (785 BC), Hezekiah's revolt (701 BC), and Josiah's Battle of Megiddo (609 BC).[65] This list does not include the many smaller conflicts listed in the *Tanakh*, such as the wars of the less

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[63] Geoffrey W. Grogan, *Isaiah,* in vol. 6 of *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990), 122. Authors from Kautilya to Machiavelli advise kings to search for allies when confronted by a more powerful state. Biblical leaders faced similar quandaries.

[64] Goodman and Holladay, "Religious Scruples in Ancient Warfare," 151–71.

[65] Dougherty, Haskew, Jestice, and Rice, *Battles of the Bible,* 74–132. *Battles of the Bible* provides a military analysis of some battles recounted in detail, and some briefly mentioned, in the *Tanakh*. It includes secular sources and analysis from experts on the period.

famous kings, rebellions, and the civil wars between the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah (1 Kgs 12:19, 15:32–34, 2 Sam 3, 15–18, 20).

As is the case for every nation in antiquity, many of the wars between the start of Saul's reign (c. 1020 BC) and the Babylonian captivity of 586 BC under Nebuchadnezzar II (605 to 562 BC) are poorly documented by modern standards.[66] Historical information is often absent for conflicts in Canaan in the late twelfth and early eleventh centuries, and sparse for the late eleventh to late tenth centuries, a situation that improved with the Egyptian accounts of Pharaoh Shishak's invasion of Judah under Rehoboam.[67] Historical documentation improved as Israel and Judah interacted with neighboring nations.[68] The sparsity of battle accounts in extrabiblical literature would impact any quantitative analysis of lived militancy, but this discussion is exemplary, not quantitative, and good examples abound in existing accounts. The sparsity of battle accounts does not affect the quantitative analysis of doctrinal militancy as delineated in the sacred texts.

The Jewish people fell under the domination of the Babylonians, the Persians, the Ptolemaic Greeks, and the Seleucid Greeks. Antiochus IV Epiphanes' (215 to 164 BC) efforts to Hellenize Judea, including opposing the Law and desecrating the Hebrew Temple, were the proximate cause of the Maccabean revolt.[69] The revolt eventually led to independent Hasmonean rule (c. 110 to 40 BC). John Hyrcanus (164 to 104 BC) attacked

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[66] Avraham Negev, *The Archeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, 3rd edition (New York: Prentiss Hall Press, 1990), 416. Archeology fills in some gaps in the historical record of ancient events.

[67] Israel Finkelstein, "Geographical and Historical Realities Behind the Earliest Layer in the David Story," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 27, no. 2 (2013): 131–50. Again, the physical sciences and archeology come to the aid of the historian.

[68] For example, the archives of the neo-Assyrian Empire (911 to 605 BC) include cuneiform tablets and other documentary evidence of their interactions with neighboring countries. The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1069 to 664 BC) includes the Bubastite Portal (c. 925 BC) and other documents, The Mesha Stele (c. 840 BC) delineates Moab's relations with Israel and its other neighbors. The Tel-Dan Stela celebrates the triumph of Aramean king Hazael over Israel (c. 840 BC).

[69] Flavius Josephus, *The Complete Works: The Antiquities of the Jews* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), 389–90. Josephus' works are indispensable in understanding ancient Israel.

Samaria (113 BC), the Transjordan (110 BC), and Idumea (Edom), forcing these peoples to convert to Judaism.[70] Hyrcanus' forces destroyed the Samaritan temple at Mount Gerazim. The Jews thus regained much of the land promised in Genesis 15. Hasmonean Judea sank into civil war, which was ended by Pompey's Roman invasion in 63 BC. Judea ceased to be an independent political entity, and its capability for independent, large-scale militant action declined.

After returning from exile in Babylon, the Jewish revolts against the Seleucids were in keeping with the example relayed in the *Tanakh*'s book of Judges. The Jewish civil war in the Hasmonean period also had a Biblical precedent. The book of Judges records the crime of Benjamin and the subsequent Jewish civil war over a millennium earlier. YHWH always commanded obedience and expected unity in His people (1 Kgs 12:24).

Leaders in the Roman and Medieval Eras. In the first century of Christianity, followers of Jesus were heavily outnumbered by their Jewish cousins. A Roman census from AD 50 suggests that seven million Jews lived in the Roman Empire.[72] Disregarding the testimony in Acts, sociology researcher Rodney Stark conservatively estimates the Christian population in AD 40 at one thousand.[73] The Book of Acts records that Christians suffered grievously at the hands of the Jews. Due to the Jewish rebellion (AD 66 to 70), however, Rome killed tens of thousands of Jews and

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[70] Nicholas de Lange, *Atlas of the Jewish World* (Oxford: Equinox Press, 1984), 23–24. These actions contributed to the animosity recounted in the New Testament between Jews and Samaritans.

[72] de Lange, *Atlas of the Jewish World*, 27.

[73] Rodney Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity: How the Jesus Movement Became the World's Largest Religion* (New York: Harper One, 2011), 156. The Edicts of Constantine and other emperors favoring Christianity from AD 312 to 350 undoubtedly increased the number of professing Christians in the Roman Empire, but that does not negate the genuine growth in Christianity resulting from evangelism and fertility among believers. It is likely that the imperial edicts were a result, not a cause, of the growing Christian population.

broke much of their military power.[74] On smashing the Bar Kochba rebellion (132 to 136), Rome destroyed the Jews as a significant political force in their Empire. By AD 350, Stark estimates that thirty-two million Romans claimed Christianity; fifty-three percent of the population of the Empire.[75] Christianity's missionary emphasis (Matt 28:18–20), the removal of Jewish ceremonial laws (Acts 15), and the freedom for non-Christians to enculturate the gospel aided its growth.[76]

Christianity gained adherents and acquired more power in Rome, but persecution of the Jews was rare. Stark notes that "there appears to have been only one such event between the years 500 and 1096 – a mob killed several Jews at Clermont in Southern Gaul (France) in 554 and forced a number of others to accept Christian baptism."[77] Subsequently, periods of persecution fluctuated with periods of tolerance, a pattern that continued for a thousand years in Christian, Islamic, and other nations. Religious factors played a role, but economic influences such as weather-related scarcity played a larger role. In one study, "a one standard deviation decrease in average temperature increased the probability of a Jewish community being persecuted from a baseline of 2% every five years to between 2.5% and 3%."[78] The study authors argued that economic consequences of natural phenomena heavily influenced minority persecution, slave trade, and warfare in many countries throughout history. Coexistence, which is easier in times of plenty, grows more difficult, and minorities become scapegoats when trouble appears. These economic drivers behind persecution serve as a

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[74] de Lange, *Atlas of the Jewish World*, 26. The Jews were not a military power in the Empire, or even the region, but they fanatically defended their lands.

[75] Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity*, 157.

[76] H. J. Hendriks, "The Acts 15 Agenda," *Ned Geref Teologiese Tydskrif* 44, no. 3–4 (2003): 287–98.

[77] Rodney Stark, *Bearing False Witness, Debunking Centuries of Anti-Catholic History* (Conshohacken, PA: Templeton Press, 2016), 18

[78] Robert Warren Anderson, Noel D Johnson, and Mark Koyama, "Jewish Persecutions and Weather Shocks: 1100–1800," *The Economic Journal* 127, no. 602 (2017): 924–58.

reminder that while religious militancy matters, other factors such as economic scarcity are likely to matter more.

Leaders since 1900. Until 1948, the Jews lived as minorities throughout Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, the Americas, and to a lesser extent, Asia. Jews fought as tribes, as in the struggles between the Banu Ḳainuḳa', the Banu Ḳuraiẓa, and the Banu al-Naḍir of Medina against the early Muslims.[79] Subsequently, Jews lived under Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu majority nations and fought on all sides.

The clearest example of Jewish militancy in the twentieth century is Zionism, the nationalist movement advocating the establishment of a Jewish homeland.[80] Nicolas Bethel reported that Czarist Russia launched a ferocious persecution of Jews in the 1890s, prompting a massive migration to Western Europe and the United States.[81] The Russian persecutions also prompted men like Theodor Herzl (1860 to 1904) to seek a permanent Jewish state, since many Jews grew convinced that they could ultimately have safety in no nation but their own.

Zionism desired a nation that would be a democracy, have a Jewish majority, adopt all the earmarks of a Jewish state, and be a permanent salvation for a stateless and despised people.[82] Supported by British evangelicals in the era of George V (1865 to 1936), Jewish immigration to Palestine grew. The growing Jewish population invited

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[79] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 1:190–91. The treatment of the Jews of Medina in the days of Muhammad began centuries of Islamic persecution of the Jews.

[80] I do not mean this statement to be pejorative, as militancy is not necessarily bad. The Jewish people have as much a right as any people to have their own homeland. However, some would object that the Jews accomplished their goals of statehood with unnecessary violence.

[81] Nicholas Bethel, *The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle for the Holy Land 1935–1948* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1979), 15.

[82] Thane Rosenbaum, "Zionism," *Israel Studies* 24, no. 2 (2019): 119–27. doi:10.2979/Israel studies.24.2.10. The conservative British government after World War I generally supported the Jewish aims. In the lead up to World War II, however, large petroleum deposits were discovered in the Arab lands of the Middle East. The British Empire needed oil to fight Hitler, and so the British began to oppose Zionism to keep peace with the Arabs.

more Arab animosity and the British reversed themselves in the late 1930s, restricting immigration.[83] Violence between Arabs and Jews accelerated, such as the Hebron Massacre of 1929 and the 1936 to 1939 Arab Revolt in Palestine. Jews, after centuries of persecution in Europe, and Arabs, after centuries of oppressive rule by the Ottoman Empire, increasingly fought because each group wanted its own state in the Holy Land.[84] Arab and Jewish violence continued in Palestine during World War II, such as the 1944 to 1947 Jewish Insurgency. Zionism has been equated with colonialism, racism, apartheid, and ethnic cleansing by its opponents; it is "the one nationalism that dare not speak its name."[86] United Nations Resolution 3379 (November 10, 1975) characterized Zionism as "racism."[87] In the decades from the 1919 Balfour Declaration until independence, paramilitary Jewish groups, including Stern, Irgun, and Ha' Hagana, fought Arabs and British colonial authorities.[88] Dov Waxman has argued that the Holocaust in World War II played a major role in the establishment of the state of Israel.[89]

On May 14, 1948, Israel became a state, and the Jews had their own homeland. The same day, Arab forces from Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Yemen,

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[83] Jewish Virtual Library, "Immigration to Israel," accessed May 19, 2020, https://www.jew ishvirtuallibrary.org/jewish-immigrantion-to-palestine-1919-1941. The war clouds gathering over Europe and the Arab hold on enormous oil reserves had a major influence on British thought.

[84] James P. Jankowski, "The Palestinian Arab Revolt of 1936–1939," *The Muslim World* 63, no. 3 (1973): 220–33. The Arab-Jewish conflict maintains a powerful religious dimension, with both parties considering the region hallowed ground.

[86] Rosenbaum, "Zionism."

[87] United Nations, "Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, 3379," November 10, 1975, https://web.archive.org/web/20121206052903/http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/761C106 3530766A7052566A2005B74D1.

[88] Mordechai Naor, *Ha'Haganah* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Naidat Press LTD, 1985), 162. These Jewish groups also attacked former Nazis. Many Jews who later became prominent were involved. Moshe Dayan, for example, was a member of Ha'Hagana.

[89] Dov Waxman, "Was Israel Created Because of the Holocaust?" *Oxford Academic*, May 18, 2019, https://medium. com/history-uncut/was-israel-created-because-holocaust-12f4f5ffc4b9.

and Iraq attacked the newborn nation. Over 700,000 Palestinian Arabs, Muslims, and

Christians fled their homes, with half going to Lebanon.[90] Israel survived.

The Zionists intended to return the Jews to their ancestral homeland, a goal

which they considered squarely in keeping with the efforts of Moses and the historical

leaders of Israel. The Zionists have succeeded, much to their own delight and to the

consternation of the Palestinian Arabs, who have suffered greatly even as the ancient

Canaanites did. In the ensuing decades, Israel engaged in defensive wars and has pursued

generally peaceful means, such as new settlements, to expand their small and indefensible

United Nations mandate and regain their full Abrahamic mandate. The Israelis have not

attacked their neighbors to expand their territory in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, or Egypt

outside what they consider to be their birthright from their ancient fathers.[91]

Discussion on the Lived Militancy
of Judaism–Current Situation

There is not much history, and no ongoing struggles, between the Jewish state

of Israel and the Buddhist majority countries in southeast Asia and Japan for the

Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian-Communist mix country of China. Relations between the

Jewish state of Israel and the Hindu majority countries such as India or Nepal are also

nonviolent. In fact, perhaps due to the conflicts that both India and Israel have with

neighboring Muslim majority nations and their indigenous Muslim populations, the two

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[90] John Redwine, "Peace Talks or No: Lebanon's Palestinian Refugees in Limbo," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* 29, no. 9 (2010): 14. Jews say that these Palestinians evacuated because Arab leaders wanted them out of the way of their invasion, while Arabs argue that the Israelis forcibly removed them.

[91] The Israelis did conquer the Sinai Peninsula, historically Egyptian territory, in 1967, but they returned it peacefully in 1979. Modern Israelis seem content with the cis-Jordan region, despite the fact that the Hebrew tribes settled both the cis-Jordan and the northern trans-Jordan lands.

nations have close ties. Israel is the third largest supplier of military equipment to India, after Russia and the United States.[92]

History records conflict between Christians and Jews. The Antidefamation League (ADL) suggests that, according to a 2014 worldwide survey, nineteen percent of Christians, twenty-nine percent of Muslims, and thirty-six percent of Hindus harbored anti-Semitic attitudes.[93] However, the Jewish State of Israel is strongly supported by most western nations, and especially evangelical Christians in the United States. Over twenty million American evangelicals believe that God gave the Promised Land, including everything detailed in Genesis 15, to the Jews.[94] As a result, they support Israel politically and economically. No notable interstate conflict exists between Christians and Jews today. According to Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, only five nations, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and North Korea, remain Israel's enemies. He notes, "Today Israel is perceived more and more as an asset and an influencing element in the world because of our war on terror and our technological achievements," [95]

Conflicts between Israel and her Muslim neighbors continued after the 1948 War. When the President of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, Israel joined a British-French expedition to take it back. The US and the USSR forced Israel, Great Britain, and France to retreat.[96] In 1967, Israel preemptively struck

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[92] Rajat Pandit, "With 12% of Global Imports, India Tops List of Arms Buyers: Report," *Times of India,* March 13, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/with-12-of-global-imports-india-tops-list-of-arms-buyers-report/articleshow/63276648.cms

[93] ADL Global 100, accessed June 19, 2020, https://global100.adl.org/map.

[94] Carlo Aldrovandi, "Theo-Politics in the Holy Land: Christian Zionism and Jewish Religious Zionism," *Religion Compass* 5, no. 4 (2011): 114–28. The Genesis 15 account includes much more land than the current state of Israel, extending through Lebanon and Syria all the way to the Euphrates River.

[95] Raphael Ahren, "In Netanyahu's New Illustrated World, Israel Has Just Five Enemies," *Times of Israel*, July 27, 2016, https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-netanyahus-new-illustrated-world-israel-has-just-five-enemies/.

[96] U. S. Department of State: Archive, "Suez Crisis, 1956," accessed July 21, 2020, https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/97179.htm. This was a sharp rebuke to the European colonial powers, who still hoped to maintain at least part of their empires. Eisenhower broke decisively from his World War II allies.

Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in the Six Day War, winning a mighty victory and humiliating Arab leaders. Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser "faced mass protests" while Syria's Salah Jadid was overthrown by Defense Minister Hafez al-Assad. [97] Yearning for revenge, the new Egyptian President Anwar Sadat launched a surprise attack against Israel in October of 1973, the Yom Kippur War. After initial successes, the Egyptians and their Syrian allies were beaten. Opposing rocket and terror attacks by Arab-Muslim groups in Lebanon, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 and drew the US into the conflict, the first time in almost two centuries that US troops fought against Arabs on Arab soil.[98] Israel withdrew inconclusively in 1985. A similar fight, against the Arab-Muslim group Hezbollah, occurred in 2006. Multiple Palestinian uprisings (Intifada) have erupted in the past four decades.

The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council, July 1–17, 1968, calls for the utter destruction of Israel.[99] Despite the Oslo Accords of 1993 and subsequent negotiations, it is not clear that many Palestinians and the larger Arab world acknowledge Israel's right to exist even today. The 2009 New Hezbollah Manifesto calls for "armed struggle" to "end the occupation" of Palestine by the "Zionist entity."[100] The Hamas Charter, belonging to another Muslim group with major power in Palestine, states, "Israel will rise and will remain erect until Islam

[97] Albert B. Wolf, "The Arab Street: Effects of the Six-Day War," *Middle East Policy* 22, no. 2 (2015): 156–67. Arab defeats in the Six Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973) had a profound impact. In 1978, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat signed a permanent peace treaty with Israel, and no major Arab state has attacked Israel since.

[98] Naseer H. Aruri, "The United States' Intervention in Lebanon," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1985): 59–77. www.jstor.org/stable/41857792. The US Marines invaded Muslim North Africa at Derna, Cyrenaica, in April 1805.

[99] The Avalon Project, "The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1–17, 1968," accessed March 2, 2020, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp. Documents from the Palestinian Council, Hezbollah, and Hamas remain important because they are the primary secular governing bodies of their Palestinian populations.

[100] Lebanon Renaissance, "The New Hezbollah Manifesto," last modified November 2009, http://www.lebanonrenaissance.org/assets/Uploads/15-The-New-Hezbollah-Manifesto-Nov09.pdf.

eliminates it as it had eliminated its predecessors."[101] The "predecessors" that Hamas is referring to are the Crusaders of 1095 to 1291.

Not only is the Arab-Israeli conflict existential, it is also religious. In the written *Torah*, the holiest scripture in Judaism, God promises to give the Jewish people the land of Canaan. This promise is found in Genesis and Deuteronomy (the *Torah*) as well as Joshua and Samuel (the Writings). Simultaneously, Muslims revere Jerusalem as the site of Muhammad's midnight journey to heaven and of the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, the third holiest places in Islam. They also honor the Holy Land as the home of many of Allah's prophets, from Adam to Jesus. Palestinians claim descent from the ancient Canaanites and Jebusites, whose history predated the Hebrew conquest of the region. [102]

Both Islam and Judaism historically have been and continue to be political entities in addition to religious ones. The political nature of both religions, in contrast to the non-political nature of New Testament Christianity, contributes to political friction. Looking at the use of Islamic Law in civil government helps illustrate the essentially political nature of Islam. Of the ten nations with the largest Muslim populations (Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Algeria, Sudan), nine are Muslim majority, and in seven of these, large majorities of their populations favor making Islamic Law (*shariah*) the official law in their country.[103]

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[101] Rafael Yiisraeli, "The Charter of the Hamas," Ariel Center for Policy Research (ACPR), last modified 1988–1989, http://www.acpr.org.il/resources/hamascharter.html.

[102] Mohamed Galal Mostafa, "Religion and the Israel-Palestinian Conflict: Cause, Consequence, and Cure," Fikra Forum, last modified May 31, 2018, https://www.washington institute.org/fikraforum/view/religion-and-the-israel-palestinian-conflict-cause-consequence-and-cure#:~:text=The%20Israeli-Palestinian%20conflict%20is%20driven%20by%20several%20 factors%3Aits%20core.%20That%20much%20is%20almost%20a%20truism. Apologists for the benevolence of any religion often minimize the religious and maximize the secular influences in any given conflict.

[103] Pew Research Center: Religion and Public Life, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," last modified April 30, 2013, https://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

Similarly, seventy-four percent of Israel's population is Jewish and there is a significant movement to base Israeli law on Jewish law. In 2019, a political leader and candidate for Minister of Justice in Israel, Betzalel Smotrich, stated, "The job of a Justice Minister in Israel will be to restore Jewish law as the law of the land."[104] The Israeli Prime Minister said, "*Talmud* will be Israeli law" in 2014, but has subsequently distanced himself from that stance.[105] No majority Christian nation could institute "Christian law" in the same sense as Muslim or Jewish law, because such a law does not exist. None of the New Testament figures provided guidance for running a nation; only for establishing the Church. President Larry Arnn of Hillsdale College wrote regarding Christianity, that it is "the first universal religion not to provide government to the faithful."[106]

The Arab-Israeli conflict is enduring. Jews and Muslims bear historical grievances against one another that began when Muhammad attacked the Medinan tribes. Jews recall a litany of abuses they suffered as *dhimmi* ("protected people") under Muslim rule for the past fourteen hundred years. Bat Yeor writes, "The realm of *dhimmitude* is actually situated in a political ideology of permanent war which ruined entire regions, justified massacres, slavery, usurpation of land, and deportations."[107] The events of the twentieth century have reinforced these enduring perceptions of injuries on both sides.[108]

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[104] Dror Halavy, "Smotrich: Time to Implement Jewish Law as Law of the Land," accessed March 2, 2020, https://hamodia.com/2019/06/03/smotrich-time-implement-jewish-law-law-land/.

[105] Ari Yashar, "Netanyahu Promises *Talmud* Will Be Israeli Law," *Arutz Sheva*, May 9, 2014, https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/180440.

[106] Larry P. Arnn, "Four Pillars: Educating for America," *Imprimis,* 48, no. 12 (December 2019). 4.

[107] Bat Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 2002), 54.

[108] According to *Reliance of the Traveler*, A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law, non-Muslims living in a Muslim-run society (*dhimmi*) must: obey all Islamic rules that pertain to the safety and indemnity of life, reputation and property, must pay a poll tax of at least 4.235 grams of gold per year (jizya), must wear a wide cloth to distinguish them from Muslims, must keep to the side of the street, must not be greeted with the greeting of peace "as Salamu Alekum", must not build structures as high as or higher than Muslim buildings, must not openly display wine or pork, must not ring church bells or display crosses, must not recite the Torah or the Gospels aloud, must not make public display of their funerals or

Conclusion–The Doctrinal Militancy of Judaism

Despite its small size, the influence of the ancient Hebrew faith, the predecessor of modern Judaism, has made it one of the world's great religions. The Hebrew *Tanakh* (known to Christians as the Old Testament) comprises the historical and theological base of Judaism and also of Christianity. The same ancient Hebrew texts heavily influence the Quran. Christianity can be seen as a blending of the Hebrew faith, the work of Jesus Christ, and Greco-Roman influences. Islam can be regarded as a blending of the Hebrew faith, the work of Muhammad, and Arabic influences.

The doctrinal militancy of Judaism is 3.03. Authors such as Samuel Osborne claim that the *Tanakh* is uniquely violent.[109] The data presented herein demonstrate that such an accusation is false.

This study reveals that Hebrew doctrinal militancy and subsequent lived militancy were higher early, during the conquest of the Promised Land, than later. It also reveals that subsequent Hebrew (and later Jewish) wars were primarily defensive. The Hebrews tried to keep the land that they believed God gave them rather than conquering other lands. Once they lost that land entirely, only 42,000 Jews returned from Babylon to regain it (Ezra 2:64). Glancing at the history of Israel as an independent nation since 1948, militant Jewish behavior is generally in response to the actions of their neighbors or intended to reclaim what they consider to be their rightful land.

The Jews have been remarkable in their paucity of people and the enmity of enemies. Tom Lehrer's quip "and everybody hates the Jews," though hyperbolic, reflects

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feast days, must not build new churches, must not enter the Meccan sacred precinct or any mosque, must not commit adultery with or marry a Muslim woman, must not conceal spies of hostile forces, must not lead a Muslim away from Islam, and must not mention anything impermissible about Allah, the Prophet, or Islam. (Ahmad ibn Naqib al Misri, translated by Nuh Ha Mim Keller, o11.0 to 11.11).

[109] Samuel Osborne, "Violence More Common in Bible than in Quran, Text Analysis Reveals. The Old Testament Was Found to Be Twice as Violent as the Quran," *Independent*, March 2, 2020, https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/violence-more-common-in-bible-than-quran-text-analysis-reveals-a6863381.html.

the widespread antisemitism in history.[110] Exclusionary Jewish dietary, relational, and other practices shape attitudes between Jews, "the chosen people," and Gentiles, everyone else. Racial stereotypes about Jews, which have existed since before Shakespeare invented Shylock, also contribute.[111] Large numbers of Chinese in World War II, not a group with widespread exposure to Judaism, harbored some of these stereotypes. Researcher Gao Bei writes, "Like the Japanese, the Chinese at the time also believed that most Jews were financially and politically powerful."[112] The Jewish faith is powerful. It kept the Jews distinct as a people for over 2,500 years, but that distinction has not made it popular. The Holocaust confronted Jews, both religious and ethnic, with the real possibility of annihilation. The militancy of Judaism is impacted by that threat. As Jack Bemporad writes, "the continuity of Jewish existence can no longer be taken for granted and Israel lives with a siege mentality that looms large in its foreign policy."[113]

In conclusion, the doctrinal militancy of Judaism is 3.03. Jews neither conquered large swaths of territory like Muslims did, nor had a great imperial age like Christians did. Like the Hindus, Hebrews (and later Jews) had trouble keeping control of their own lands. Like the Buddhists, they collaborated with governments over them to maximize their prosperity, and sometimes fight for survival (Esth 3). Once the Hebrews conquered what they felt God had promised them, they lacked the permission from God, the ability, the inclination, or some combination of these, to conquer more.

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[110] Tom Lehrer, "National Brotherhood Week Lyrics," Metro Lyrics, accessed June 19, 2020, https://www.metrolyrics.com/national-brotherhood-week-lyrics-tom-lehrer.html.

[111] William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (London: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc, 1952), 406–433. Shylock is a Jewish moneylender who charges high interest and extracts a pound of flesh for failure to pay on time.

[112] Gao Bei, "The Chinese Nationalist Government's Policy toward European Jewish Refugees during World War II," *Modern China* 37, no. 2 (2011): 202–37, www.jstor.org/stable/23053323.

[113] Jack Bemporad, "Norms of War in Judaism," 127.

CHAPTER 3

THE RELIGIOUS MILITANCY OF BUDDHISM

Star Wars was an American cultural phenomenon when it came out in 1977. My friend Ronny and I debated what The Force was; I thought it was some type of primal magic (similar to Disney's *The Cat from Outer Space*) and Ronny thought that it was the Holy Spirit. *The Empire Strikes Back* and *Return of the Jedi* disavowed both notions, suggesting that the nature of The Force was more Buddhist than Christian.[1] The series creator, George Lucas, described himself as a "Buddhist Methodist."[2]

While Buddhism in "The Force" could be violent, as could Buddhism in the famous martial arts television series, David Carradine's *Kung Fu*, I came away believing that Buddhism was generally non-violent. The wider world seemed to agree. Buddhism has acquired a largely non-violent image in both East and West. R. K. Nehra, a retired Air Marshall in the Indian Air Force, believes that Hinduism was weakened when it adopted Buddhist pacifism.[3] The British Broadcasting Company opines that "nonviolence is at the heart of Buddhist thinking and behavior."[4]

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[1] The end of *Return of the Jedi*, however, shows the late Obi Wan Kenobi, the late Master Yoda, and the late Anakin Skywalker (AKA Darth Vader, the villain) as shining "Force Ghosts." Darth Vader's last-minute repentance allowed him to be glorified alongside the movie's heroes rather than being condemned to another life (as a lesser life form because of his wickedness and bad karma). It seems that Lucas preferred a Christian to a Buddhist ending.

[2] Adherents, "The Religious Affiliation of Director George Lucas," accessed November 26, 2016, http://www.adherents.com/people/pl/George_Lucas.html.

[3] Raj Kumar Nehra, *Hinduism and Its Military Ethos* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2010), 265. Mr. Nehra is a leading voice in calling for a militarily assertive India.

[4] BBC, "Buddhism and War," last modified November 23,2009, http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/buddhism/buddhistethics/war.shtml. No author is cited to this article. One wonders how the World War II generation of BBC personnel would have felt about Buddhist pacifism.

In the aftermath of the carnage of World War II, in which Christian-majority nations destroyed tens of millions of lives and ushered in the nuclear era of possible global annihilation, people around the world were desperate for philosophies that promised lasting peace. Forgetting the Buddhist contribution to Japanese brutality in the same war, many Westerners found hope in Buddhism. Michael Jerryson writes, "some scholars argue that the myth of Buddhist pacifism was born out of Western design to dissociate for their own civil and world wars."[5] Ironically, D. T. Suzuki, one of the major Buddhist proponents of Japanese militarism in World War II, was one of the key figures in importing Buddhism, and shaping its non-violent image, in the post-war United States.

The expectation that Buddhists are non-violent contributes to an expectation among politicians and military leaders that majority Buddhist nations such as Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos, Myanmar, and Korea will be less likely to attack each other than majority Jewish, Muslim, or Christian nations. As noted in chapter 1, the idea that Buddhism and Hinduism are less violent than the Abrahamic religions has been around for more than three centuries. But is it true? This chapter will answer the question, "What is the religious militancy of Buddhism?" The analysis of this militancy will include doctrinal and lived factors.

The Doctrinal Militancy of Buddhism

Documents of a religion, usually provided by and about the founder of said religion, provide the most authoritative knowledge about that religion. The discussion of the Religious Militancy of Buddhism must begin with the doctrinal militancy of Buddhism.

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[5] Michael Jerryson, "Buddhists and Violence: Historical Continuity/Academic Incongruities," *Religion Compass* 9, no. 5 (2015): 142.

**The Doctrinal Militancy
Index (DMI) Analysis**

Using the DMI methodology noted in chapter 1, I have evaluated every

occurrence of the top five militancy-related words in the *Tipitaka*, the primary holy books

of Buddhism. The results are presented in the tables below. Table 6 covers the

Abhidhamma Pitaka.[6]

Table 6. Analysis results (*Abhidhamma Pitaka*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	1	7	0	6	0	14
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	1	0	0	0	0	1
Non-Physical or Non-Human	0	6	0	1	0	7
Physical/Human	0	1	0	5	0	6
Non-violent	0	0	0	2	0	2
Violent	0	1	0	3	0	4
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	0	3	0	3
Neutral, nothing (3)	0	1	0	0	0	1
Encourages violence (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DMI	–	*3.00*	–	*2.00*	–	*2.25*

The *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, the "Basket of Things Relating to the Teaching,"

consists of summaries and scholastic analyses of the Buddha's teachings as detailed in the

Sutta Pitaka.[7] The *Abhidhamma Pitaka* has little to say on the topics of conquest, sword,

and other key words associated with militancy. Buddhism as reflected here uses militant

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[6] Sariputta, "Tipitaka English," accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.sariputta.com/tipitaka/english.

[7] Oskar Von Hinuber, *A Handbook of Pali Literature* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharial Publishers, 1997), 64–65. The *Sutta Pitaka* contains many original teachings and the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* many summaries and explanations.

words to describe non-physical and non-violent phenomena more than half the time. The *Abhidhamma Pitaka* discourages physical violence in seventy-five percent of its occurrences and is neutral in the others. It never encourages or commands violence.

The *Sutta Pitaka*, sermons of the Buddha, contains more than ten thousand teachings attributed to the Buddha or his closest companions. It comprises the largest portion of the *Tipitaka*. Results for the Doctrinal Militancy Index for the *Sutta Pitaka* are found in Table 7.[8]

Table 7. Analysis results (*Sutta Pitaka*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	100	132	97	15	80	424
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	12	17	12	1	40	82
Non-Physical or Non-Human	36	21	22	1	5	85
Physical/Human	52	94	63	13	35	257
Non-violent	0	21	1	0	2	24
Violent	52	73	62	13	33	233
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	3	28	32	0	13	76
Neutral, nothing (3)	48	29	11	13	12	113
Encourages violence (4)	1	16	19	0	8	44
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DMI	*2.96*	*2.84*	*2.79*	*3.0*	*2.85*	*2.86*

Of 424 total mentions of "battle," "conquer," "fight," "sword," or "war" in the *Sutta Pitaka*, fifty-five percent refer to physical and violent phenomena. Of these, thirty-three percent discourage, forty-eight percent are neutral toward, and nineteen percent encourage militant behavior. Unsurprisingly, the Doctrinal Militancy Index of the *Sutta*

[8] Sariputta, "Tipitaka English."

Pitaka is much higher than for the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. But with its DMI score less than three (on a one to five scale, where five is the most militant), the *Sutta Pitaka* still discourages war.

The *Vinaya Pitaka*, translated as the "Basket of Discipline," comprise the primary Buddhist scriptural guides for the Sangha, the Buddhist monks, and the monastic community. DMI analysis results for the *Vinaya Pitaka* are found in Table 8.[9]

Table 8. Analysis results (*Vinaya Pitaka*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	29	18	100	86	4	237
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	16	8	22	35	4	85
Non-Physical or Non-Human	0	6	0	0	0	6
Physical/Human	13	4	78	51	0	146
Non-violent	0	0	0	1	0	1
Violent	13	4	78	50	0	145
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	3	25	0	28
Neutral, nothing (3)	13	4	75	25	0	117
Encourages violence (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DMI	*3.00*	*3.00*	*2.96*	*2.50*	*–*	*2.81*

It remains important in Buddhism to dive more deeply into the texts of some of the keyword appearances. While commentaries and scholarly articles generally do not directly answer the question "does the use of this word in this context prohibit, discourage, encourage, or command militancy, or is this word use neutral towards it,"

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[9] Sariputta, "Tipitaka English." The text in this online version of the Buddhist Tipitaka was analyzed to produce the findings noted in Table 8. A similar process with the appropriate scriptures was used to produce the findings in the other tables throughout this work.

such works do discuss the shades of meaning of words in context. Thus, they are useful in categorizing the militancy terms in this study.

Magavagga V Book of Discipline in the *Vinaya Pitaka* refers several times to monks engaging in worldly talk about armies, battles, politics, heroes, and similar things not conducive to their enlightenment. In every case, such talk is discouraged in the text. However, monks are told that even such chatter is acceptable if it is a way to foster understanding of the *dhamma*. I have therefore coded these circumstances as neutral.

In Monk's Expiation (*Pacittiya*), several references are made to a "serpent not conquering anger." These serpents are magical beasts (*Naga*) and are tasked with defending the Buddha's teaching. They were remiss in losing self-control and were defeated.[10] However, since *Naga* are non-human creatures, appearances of the key militancy words were classified as non-human and non-physical in this study.

In the *Sutta Pitaka*, war is often condemned as futile, and authors such as U Han Htay in commentaries such as the *Buddhism Handbook* reflect this stance.[11] *The Book with Verses (Sagathavagga)* and *Kosalasamyutta* contain discourses from the Buddha asking hypothetical questions about war. These circumstances were coded as "neutral" rather than "discourages" because of their hypothetical nature. The *Sutta Pitaka* often refers to "battle," "conquer," "fight," "sword," or "war" in a non-violent sense. Oskar Von Hinuber demonstrates the antiquity and non-physical nature of a Buddhist "fight" in which the *Sakka* (deities) fight the *asuras* (superhuman creatures) with well-formulated verses in the presence of referees.[12] Using "militant" terms in a non-violent sense is consistent with the ultimate goal in Buddhism, in which one "no

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[10] Thanissaro Bhikkhu, *The Buddhist Monastic Code I,* 3rd ed. (Valley Center, CA: Creative Commons, 2013), https://www.holybooks.com/wp-content/uploads/The-Buddhist-Monastic-Code-I.pdf.

[11] U Han Htay, ed., *Buddhism Handbook,* February 1997, https://holybooks-lichtenbergpress.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/Buddhism-Handbook-1.pdf.

[12] Von Hinuber, *A Handbook of Pali Literature*, 38.

longer has preconceived opinions or philosophical views, never discusses things, does not feel joy or pain, owns nothing, has cast aside all possessions, and is no longer attached even to good or evil."[13] The ultimate goal in Buddhism is not attainable by physical violence, but by overcoming oneself.

The *Vinaya Pitaka's* RMI of 2.81 places it as more doctrinally militant than the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* but less than the *Sutta Pitaka*. Studying the analysis of each of the major scriptures in Buddhism, one can combine findings to discover the Doctrinal Militancy Index of Buddhism in Table 9. The overall DMI is a simple average of the DMI of the three books, *Sutta Pitaka*, *Vinaya Pitaka*, and *Abhidhamma Pitaka*. The DMI score of 2.66 reveals that the *Tipitaka* discourages violence. The *Tipitaka* was assembled around the third century BC, two centuries after the death of Siddhartha Gautama, and was written down in the first century BC.

Table 9. Doctrinal militancy index (DMI) score–Buddhism

Religion	Source of Authority	Score (1–5)
Buddhism	*Abhidhamma Pitaka*	2.25
	Sutta Pitaka	2.86
	Vinaya Pitaka	2.81
	Average (DMI score)	2.64

Buddhist scriptures often used militant words (battle, conquer, fight, sword, war) to refer to non-physical or non-human phenomena. Compared to Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, Buddhism had the lowest percentage of physical and human references to the militancy-related words studied.

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[13] Hans Joachim Schoeps, *The Religions of Mankind: Their Origin and Development* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1968), 178.

Buddhism had the highest percentage of non-violent references. These were frequently referring to conquering one's nature or fighting one's desires. Overall, the *Tipitaka* speaks less of human and physical violence than the holy books of Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity do. When Buddhist scriptures use one of the key words to refer to human violence, eighty-six percent of the time that use is neutral about it or discourages it. Judging by my analysis of the *Tipitaka*, Buddhism is the only major religion in which a deity or the founder never commands his adherents to fight.

The *Dhammapada* is a well-known part of the *Khuddaka Nikaya* in the *Sutta Pitaka* portion of the *Tipitaka*. The commentary *Dhammapada for Awakening* by Abbot George Burke includes many uses of the militancy key word in this study, but a large majority of them are in non-physical contexts. Thus, Burke's understanding of these words is largely consistent with the conclusions of this study. Interestingly, Burke cites the Hindu *Bhagavad Gita* in his work, stating, "the *Gita* expresses the truths so well and expands on them and I want to demonstrate that *Buddha* was a classical *Sankhya Yogi* whose philosophy was identical with that of the *Gita*."[14] Given the militancy of the *Bhagavad Gita* which will be discussed in chapter 4, Burke uses a figurative interpretation of that work.

The paracanonical *Pali Chronicles, the Mahavamsa of Mahanama*, written in Sri Lanka in the fifth century, includes controversial passages that support the use of violence.[15] The story tells of the fight between King Dutthagamani of Sri Lanka and King Elara of the Tamils. Dutthagamani killed Elara, thus securing Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Dutthagamani is portrayed afterwards with great remorse, like Ashoka after the defeat of Kalinga. This episode has been used to justify violence, but the paper's author, Mahinda

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[14] Abbot George Burke (Swami Nirmalananda Giri), *Dhammapada for Awakening* (Cedar Crest, NM: Light of the Spirit Press, 2014), 1. Notably, the *Gita* was written several hundred years after the life of the Buddha.

[15] Mahinda Deegalle, "Is Violence Justified in Theravada Buddhism?" *Ecumenical Review* 55 (2003): 124-27.

Deegalle, argues that despite this story, Buddhist scriptures allow for no violence under any circumstances.[16]

Conversely, Derek Maher argues that "Buddhist tradition is polyvocal" regarding violence.[17] In one story, Sakyamuni killed a wayward man in a previous lifetime. In another previous lifetime, the Tathagata murdered a few Brahmin priests who spoke against the *Buddhadhamma*. These episodes were justified as killing someone to prevent them from accumulating bad karma in future lives and to protect others.[18] Maher goes on to describe the militant leanings of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (1617–1682) and suggests that this example provides a de facto just war theory for Buddhism. Maher concludes that, to the fifth Dalai Lama, "A war is just or not by virtue of whether it is undertaken by a sufficiently advanced spiritual practitioner."[19]

**Discussion of the Doctrinal Militancy of
Buddhism–Scriptures and Founder**

Buddhists learn the "Four Noble Truths:" 1) life is suffering, 2) the cause of life's trouble is desire, 3) to cease to desire is to overcome life's trouble, and 4) desire can be overcome through the Eightfold Path.[20] Since yearning for power, fame, and wealth inflames many wars, it stands to reason that dousing all desires would eliminate war. The Eightfold Path includes:[21]

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[16] Deegalle, "Is Violence Justified?" 130. As is common in all the religions in this study, earlier authors allow and even promote militant behavior more than contemporary authors do.

[17] Derek Maher, "The Rhetoric of War in Tibet: Toward a Buddhist Just War Theory," *Political Theology* 9, no. 2 (2008): 181. Polyvocal refers to "many voices," the connotation being that there are many opinions regarding violence in Buddhism.

[18] Maher, "The Rhetoric of War in Tibet," 181. Such justifications for violence were used extensively in twentieth century conflicts involving Buddhists.

[19] Maher, "The Rhetoric of War in Tibet," 190.

[20] Huston Smith and Philip Novak, *Buddhism: A Concise Introduction* (New York: HarperOne, 2004), 32–37.

[21] Siddhartha Gautama, "The Ancient City," Majjhima Nikaya 36: Mahasaccaka Sutta; I 240–

1. Right View: an intellectual orientation in line with the realities of life such as suffering and the noble truths.

2. Right Intention: one's prime intention and overriding goal must be enlightenment.

3. Right Speech: control of one's speech, avoiding uncharitable words and falsehoods.

4. Right Action: control of one's conduct, with an eye to the controlling the motivations behind them. This includes the Five Precepts (do not kill, do not steal, do not lie, do not be unchaste, do not take intoxicants), of which four resemble the last five of the Ten Commandments.

5. Right Livelihood: avoiding professions that impair one's spiritual development, such as arms maker, butcher, brewer, caravan trader, poison peddler, prostitute, slave trader, and tax collector.

6. Right Effort: train oneself in developing virtues, curbing passions, and avoiding mental states that will impair enlightenment.

7. Right Mindfulness: control of one's thoughts, because "all that we are is a result of what we have thought. One's life is shaped by one's mind. We become what we think."[22]

8. Right Concentration: focus one's mind on the things above through meditation.

These fundamental and widely accepted teachings of the Buddha discourage the use of violence, whether in war or otherwise. The Pali Canon, which includes the *Tipitaka* (*Abhidhamma Pitaka*, *Sutta Pitaka*, and *Vinaya Pitaka*), is the primary literary source of authority for Theravada Buddhism, but the Mahayana tradition also acknowledges it and recognizes the four noble truths and the eightfold path as authoritative.

From this list, however, the reader notices significant omissions. Why is military service not forbidden under "right livelihood?" Are Buddhists allowed to earn a living as police officers, executioners, or spies? The *Tipitaka* does not forbid any of these,

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49, in *In the Buddha's Words: An Anthology of Discourses from the Pāli Canon,* ed. Bhikkhu Bodhi, (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2015), 69. Smith and Novak, *Buddhism: A Concise Introduction*, 38–49.

[22] Smith and Novak, *Buddhism: A Concise Introduction*, 47.

but also teaches that "the person who makes his living as a soldier and dies in battle is said to be reborn in a hell or as an animal."[23] It goes on to say that "Victory breeds enmity; the defeated one sleeps badly. The peaceful one sleeps at ease, having abandoned victory and defeat."[24] Simultaneously, the *Dhammapada* reads:

> He insulted me, he struck me, he defeated me, he robbed me! Those who harbor such thoughts are never appeased in their hatred. But those who do not harbor them are quickly appeased. Never in this world is hate appeased by hatred; it is only appeased by love–this is an eternal law. Victory breeds hatred, for the defeated lie down in sorrow. Above victory or defeat, the calm man dwells in peace.[25]

The Buddhist scriptures ultimately define peace as an internal state within man in which one avoids "conceivings." [26] The *Pali Canon* notes, "By overcoming all conceivings, monk, one is called a sage of peace. And the sage of peace is not born, does not age, does not die; he is not shaken and does not yearn."[27] Through the Eightfold Path, including such practices as meditation, adherents develop insight and serenity and expunge agitation.

The lifestyle of the monk, a member of the Sangha, enforces Buddhism's internal focus which is intended to lead to personal peace. According to the Pali Canon, the monk:[28]

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[23] Siddhartha Gautama, "Samyutta Nikaya 4.308–09," in *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History, and Practices*, ed. Peter Harvey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 271–72.

[24] Acharya Buddharakhitta, trans., *Dhammapada: The Buddha's Path of Wisdom* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1985), 201, http://www.buddhanet.net/pdf_file/scrndhamma.pdf.

[25] "The Way of Righteousness," *Dhammapada* 3–5, 201, in *Sources of Indian Tradition: From the Beginning to 1800*, 2nd ed., ed. Ainslee T. Embree (New York: Columbia University Press: 1988), 119–120.

[26] In context, "conceivings" refer to desires, but also the illusion that birth, death, and other thoughts common to humanity in the universe actually exist. To deny the existence of self, all of these things, and the interrelations between them, is the path to Nirvana.

[27] Siddhartha Gautama, "The Sage at Peace," Majjhima Nikaya 140: Dhatuvibhanga Sutta; III 244–47, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words,*142.

[28] Siddhartha Gautama "The Graduated Training," Majjhima Nikaya, 27: Culahatthipadopama Sutta; I 175–84, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words* 245–47.

1. Abstains from injuring seeds and plants.

2. Eats only one meal per day.

3. Does not eat at night or outside the proper time.

4. Abstains from dancing, singing, music, and unsuitable shows.

5. Does not wear garlands or use colognes or unguents.

6. Refuses expensive furnishings, gold, and silver.

7. Rejects raw grain or raw meat.

8. Abstains from accepting women and girls.

9. Does not have slaves.

10. Refuses sheep, goats, fowl, pigs, elephants, horses, mares, and cattle.

11. Rejects gifts of land.

12. Does not buy, sell, run errands, or distribute messages.

13. Does not use false weights, false metals, or false measures.

14. Refuses bribes, deceit, fraud, and trickery.

15. Refrains from wounding, murdering, binding, brigandage, plunder, and violence.

16. Is content with only robes for his body and almsfood for his meals.

17. Meditates in the proper position and with proper mindfulness after his alms rounds.

18. Carefully follows the Eightfold Path.

The Buddhist lay community supports the Buddhist monastic community (the Sangha) by providing the basics of life for each monk including food, clothing, and shelter.[29] Contentment and a diminution of violence should be the result of faithfully following such a lifestyle, as many sources of conflict cease to exist. History reveals that men fight over money, women, comfort, status, and other sensual pleasures, but these are forbidden to a Buddhist monk. Perfidy, which makes others angry, is also forbidden. By

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[29] The Sangha included few women in the earliest days, but there are now thousands of nuns worldwide.

removing such sources of conflict with others, and setting strict behavioral boundaries for each monk, the Sangha sets the parameters for personal peace.

Mahayana Buddhism adopts many of these precepts and adds more about peace. The *Lotus Sutra* promises great peace of mind to those who learn the *dhamma*.[30] The *Diamond Sutra* finds the monk Subhuti abiding in peace while meditating on *dhamma* and peace in the forest.[31] The *Heart Sutra*, one of the best known in Buddhism, continues this individualistic and internal trend when it opines "'Peace' means free of every obstruction."[32]

In the *Tipitaka*, the "Blessed One" describes the "wheel-turning monarch, a just and righteous king."[33] This king "provides lawful protection, shelter, and safety for the kshatriyas attending him, for his army, for the brahmins and householders, for the inhabitants of town and countryside, for ascetics and brahmins, for the beasts and birds."[34] The duty and essential quality (*dhamma*) of a wheel-turning monarch is to protect his people from crimes and foreign invaders. But it is also to conquer, occupying with his "fourfold army (infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants)."[35] The third Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka (304 to 232 BC), is widely considered to be the model of a *Chakravartin*, a "wheel turning monarch."[36] A wheel-turning monarch is, however, "more

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[30] Gene Reeves, trans., *The Lotus Sutra: A Contemporary Translation of a Buddhist Classic* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008), 82. These Mahayana scriptures are included only for comparison but were not included in the DMI analysis.

[31] Red Pine, trans., *The Diamond Sutra* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2001), 348.

[32] Red Pine, trans., *The Heart Sutra*, (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2004), 139.

[33] Siddhartha Gautama, "The King of the Dhamma," Anguttara Nikaya 3:14; I 109–10, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words*, 115.

[34] Gautama, "The King of Dhamma," Anguttara Nikaya 3:14; I 109–10, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words*, 115.

[35] Siddhartha Gautama, "Bringing Tranquility to the Land," Digha Nikaya 26: Cakkavatti-Sihanada Sutta; III59–63, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words*, 141.

[36] Burjor Avari, *India: The Ancient Past: A History of the Indian Subcontinent from c. 7000 BCE to CE 1200* (London: Routledge Books, 2016), 131.

than a just and pious king: he is a universal ruler of the entire Buddhist world."[37]

Chinggis Khaghan (1162 to 1227), though he never converted to Buddhism, although

many descendants did, was also considered a *Chakravartin*.[38]

The *Dhammapada* states, "there is no higher bliss than peace," both inner

peace and peace in the social and cultural context.[39] The Taisho collection of Chinese

Buddhist scriptures is crucial to the Mahayana tradition.[40] It describes practical strategies

for a Buddhist king to safeguard his kingdom, such as avoiding war if the enemy is

equally powerful, and paying tribute, making peace, and deceiving the enemy if they are

more powerful.

By most accounts, the Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama, 563 to 483 BC) was a

kshatriya and crown prince of the Sakka Republic, located near the border between

modern India and Nepal. His biological mother, Maya, died one week after his birth, and

her sister Mahapajapati raised him. At age sixteen he married his cousin, Yasodhara, and

at age twenty-nine, the couple had one son, Rahula. Troubled by suffering in the world

and having fulfilled his dynastic duty, Gautama left his family and wandered for six

years. One day while meditating under a Bodhi tree, he found the enlightenment that he

sought. For the next forty-five years, Gautama preached and taught throughout the

region, acquiring disciples and lay followers. The community of Buddhist monks and

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[37] Thomas David DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 99. Hirohito, the Emperor of Japan in World War II, was framed by his nation as a "wheel-turning monarch."

[38] His western name is Genghis Khan. It is interesting how the successful get adopted by whatever organization can lay a plausible claim to them. This fact occurs throughout space and time and influences militancy.

[39] Narada Thera, *The Dhammapada,* (Kuala Lumpur: Buddhist Missionary Society, 1978), verse 202.

[40] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Chinese Canon," accessed February 9, 2019, https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/essays/chinese-canon. Again, this Mahayana work is included for its comments on the Wheel Turning Monarch, but it is not analyzed in the DMI.

nuns became the Sangha. Siddhartha Gautama is known as the Buddha, Sakyamuni (teacher of the Sakyas), and Tathagata (one who has come and gone).

The Buddha courted the favor of kings. When King Bimbisara became a Buddhist, thousands of his subjects followed, and many joined the Sangha, elevating Sakyamuni's monastic order far above those of his religious competitors.[41] When a famous general, previously known for supporting Jain monks, asked Tathagata if he could become a lay Buddhist, the Buddha refused him. When the general persisted, Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha) accepted his request, but warned the general to continue supporting Jain monks as well. The Buddha was politically astute, actively courted political favor, and used his power against those who opposed him. Once, when King Pasanedi wanted to gain personal merit by making a large donation to the Sangha, his minister Kala tried to dissuade him. Gautama made his displeasure known, and Kala was dismissed.[42]

The Buddha honored the wishes of his patrons. Criminals tried to enter the Sangha, possibly to escape justice, and Tathagata refused them. Large numbers of soldiers tried to join the Buddhist Sangha to avoid going to war, thus depleting the armies of Kosala and Magadha, but Gautama forbade it, thereby advancing the interests of his regal lay followers.[43] Members of the Buddhist community, transcending national borders, served as de facto diplomats between rival powers and were thus given de facto diplomatic immunity. Tathagata also tried cases. Rulers especially wanted Sakyamuni to give them legitimacy and promote loyalty and morality among the people. According to

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[41] H. W. Schuman, *The Historical Buddha* (London: Arkana Penguin Group, 1989), 93. The tactic of religious movements seeking royal support is as old as religion and royalty. The tactic of royalty seeking religious legitimacy is equally ancient. Every religion of which I am aware has many examples.

[42] Schuman, *The Historical Buddha*, 110. It is important to remember that Sakyamuni had been groomed for almost thirty years to be a prince. His training immeasurably helped his movement.

[43] Michael Jerryson "Introduction," in *Buddhist Warfare,* ed. Michael K. Jerryson and Mark Juergensmeyer (New York: Oxford University Press Inc, 2010), 11. The authors demonstrate the Buddha's political savvy and how his collaboration with governing authorities influenced Buddhist practice today.

Jerryson, "state laws and state pressure made an enormous impact on Buddhist interdiction."[44] No account of the Buddha personally going to war exists.

After his death, the Buddha's leading monks, especially his personal attendant, Ananda, wrote all that they remembered of his teachings. These writings became the Pali Canon (*Tipitaka*), the foundational documents of Theravada (Teachings of the Elders) Buddhism. Around the Fourth Buddhist Council at Gandhara (c. 100 AD), the Mahayana (Great Vehicle) branch of Buddhism split off. Mahayanas accept the Tipitaka but also developed additional scriptures such as the *Lotus*, *Heart*, *Diamond*, and other sutras.

The Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path provide the key to overcoming craving, the cause of conflict in oneself and with others. Of the Eightfold Path, items four (do not kill) and five (avoid jobs such as weapons maker) seem to expressly prohibit war. All sentient beings, human or animal, should be protected. Many Buddhists are vegetarians. A soldier asks the Buddha whether a warrior who dies in battle will go immediately to heaven. Tathagata replies,

> Didn't I tell you explicitly, 'Let it be good, Captain, don't ask me that?' But I will explain it to you: whoever goes into battle as a soldier and fights courageously, whose heart is already low, on a bad track, badly judged: 'These beings shall be beaten, killed, destroyed and destroyed, they must no longer be there'. While he fights so courageously, he is slain, stretched out, and at the dissolution of the body after death he will fall into the Victorious Hell, as it is called. But if, for example, he has the view: 'Whoever goes into battle as a soldier and fights courageously, and he is slain, stretched out, will rise up to the community of the victorious gods at the dissolution of the body after death,' that is his wrong view. But with a false view, Captain, he faces two tracks, I say: Hell or Animal Kingdom.[45]

Some lower caste Hindus, excluded from political power because they were born *Vaishyas* or *Sudras* and not *Kshatriyas* or *Brahmins*, became Buddhists so that they could fight and rule. Likewise, Buddhism enabled *Kshatriya* power "to free itself from the domination of the sacerdotal (Brahmin) caste and to unite both spiritual and temporal

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[44] Jerryson, "Introduction," 10.

[45] Palikanon, "Samyutta Nikaya, 42nd Samyutta, 42.3 The Captain," accessed April 6, 2021, http://www.palikanon.com/samyutta/sam42.html#s42_3t5.

power in the same hands."[46] The tension between the Tathagata's teachings and his actions can be explained by his need to balance his religious ideas with political realities. Had he forbidden war and explicitly condemned soldiering, he might have immediately lost royal protection. Buddhists could have become a persecuted minority.

In the *Lokhikka Sutta*, a Buddhist treatise on the rights of citizens and their rulers, the Buddha tells Lokhikka that King Pasenadi must give to his citizens, protect them, and maintain a civilized society.[47] In return, his citizens will regard his rule as legitimate and support his endeavors. In the canonical Buddhist writings, teachings on state violence, except for the wheel-turning monarch, are polyvocal.

Buddhist texts have been interpreted in ways that support violence. The most obvious is the requirement for the individual Buddhist to support the state. Direct violence, including torture and war, also may have some justification. Stephen Jenkins interprets the *Arya-Satyakaparivarta*, a Mahayana sutra, as teaching that murder and torture can actually generate good karma for a killer if his intent is to compassionately limit someone else's wickedness.[48] Barbara O'Brien disagrees, interpreting the relevant passages on torture figuratively, and insisting, "It's not warfare that earns merit, but carrying out the defense of a kingdom with the least possible harm — including harm to the invaders — that earns the merit."[49] Non-combatants and animals should not be harmed.

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[46] Alain Daniélou, *A Brief History of India* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2003), 62.

[47] Internet Sacred Text Archive, "Lohikka Sutta," accessed April 6, 2021, https://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/dob/dob-12tx.htm.

[48] Stephen Jenkins, "Making Merit through Warfare and Torture According to the Arya-Bodhisattva-gocara-upayavisaya-vikurvana-nirdesa Sutra," in Jerryson and Juergensmeyer, *Buddhist Warfare*, 63. The focus on intentions rather than outcomes is common in such discussions in Buddhism.

[49] Barbara O'Brien, "The Arya-Bodhisattva-gocara-upayaisaya-vikurvana-nirdesa-nama-mahayana-sutra," Rethinking Religion*,* last modified January 30, 2019, https://rethinkingreligion-book.info/the-arya-bodhisattva-gocara-upayaisaya-vikurvana-nirdesa-nama-mahayana-sutra/.

In one instance, King Ajatasattu of Magadha sent his emissary Vassakara to the Buddha to ask whether he would be successful in attacking the Vaijans. Tathagata did not reject warfare in principle or even in this case. Instead, he replied with the Seven Principles of Social Stability and concluded that as long as the Vaijans followed these, they would not be defeated.[50]

1. Hold regular and frequent assemblies.

2. Meet in harmony, break up in harmony, and carry out their business in harmony.

3. Do not authorize what has not been authorized already, and do not abolish what has been authorized, but proceed according to what has been authorized by their ancient tradition.

4. Honor, respect, revere, and salute their elders.

5. Do not forcibly abduct other' wives and daughters and compel them to live with them.

6. Honor, respect, revere, and salute the Vaijan shrines at home and abroad, not withdrawing the proper support.

7. Make proper provision for the safety of arahants (religious leaders).

On hearing Siddhartha's words, Vassakara replied that his king could not conquer them by force of arms, but by propaganda and setting them one against another.[51] The Buddha taught a story about King Mahajivita, who defeated brigandage, unrest, and decay in his kingdom by "giving grain and fodder to those engaged in cultivating crops and raising cattle, capital to those in trade, and proper living wages to those in government service."[52] The Buddha insisted on ruling by virtue.

Simultaneously, the Buddha advised the rulers of Sakya and Koliya in a dispute over the water of the Rohini River, thus averting war. Wanting a political alliance,

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[50] Siddhartha Gautama, "Seven Principles of Social Stability," Digha Nikaya 16: Mahaparinibbana Sutta; II 72–77, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words,* 138.

[51] Gautama, "Seven Principles of Social Stability," Digha Nikaya 16: Mahaparinibbana Sutta; II 72–77, 138. Bodhi emphasizes the moral side of these actions of the Buddha.

[52] Siddhartha Gautama, "Bringing Tranquility to the Land," Digha Nikaya 5: Kutadanta Sutta; I 134–36, in Bodhi, *In the Buddha's Words* 142.

King Pasenadi of Kosala took a wife from the Sakya. The two conceived Prince

Vidudabha. After Pasenadi's death, King Vidudabha discovered that his mother was a

Sakyan slave woman. Infuriated, he marched against Sakya. Three times the Buddha sat

by the road at the border, preventing the war since Vidudabha would not defy him. The

fourth time, however, Siddhartha did not interfere. The Sakyans, Gautama's people, were

destroyed.

In summary, the testimony of the Buddhist scriptures, as illustrated above,

indicates violence should be avoided when possible. Warfare and violence are not

preferred, although they are at times necessary. Individual and inner peace is a focus,

which should result in group and outer peace. The exception is when the "wheel-turning

monarch" is told to conquer. While the Buddha discouraged violence, the growth of his

movement required patronage from powerful men in his society. These political alliances

required that he act as an advisor to kings and use his influence to undergird these

monarchs' legitimacy. This alliance of Sangha and State was a major factor in the

behavior of early Buddhists.

In two recent examples, Buddhist monks turned against the governments of

South Vietnam, and later, Laos. In the former case, the monks' activities were "the

primary cause of political instability."[53] In ancient China as well, monks and other

reformers promised that Buddhism would protect the government if only those in power

supported a particular monk or brand of Buddhism and oppressed the others. Michael

Jerryson argues that the Sangha will typically tolerate violence, only expelling a monk for

murder if he intends to kill.[54]

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[53] Mark Moyar, "Political Monks: The Militant Buddhist Movement during the Vietnam War," *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 4 (2004): 749.

[54] Jerryson, "Buddhists and Violence," 145. Jerryson points out that Buddhism values the intention more than the action, and that killing with right intention can actually be virtuous.

Siddhartha did not engage in warfare himself and did not blatantly encourage others to do so, but he seems to have gained much from his political collaboration. For their part, kings used religious institutions, symbols, and persons to further their war efforts.[55] During the Buddha's day, warfare amongst his followers was uncommon, and it is difficult to draw a line directly from the militancy of his royal patrons to benefit for himself. Like the New Testament, the Tipitaka provides guidance on the organization of the spiritual community but gives no instructions on how to build a state, as Jewish and Muslim scriptures. However, growing out of a Hindu cultural milieu, Buddhist rulers such as Ashoka used Hindu materials such as the *Manusmrti* and the *Arthashastra* to inform their governmental and military practices.

The Lived Militancy of Buddhism

While the doctrinal militancy of Buddhism is low (DMI = 2.64), such is only part of the total militancy of Buddhism. The historical example, known here as the lived militancy, reveals how Buddhists in the past have understood the militancy of their religion and how they have acted in response.[56]

Examples of the Early Leaders
of Buddhism

To learn from the example of early leaders, one must first study the Buddha's disciples and their descendants to the tenth generation, 483 to 183 BC.[58] No evidence

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[55] Mahinda Deegalle, "Norms of War in Theravada Buddhism," in *World Religions and Norms of War*, ed.Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner (New York: United Nations University Press, 2009), 7. Deegalle's observation is consistent with the practice of kings of whatever religion throughout history.

[56] As noted in chapter 1, Doctrinal militancy is defined here as the militancy encouraged by the religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy is defined here as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

[58] As will be recalled from the first chapter, this study uses the first ten generations after the founding of a religion to identify the early leaders of that religion. Using ten, as opposed to eight or twelve or something else, is common though arbitrary. I am considering a generation to last thirty years in this study.

exists that Sariputta, the Buddha's chief disciple, who was known for his amazing wisdom, encouraged or engaged in any kind of physical violence. Mogallana was known for supernatural powers, which according to legend, he tried to use to save five hundred men of the town of Kapilavastu, which was under siege by Kosala. He failed. Sariputta is pictured as a lion who wanted to show mercy to the wicked ascetic Devadatta.[59] Mogallana, shown as a tiger, slew the ascetic and threw his body in a pit.[60] Tradition holds that Mogallana met a violent end at the hands of some Jain assassins.[61]

Mahakaccana the expositor had been chaplain to the temperamental King Candappajjota the Violent and was known for ably interpreting Gautama's teaching.[62] Mahakassapa took over leadership of the Sangha after the Buddha's death. His teaching was stern and critical, which sometimes offended people, but there is no evidence that he was violent.[63] Aniruddha, Siddhartha's cousin, and Upali, the Sakya court barber, were peaceable. In the First Buddhist Council, the *Vinaya Pitaka* was said to be based on Upali's memory.[64] Ananda, the Buddha's most famous disciple and the one who was said

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[59] Nyanaponika Thera, "The Discourse Collection in Numerical Order," Anguttara Nikaya, Access to Insight, BCBS Edition, last modified November 30, 2013, https://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/nyanaponika/wheel238.html.

[60] Nyanaponika Thera and Hellmuth Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha: Their Lives, Their Work, Their Legacy*, ed. Bhikkhu Bodhi (Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2003), 14. This highly regarded compilation summarizes the lives of the Buddha's primary disciples from material scattered over thousands of pages from the *Tipitaka* and other sources. For example, Mogellana is mentioned 326 times, Sariputta 1141 times in the *Tipitaka*, and Ananda 2689 times. Therefore, this study uses summaries such as this book along with other sources to make broad statements like "there is no evidence of person X having engaged in violent behavior in his lifetime."

[61] "The Buddha and His Disciples: The Two Chief Disciples," Buddhist Studies, last modified 2008, http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhism/disciples08.htm. It is ironic that Jains, who are supposed to be strict pacifists, slew a Buddhist leader, who was also viewed as pacific.

[62] Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Samyutta Nikaya* (Somervville,MA: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 1046.

[63] Thera and Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha,* 128. The fact that the earliest disciples of the Buddha eschewed violence suggests that they understood their teacher to have been non-violent, not only in what was recorded about him, but in the day to day words and events which were never recorded and only they would have known.

[64] Thera and Hecker, *Great Disciples of the Buddha,* 131. Stories of people with outstanding powers of memory are common in societies with strong oral traditions.

to have memorized his words, dictated the *Sutta Pitaka*. There is no evidence that he encouraged militancy. Though a prince, Rahula became a Buddhist monk.

The Sangha typically has a monastery outside every village, but most Buddhists are lay members, not monks. Lay Buddhists follow the Four Noble Truths, the Eightfold Path, and are expected to support the local monks and perform practices such as meditation. However, they face fewer restrictions on their conduct. Lay Buddhists can follow a profession, form families, and join the military. Monks provide spiritual guidance, rituals for protection, dispute resolution, and education, but not medical care, for the lay community. Historically, Buddhist monks may have been the only literate people in a village, so it is no surprise that monks became politically active, sometimes acquiring great power.

Religious disputes broke out among the Buddhist leaders in the first century after the Sakyamuni's death. By the Second Buddhist Council, around 380 BC, the "members of the great order" had completely left the traditionalists.[65] However, there is no evidence that the schism involved significant physical violence.

The kings who were contemporaries of the Buddha, such as Bimbisara, Pasenadi, Vidudabha, and Ajatasattu, proclaimed Buddhism as their religion, but did not stop fighting. When King Vidudabha of Kosala discovered that his mother was a Sakyan slave girl, he destroyed the Sakya people and their capital, Kapilavastu, though Tathagata protected them thrice.[66]

The Mauryan Empire (322 to 187 BC) ruled most of the Indian subcontinent during the first ten generations of Buddhism and many of the monarchs were Buddhist. Therefore, the actions of these rulers can help reveal how Buddhism, after the death of

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[65] A. L. Basham, "Theravada Buddhism," in Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 94.

[66] Schuman, *The Historical Buddha*, 242. Gautama was born a Sakyan prince and Kapilavastu was the capital city and his original home. He would have understood the scandal and the fury of the King of Kosala. Nonetheless, the Buddha protected his people anyway.

the Tathagata, influenced state violence. The Mauryan Empire was founded by Chandragupta Maurya (Born 340, reigned 322 to 297 BC). After Alexander the Great (356 to 323 BC) conquered modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, as far as the Indus River, large numbers of Greeks settled in the area and formed the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

Kautilya was Chandragupta's political advisor and author of the *Arthashastra*, a book on statecraft not equaled until Machiavelli's *The Prince* eighteen centuries later. His work, anything but non-violent, directed statecraft in the Indian Subcontinent, influencing Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu rulers. The *Arthashastra* guided policy in taxation and management accounting as well as warfare, law, economics, and politics.[67] Chandragupta was not a Buddhist and therefore his example cannot be used to illustrate Buddhist militancy. Kautilya was not a Buddhist and his *Arthashastra* cannot be used to directly illustrate Buddhist militancy. However, Chandragupta and Kautilya shaped the actions of Chandragupta's grandson Ashoka, the greatest Indian monarch until Akbar the Moghul eighteen centuries later. [68]

On becoming emperor, Ashoka (born around 304 BC, reigned 274 to 232 BC) began acquiring lesser states. He fought a bloody war against the state of Kalinga, on the east coast of modern-day India. History suggests that Ashoka was troubled by the bloodshed and destruction, in which over 100,000 were deported and 100,000 were killed.[69] Ashoka converted from Jainism to Buddhism in 263 BC. Nonetheless, he continued the war until he vanquished his enemy in 260 BC. Once he had consolidated

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[67] Balbir S. Sihag, "Kautilya on Principles of Taxation," *Humanomics* 25, no. 1 (2009): 55–67. Due to its outsized influence, the *Arthashastra* guided generations of Hindu and Buddhist monarchs in India. Such influence tended to balance the *ahimsa* of Buddhism with the *Realpolitik* needed in rulers.

[68] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India,* 109. King Ashoka is also known as King Piyadasi in many sources.

[69] Paul Demieville, "Buddhism and War," trans., Michelle Kendall, in Jerryson and Juergensmeyer, *Buddhist Warfare*, 21.

his power, Ashoka eschewed overt war, promoting the spread of Buddhism by sending

Buddhist missionaries, enforcing Buddhist principles, and inscribing the Ashoka Edicts

on rock pillars placed throughout the empire. In Rock Edict 13, Ashoka writes,

> I have had this *Dhamma* edict written so that my sons and great-grandsons may not consider making new conquests, or that if military conquests must be made, that they be done with forbearance and light punishment, or better still, that they consider making conquest by *Dhamma* only, for that bears fruit in this world and the next. May all their intense devotion be given to this which has a result in this world and the next.[70]

Commentators like Alain Daniélou view Ashoka's non-violence with

skepticism. While the horrors of the Kalinga war seem to have genuinely affected

Ashoka, Daniélou writes, "Like many empire-builders, he was quick to use virtue and

religion to impose his power and policy under a cover of morals. At no time did Ashoka

abandon the idea of uniting the whole of humanity under his scepter, but he pursued his

design by missionary rather than warlike methods."[71] Later, Daniélou notes, "Buddhism

offered him (Ashoka) an ideal tool for emasculating warlike peoples" and concludes

"Ashoka established his power as an 'angel of peace,' the first sovereign to try to build an

empire on the basis of universal ethics and religion, with the support–it goes without

saying–of the inquisition and the police."[72] Notably, Ashoka neither shrank his powerful

army nor cut taxes.

Ashoka's edicts admonishing his heirs to peace were largely ignored. His

grandson Dasharatha (232 to 224 BC) fought to regain territories that had broken away.

Around 185 BC, the Mauryan Empire collapsed, and the Shunga Empire began. The

Greco-Bactrian kingdom had become heavily Buddhist and invaded east into western

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[70] Ven S. Dhammika, *The Edicts of King Ashoka* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1993), last modified December 4, 2005, http://www.buddhanet.net/pdf_file/edicts-Ashoka6.pdf. *Dhamma* is the Buddhist concept which is similar to *Dharma* in Hinduism.

[71] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India,* 111.

[72] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India*, 113. Buddhism's nonviolence and goals of separating adherents from desire and material attachments may have the useful effects of making enemy armies less warlike.

India (200 to 175 BC). It then struck west into Parthia (167 to 160 BC). Burjor Avari

notes that the most famous Greco-Bactrian ruler, Menander I, expanded his empire from

the Caspian Sea to the Aral Sea to the western Himalayas and almost to the Indian

Ocean.[73]

In summary, the early leaders of Buddhism were not a non-violent crowd.

Though Buddhism has a low score in doctrinal militancy, Buddhist leaders seem to

behave like rulers from any other religion in their statecraft. The qualitative sense of the

lived militancy of early Buddhist leaders is similar to that seen in other religions, even

though their doctrine suggests that Buddhists should be nonviolent. This observation is

consistent with the conclusion, noted in chapter 1, that religion is generally not the major

cause of war but is often a secondary cause. Even the famous Buddhist King Ashoka did

not eschew physical violence until his primary geopolitical goals were met. Using

examples such as these is not quantitative and therefore cannot definitively measure lived

militancy. Such a quantitative study would be an excellent topic for future research.

Examples of the Later Leaders
of Buddhism

Later Buddhist leaders followed the same path as their forebears. Regimes

such as the Mongols tended to adopt Buddhism as their official religion and then use

Buddhism to sanction invasion and war. In Korea, Paekche kings used Buddhism to great

worldly profit:

> Buddhism provided a compelling metaphysical sanction for the more embracing
> hierarchical restructuring of political power undertaken by the kingdom's rulers at
> this time. The success of this undertaking and the important role of Buddhism in its
> achievement are apparent not just in the fact of Paekche's lengthy survival as an
> independent state following the multiple reverses of the late fifth century, but more
> pointedly in the burgeoning of the kingdom's military power and the simultaneously

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[73] Avari, *India*, 152–53. Influences between the polytheistic Greeks, Hindus, and Buddhists in
the subcontinent have shaped history in still to be discovered ways. There is no evidence that the mix of
Hindu, Buddhist, and Greek influences decreased the violence between them.

ever-increasing royal patronage lavished upon the religion over the course of the late sixth and early seventh centuries.[74]

By the early centuries after Christ, Buddhism was the predominant religion in northwestern India, including modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan.[75] Soon, however, it fell into hard times. Toramana and his son, Mihirakula, leaders of the Alchon Huns from 490 to 540, conquered northwest India and devastated Buddhists and their monasteries.[76] After Arab Islamic warriors conquered the Persian Empire in the mid-seventh century, they erupted into Afghanistan, Pakistan, and elsewhere in northwest India. Hinduism absorbed Buddhism by making the Buddha an avatar of Vishnu. The Turks of northwest India converted to Islam in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Turks and Afghans attacked Buddhist monks and monasteries in northwest India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Except in Nepal, through its contact with Tibet, and in Sri Lanka, Buddhism mostly died in India. Buddhists remain rare in the subcontinent today.

What do these events imply about Buddhist lived militancy? First, the *Vinaya Pitaka* in the *Tipitaka*, containing the instructions for monks in the *Sangha*, is relatively non-violent, with a book DMI of 2.81. Such non-violence made monks less willing and less able to defend themselves against aggressors.[77] Second, the military weakness of Buddhists and Buddhism's subsequent suppression made others less likely to become Buddhists, and the Turks less likely to stay Buddhist. Both would decrease the lived militancy of Buddhism. Paul Demieville writes, "As early as the eighth century a Turkish

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[74] Jonathan W. Best, "Buddhism and Polity in Early Sixth-Century Paekche," *Korean Studies* 26, no. 2 (2002): 165–215. doi:10.1353/ks.2004.0001. 209.

[75] A. L. Basham, "The Vehicle of the Thunderbolt and the Decline of Buddhism in India," in Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 188. The Buddhas of Bamiyan statues destroyed by the Taliban in 2001 were remnants of the strong Buddhist presence in the region prior to Islam.

[76] Roger Pearse, trans., "Cosmas Indicopleustes," Christian Topography (1897) 358–73. Book 11, Tertullian, last modified 2003, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cosmas_11_book11.htm.

[77] Christian monks had many of the same impediments to physical violence as Buddhist monks. The Rule of Saint Benedict, for example, makes no mention of conquer, sword, or war. It only mentions "fight" in the context of fighting the devil and "battle" in the context of fighting for Christ with obedience and prayer. Such discouragement of violence, even in defense, contributed to the fall of Buddhism in India and to the destruction of Lindisfarne and other monasteries in England.

Khan was advised to be wary of Buddhism (and of Daoism), for it was said that these doctrines 'make one good and weak, and are usually against using war or forceful conflict as an option.'"[78]

The rebellions and Shu and Wu dynastic wars (220s) flooded China with blood. The surge that began around AD 719 was due to conflicts between smaller states in China, as well as conflicts in Southeast Asia. Magistrates brazenly used Buddhist (and Daoist) religious leaders and resources to promote their political agendas, and religious leaders received valuable patronage in return. "Wang Jian's vigorous patronage of both Buddhism and Daoism was obviously part of the Shu ruler's effective strategy to use the two popular religions to supplement other legitimation devices and boost the legitimacy of his regime. He believed religion should serve the state, not vice versa."[79] The belief that religion should serve the state has been a factor in Buddhism since the Sakyamuni.

Long after the death of the Tathagata, Buddhist clergy retained special privileges from states in exchange for encouraging the people to control themselves and support the government. Over time, monasteries became places of wealth and power and the monks themselves led revolts. Chinese author Fou Yi noted ten uprisings of Buddhist monks against secular authorities.[80] Buddhists opposed the revolt of Le Che-Min against the Sui Dynasty and were nearly exterminated in the capital city of Lo-Yang when they failed in their opposition. Buddhist monks in China, Korea, and Japan faced off against each other and other invaders: the Jurchens (twelfth century), the Mongols (fourteenth

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[78] Demieville, "Buddhism and War, 21–22.

[79] Hongjie Wang, "The Adulators and the Adulated: Religious Patronage of a Regional Ruler in Early Tenth-Century China," *Southeast Review of Asian Studies* 32 (November 2010): 84–99.

[80] Fou Yi, "Kouang Hong-Ming Tsi," T.2103,vii, 134c, quoted in Demieville, "Buddhism and War," 24. Despite their collaborationist tendencies, Buddhist majority and plurality peoples sometimes fought their own secular authorities.

century), the Japanese (sixteenth century), and the Manchus (seventeenth century).[81]

Religion played a significant role, especially for the rank and file, as DuBois writes, "people will not willingly leave home and risk their lives in defense of a pretty good idea, but they will do so for a great one, and this is why mass movements such as peasant rebellions so often contain religious elements."[82]

Leaders from 1500 to 1900. Shogun ruler Oda Nobunaga (1534 to 1582) eliminated his rivals from Japan. Then he turned his wrath upon the Buddhist community, beginning with the Tendai Temple complex on Mount Hui, one of the most sacred sites in all of Japan. Nobunaga slaughtered at least three thousand monks and thousands of other lay disciples, support personnel, and pilgrims, hunting down and beheading those who tried to escape. Nobunaga burned down every building and destroyed countless cultural and religious artifacts. The Shogun thus became the implacable enemy of nearly every Buddhist in the country. DuBois recounts,

> For ten years they fought Nobunaga's forces with unparalleled ferocity, knowing that their cause was just and that death in battle would earn them reincarnation in the Pure Land. They proved almost impossible to defeat. For ten years, Nobunaga's generals would fight the *ikho* (rebels) in one location, only to have them reappear in another. Because they were lay based, they did not rely on clergy, and could immediately resurrect their networks wherever the faithful were present, which was clearly just about everywhere.[83]

Oda eventually put down the rebellion in 1580, but at terrible cost to himself and his nation. In 1582, he was assassinated by the hand of one of his Buddhist generals. The rebels overcame their hated foe in the end. Such can be the power of religion.

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[81] Demieville, "Buddhism and War, 33. Chinese Buddhists struggled against Confucio-Daoists from the advent of Buddhism to China. The welfare of each group rose and fell depending upon the religious faith of the ruling classes. Simultaneously, rulers might change their religion to gain legitimacy with their people. Both religions were used to inspire the people against foreign invasion.

[82] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 39.

[83] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 70. Pure Land roughly corresponds to Chinese Buddhist heaven.

Buddhism has been a significant supplier of people and ideas in most of the major conflicts in Asia. This fact does not suggest that the doctrinally militancy of Buddhism is high, but rather that the lived militancy of Buddhism is higher than what is taught by the Buddhist scripture. Kings may be forced into physical violence by the nature of their duties, regardless of how non-violent they wish to be. Kings may also have the freedom to be violent or non-violent. Religious leaders, citizens, and others without political power have only the freedom to be non-violent unless they wish to run afoul of the magistrate, but pacifism may assist their enemies. During World War II, George Orwell argued that "Pacifism is objectively pro-Fascist. This is common sense. If you hamper the war effort of one side you automatically help that of the other."[84] Political leaders are responsible for the safety of their nations, and may feel that regardless of their personal religion, they are duty bound to act violently in certain circumstances. All these factors interplay in the lived militancy of all religions, including Buddhism.

Buddhist countries, including Japan, China, and those in southeast Asia, did not commonly encounter Westerners, much less fight them, until the beginning of the Western European (Christian) ascendency in the sixteenth century. The earliest major fight was between the Portuguese traders in Malacca and their Dutch and Ming Chinese opponents (1511 to 1641). From 1622 to 1633 the Ming Chinese battled their erstwhile Dutch allies, and intermittent combat lasted until the Manchu overthrew the Ming Dynasty (1644).[85] Thereafter, fighting between China and the West was sporadic until the major Chinese defeat in the First Opium War (1839 to 1842).[86] Japan avoided

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[84] George Orwell, "Pacifism and War," 1942, last modified July 23, 2020, https://www.orwell.ru/library/articles/pacifism/english/e_patw.

[85] David A. Graff and Robin Higham, *A Military History of China* (Cambridge MA: Westview Press, 2002), 115. The Manchu were the final imperial dynasty before the 1911 rebellion.

[86] David G. Chandler, *Atlas of Military Strategy: The Art, Theory, and Practice of War, 1618-1878* (London: Arms and Armour, 1996), 136. Modern Chinese actions under Xi Jinping are hard to understand unless one knows about the "Century of Humiliation" that China suffered against the West from the early 1800s to the early 1900s.

interaction with Christian nations until Commodore Matthew Perry (1794 to 1858) forcibly opened the Buddhist nation to foreign influences (1854).

Earlier, Catholic missionaries were active throughout Asia. The first western Europeans, Portuguese sailors, reached Japan in 1543. Soon thereafter, missionaries followed, such as Jesuit Francis Xavier and many associates. Missionaries and converts multiplied, and in 1587 Regent Hideyoshi (1537 to 1598) issued a proclamation accusing Christians of attacking native shrines and temples. In 1596, the Spanish pilot of a wrecked galleon told Hideyoshi, "the front lines of any Spanish conquest were the missionaries who arrived first, preaching a message of peace, but all the while steering the will of the next generation to accept Christian Spain as its lord and master."[87] Obviously, such testimony would tend to increase Japanese militancy towards Christianity.

In 1597, Hideyoshi crucified twenty-six Christians. Within twenty years, Dutch missionaries arrived, adding Protestant-Catholic conflict to the Spain-Portugal conflict between believers. Imperial persecution grew, but still, the number of Christians increased. Taxation and persecution grew, and leading Christians were boiled in the local hot springs. In 1637, the Christians of Shimabara rebelled against the Tokugawa Shogunate under Shogun Iemitsu. By its denouement in April 1638, over 36,000 Christians perished, including 13,000 rebels and 23,000 women and children.[89]

In the struggle for Port Arthur and the Far East during the Russo-Japanese War (1904 to 1905), Japan defeated Czarist Russia. All major Buddhist sects assigned

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[87] Jonathan Clements, *Christ's Samurai* (London: Robinson, 2017), 23. This revolt poisoned Japanese culture against Christianity such that Christianity was illegal until the forcible opening of Japan by Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century. Even today, Christians compose only 1.5% of all Japanese, compared to 5.1% of Chinese and 28% of South Koreans.

[89] Jonathan Clements, *Christ's Samurai,*191. By contrast, despite the fact that Nagasaki was the center of Japanese Christianity, fewer than ten thousand Christians died in the atomic bomb attack on August 9, 1945.

chaplains to the military.[90] The Russo-Japanese War was the first major victory of a non-European country over a European power, the first major victory of a non-white country over a white country, and the first major victory of a non-Christian country over a Christian power. Dubois quotes an unidentified Japanese Buddhist, "reciting the name of Amida Buddha makes it possible to march onto the battlefield firm in the belief that death will bring rebirth in paradise."[91] A common justification for violence in Buddhism was that the "imperial state and the *dhamma* are one, they are fought in the name of the Buddha."[92] Such comments are more consistent with Islamic writings than with most forms of Buddhist scriptures and traditions. The fact that the comment is consistent with Mahayana Amida/Amitaba Buddhism demonstrates the diverse nature of the Buddhist religion, as well as the room for militancy in its teachings.

Leaders in the Twentieth Century. Uchiyama Gudo (1874 to 1911) did not support Japanese aggression in the Russo-Japanese War, and he was hanged for his uncooperativeness.[93] Japan fought with the Allies against the Central Powers in World War I, picking up the German colony at the Chinese port of Qingdao (Tsingtao) and the Marianas, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands in 1914.

The Japanese war against the Allies and China in World War II is infamous. Zen Master D. T. Suzuki, famous in the West for popularizing Buddhism in America,

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[90] Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War*, 2nd ed., War and Peace Library (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 29. When governments accept chaplains for their national military, it provides de facto approval to the sending religion. Furthermore, it establishes a de facto agreement that the chaplains from the sending religion will do the bidding of their government masters.

[91] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 185.

[92] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 184.

[93] Victoria, *Zen at War*, 29. Gudo's nonviolent position became increasingly unpopular as Japanese militancy grew in the twentieth century. World War II is the single largest conflict between majority Buddhist and majority Christian nations and provides numerous examples of how Buddhism can justify militancy. Suzuki's position is consistent with the Mahayana tradition and arguably with the Theraveda tradition as well.

wrote that religion's first duty was to preserve the existence of the state.[94] Suzuki's position, like that of his Zen master Shaku Soen, grew more militaristic by World War II. He noted:[95]

1. Japan has a right to pursue its commercial and trade ambitions as it sees fit.

2. Should "unruly heathens" of any country interfere with that right, they deserve to be punished for interfering with the progress of all humanity.

3. Such punishments will be carried out with the full and unconditional support of Japan's religions, for it is undertaken with no other goal in mind than to ensure that justice prevails.

4. Soldiers must, without the slightest hesitation or regret, offer up their lives to the state in carrying out such religion sanctioned punishment.

5. Discharging one's duty to the state on the battlefield is a religious act.

Other Buddhist leaders like Otani Kozui (1876 to 1948) and Osuga Shudo (1876 to 1962) heavily supported Japanese militaristic adventures.[96]

Christopher Ives argues that far from being incidental to the Japanese war effort from 1931 to 1945, Buddhism was instrumental if not causal in those efforts. Christopher Ives has explained that Buddhists at all levels taught:[97]

1. The war Japan was waging across Asia was a holy war.

2. Japanese actions in that war were an expression of compassion.

3. The deaths of brave, self-sacrificial soldiers embodied the Buddhist-doctrine of no-self.

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[94] D. T. Suzuki, *Shin Shukyo-ron*, in vol. 23 *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshu*, (London: Luzac, 1934), 136–7, quoted in Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War*, 23. Dazen Victoria is one of the leading scholars on Buddhist violence, especially of the World War II era.

[95] D. T. Suzuki, *Shin Shukyo-ron*, in vol. 23 *Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshu*, (London: Luzac, 1934), 139–40, quoted in Victoria, *Zen at War*, 25.

[96] Victoria, Zen at War, 22.

[97] Christopher Ives, "Protect the Dharma, Protect the Country: Buddhist War Responsibility and Social Ethics," *The Eastern Buddhist* 33, no. 2 (2001): 16–17.

4. Through this Buddhist self-sacrifice, Japanese could repay their debt to the emperor.

5. The Japanese military was attempting to establish a pure land on earth, with the emperor equivalent to Amida.

Ives goes on to say that Japanese monks built stupas in conquered territories and used Buddhism to make Vietnamese, Chinese, Koreans, and other Buddhists into loyal subjects of the Empire. DuBois writes that the Japanese claimed that Emperor Hirohito was a "Golden Wheel Turning Sacred King," a *cakravartin*, just as Ashoka and Genghis Khan.[98] Notably, much of the indigenous resistance to Japanese occupation during the war was in the Christian-majority Philippine Islands, not in the Buddhist nations.

World War II not only included examples of Buddhist-supported violence against the West, but also Buddhist-supported violence against Hindus. The Indian Army supported its British colonial masters against the Japanese, while the Indian National Army fought for the Japanese against the British and against its Indian brethren. The purpose here is not to catalog a list of militant acts by Buddhists and conclude that Buddhism is militant. Rather it is to reflect on the arguments that Buddhists themselves have made to justify militancy, and then to examine what Buddhists have done as a result.

Chinese Buddhists in the Korean War behaved much as did their Japanese counterparts in World War II. Leading Buddhist Zhao Puchu urged Buddhists to love their nation more than their religion.[99] An estimated thirteen hundred Buddhist monks and nuns joined the North Korean Army in Seoul.[100] Nonetheless, while Japan is seventy percent Buddhist, China is twenty percent Buddhist, twenty percent Confucian-Daoist, and fifty percent non-aligned. The Communist party takes on the character of religion.

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[98] DuBois, *Religion and the Making of Modern East Asia*, 191.

[99] Zhao Puchu (unidentified source) quoted in Xue Yu, "Buddhists in China during the Korean War," in Jerryson and Juergensmeyer, *Buddhist Warfare,* 144. Zhao Puchu's admonition might be called Buddhist nationalism, which is present in Buddhist nations just like Christian nationalism is in Christian nations. Such an urging presupposes a division between religion and the rest of society not found in Islamic or Hindu scriptures.

[100] Yu, "Buddhists in China during the Korean War," 139.

Therefore, it is unwise to assume that the experiences of Japan and China are equivalent with respect to religion.

The summary of Buddhist lived militancy shows that despite the low doctrinal militancy of Buddhism, early and later leaders show no evidence of fighting fewer wars than leaders in religions that have more doctrinal militancy. The DMI might predict what Buddhists should do, but does not seem to predict what they have done, at least not at a large scale.

Discussion on the Lived Militancy
of Buddhism–Current Situation

There is not much history, and no ongoing struggles, between the Jewish state of Israel and Buddhist majority countries such as Thailand, Vietnam, or Japan. Relations between Israel and China are warming, and Israeli relations with Japan have improved since Japan no longer needs as much Middle Eastern oil.[101] Relations with the nations of Southeast Asia and Israel are favorable. The largest conflicts between Buddhist-plurality nations and Christian-majority nations today involve China and the United States.

One might object. "No! the strife between China and the United States is about communism and democracy, not religion." Though Americans have heard the anti-communism narrative since World War II, the conflict between communism and democracy is not the only factor. Identifying the religious component of this struggle is exactly the point of this study. In chapter 1, I argued that religion is often not the major cause of war or other conflict, and it is rarely the only cause. However, religion remains a significant cause of war and conflict in the world, and certainly waxes and wanes as a source of violence in history. This study has demonstrated that World War II had a significant religious component, and that modern conflicts do as well. My purpose is to

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[101] Shaun Ho, "Israeli-Japanese Friendship: A Potential Yet to Be Realized," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Israeli Security, Regional Diplomacy, and International Law, last modified December 25, 2018, https://jcpa.org/article/israeli-japanese-friendship-a-potential-yet-to-be-realized/.

compare the lived militancy, what Buddhists have done, to doctrinal militancy, what Buddhist scriptures say to do. Buddhism in practice, the lived militancy, is more militant than Buddhism in theory, the doctrinal militancy.

The Sri Lankan civil war (1983 to 2009) pitted the Tamil Tigers (Hindu and Muslim) against the Sri Lankan forces (mostly Buddhist). An estimated forty thousand people died in the conflict.[102] Large groups of Buddhist monks demonstrated against a negotiated solution, even vowing to lay down their lives to prevent it.

The Hindu-majority and Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian plurality conflict surrounding fifty thousand square miles in the Himalayas disputed by India and China is rekindling.[103] Conflict erupted in 2017, and tensions are still high with several skirmishes in 2020. The motivations for war in the Himalayas are strategic (missiles placed at that altitude can interfere with air and other operations deep inside each country) and political (no one wants to back down).[104] They are also religious, both for Buddhist and Hindu pilgrimage rights and for ties with Tibet and the Dalai Lama.[105]

Like Hinduism, Buddhism has historically been a victim of Islam. Buddhism was declining under Hindu pressure in northern India, but the Muslim armies that conquered India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries largely killed Buddhism in India. Simultaneously, Buddhism advanced in China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, a situation largely unchanged today.

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[102] Charles Haviland, "Sri Lanka government publishes war death toll statistics," *BBC News*, February 24, 2012, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-17156686, accessed 3 March 2020.

[103] Ashok Sharma, "AP Explains: What's Behind Latest India-China Border Tension: Tensions Along the China-India Border High in the Himalayas Have Flared Again in Recent Weeks," last modified May 29, 2020, https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/ap-explains-latest-india-china-border-tension-70945227.

[104] Marc Santora, "For China and India, a Border Dispute That Never Ended," *New York Times,* October 19, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/16/world/asia/india-china-border.html. This Himalayan border dispute exemplifies the multifactorial nature of militant conflict. Political, militancy, and religious factors are all present.

[105] Massimo Introvigne, "China-India Border Dispute: It's About Tibet and Nepal—and Religion, Too," *Bitter Winter*, June 3, 2020, https://bitterwinter.org/china-india-border-dispute/.

Muslim-Buddhist violence is common in southeast Asia. Though majority Theravada, Thailand has followed a longstanding Mahayana tradition and trained soldiers to become Buddhist monks. Concerned about violence from Muslim terrorists, the Thai government has fortified monasteries, stringing barbed wire, stacking sandbags, and placing machine guns in Buddhist pavilions. Soldiers and police serve alongside monks in these monasteries, providing stockpiles of food, water, fuel, ammunition, and other supplies to support the community in case of war.

Buddhists and Muslims share space in the Rakhine state in Myanmar, southern Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Ladakh, and the eastern part of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. While there has been tolerance between the faiths, conflicts are not uncommon. Since 2017 Buddhist authorities have displaced and persecuted tens of thousands of Rohingya Muslims.[106]

Central Asian regions, including Xinjiang, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, were mostly Buddhist in the seventh to eleventh centuries but now are almost completely Muslim. Buddhists in southeast Asia fear the same fate.[107] Demographically, Muslims have many children and Buddhists have few. Several sayings of the Prophet encourage marriage and large families, so Muslim fecundity has a religious basis.[108] As one Burmese Buddhist monk said, "Burmese Buddhism is in danger of being destroyed forever, and that is why we must fight to defend it."[109]

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[106] Eleanor Albert and Lindsay Maizland, "The Rohingya Crisis," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 23, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis.

[107] Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "Buddhism and Islam in Asia: A Long and Complicated History," *The Diplomat*, October 29, 2017, https://thediplomat.com/2017/10/buddhism-and-islam-in-asia-a-long-and-complicated-history/.

[108] Sangeeta Dhami and Aziz Sheikh, "The Muslim Family: Predicament and Promise," *Western Journal of Medicine* 173, no. 5 (November 2000): 352–356, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC107 1164/. doi:10.1136/ewjm.173.5.352.

[109] Demieville, "Buddhism and War," 40.

Conclusion – The Doctrinal Militancy of Buddhism

Buddhism is one of the world's great religions, with over five hundred million adherents. Buddhism has a reputation for individualism, scientific validity, and non-violence. Its DMI is 2.64. The lived militancy examples indicate that Buddhism is far from nonviolent. Buddhism is not inherently political, as Hinduism and Islam are, but the leaders, including the Buddha himself, have sought political patronage and protection. Given the example of the Buddha and many others, such as described above for D. T. Suzuki in World War II, history suggests that Buddhism rapidly becomes an arm of the State. Modern Westerners largely ignore the Buddhist actions in the Shimabara Rebellion (Japan, 1637 to 1638), Boxer Rebellion (China, 1899 to 1901), Rape of Nanking (China, 1937 to 1938), the Great Leap Forward (China, 1958 to 1961), the Cultural Revolution (China, 1962 to 1976), and the Killing Fields (Cambodia, 1975 to 1979).

In conclusion, the doctrinal militancy of Buddhism, 2.64, is lower than the other religions in this study. Historically, Buddhist violence against Hindus was limited by the Himalayas and that against Christians was limited by the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Once European maritime technology overcame these barriers, violence ensued. Conflicts between Buddhists and Muslims has been primarily in Central Asia. Like the Hindus, Buddhists had trouble keeping control of their lands when threatened by Muslims and by European colonialists, who were predominantly Christian.

CHAPTER 4

THE RELIGIOUS MILITANCY OF HINDUISM

As reported in the Washington Post, on February 14, 2019, a suicide bomber from Jaish-e-Muhammad, a Pakistan-based Islamist militant group that is designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, killed forty Indian paramilitary police in the disputed province of Kashmir.[1] In reply, India bombed Pakistan and lost two aircraft and a pilot in the raid.

Mohandas Gandhi made nonviolence synonymous with Hinduism.[2] Popular websites prate that in Hinduism, non-violence is the highest virtue.[3] Consistent with the supposition that Hinduism is non-violent, one searches history largely in vain to find armies marching out of India to conquer China in the northeast, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the northwest, or Myanmar to the east. In his anthology of writings on non-violence, *All Men Are Brothers,* Mohandas Gandhi (1869 to 1948), the famous founder of modern India, wrote, "Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him."[4] Gandhi thus associated Hinduism, and its sister Buddhism, with non-violence in the minds of the exhausted post World War II world.

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[1] Joanna Slater, "India Strikes Pakistan in Severe Escalation of Tensions Between Nuclear Rivals," *The Washington Post,* last modified February 26, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/pakistan-says-indian-fighter-jets-crossed-into-its-territory-and-carried-out-limited-airstrike/2019/02/25/901f3000-3979-11e9-a06c-3ec8ed509d15_story.html?utm_term=.4a1999bf5963.

[2] In this chapter and throughout this work, I will use Gandhi's first name, Mohandas, rather than his title, Mahatma, which means "great souled" in Sanskrit. Occurrences of Mahatma will be seen in quotations or citations of other works.

[3] *Hinduism Today*, "Hindu Ethic of Nonviolence," accessed March 2, 2019, https://www.hinduismtoday.com/modules/smartsection/item.php?itemid=3578. India has carefully cultivated this reputation for non-violence in the western media. This website is one of many examples.

[4] Mahatma Gandhi, *All Men are Brothers* (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Trust, 1960), 99, http://gandhiashramsevagram.org/all-men-are-brothers/index.php.

Fifteen percent of the world's population of 7.5 billion people is Hindu (1.1 billion people). Over ninety percent of these live in India and the surrounding nations, with another three million in the West. Only Nepal has a higher proportion of Hindus by population than India does.

India is the seventh largest country in the world by land area (3.3 million square kilometers), even after the 1947 partition shaved off 1.5 million square kilometers (Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka). It has the second largest population on earth, following China. Indian civilization dates from the third millennium before Christ. It has defensible frontiers, guarded by the highest mountains on earth on the northeast and vast seas on the east, west, and south. Only in the northwest, through Iran, Pakistan, and the Punjab, can India be readily invaded by land. The Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians, and the Turks conquered all or part of India through this pathway.[5]

However, that same vulnerability could have been an opportunity. Why did the Europeans and Central Asians, much smaller societies with far fewer people and resources, subjugate the Indians rather than the Indians subjugating them? Why do sizeable minorities of Muslims (fourteen percent) and Christians (two and a half percent) exist in India rather than large minorities of Hindus in the Middle East and Central Asia? Could it be due to a tradition of non-violence in Hinduism itself? Air Marshal Raj Kumar Nehra, author of *Hinduism and its Military Ethos*, believes so. He points out that Hindus have a common saying: "nonviolence is the first duty."[6] Nehra continues, "this slogan has confused the Hindus to no end and is responsible for many of their ills. No other

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[5] Notably, the British did not. They conquered India from the sea, building naval and trading bases and expanding their reach inland, in alliance with local Hindu and Muslim rulers. Additionally, some historians argue that the Aryan "conquest" was really a largely non-violent settlement. Either way, they came from the northwest, which is the point of this sentence. The other groups were definitely conquerors.

[6] Raj Kumar Nehra, *Hinduism and Its Military Ethos* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2010), 226.

civilization talks of non-violence in that manner, or with such reverence."[7] He concludes, "The concept of *ahimsa* should have been cremated along with the bones of the Mahatma."[8] Nehra calls Indians to what he believes is a better understanding of Hinduism and a more assertive stance on the world stage. With this brief background in mind, I will answer the question, "What is the religious militancy of Hinduism?" This analysis will include an examination of doctrinal militancy, the militancy inherent in the testimony of Hindu scriptures, and lived factors.

The Doctrinal Militancy of Hinduism

To discover if Gandhi's or Nehra's view is more consistent with the message of Hindu scripture, investigators must examine the holy books of Hinduism. Using the methodology noted in chapter 1, and including the *Vedas*, the ten principal *Upanishads*, and the *Bhagavad Gita*, I will investigate the doctrinal militancy of Hinduism.

The Doctrinal Militancy
Index (DMI) Analysis

The *Vedas*, including the *Rig*, *Yajur*, *Sama*, and *Atharva Vedas*, are the oldest scriptures in Hinduism, authored and collected between 1500 and 500 BC. These books are considered *sruti*, the highest form of Hindu scripture; they include explanations of ritual practices, songs, stories, and incantations. Indra and Agni are the primary gods rather than Shiva and Krishna, who predominate in later books such as the *Bhagavad Gita*. The *Vedas* mention physical violence in 924 of 1215 total key word occurrences with 809 of 924 encouraging violence. In this study of the *Vedas*, the ratio of texts encouraging violence to texts being neutral toward violence was at 809 of 106. Judging by the utilization of the five key words in this study, the *Vedas* command violence in 4 of

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[7] Nehra, *Hinduism and Its Military Ethos*, 226.

[8] Nehra, *Hinduism and Its Military Ethos*, 229.

924 violent key word appearances and never prohibit it. Vedic scriptures typically ask

Agni or Indra to give their people victory and prescribe some ritual ceremony to induce

that god to do so.[9] These scriptures mention defeat or discourage physical violence in 6 of

924 physical violence keyword occurrences. Of the five words studied, "conquer" was

the most common militancy related word, and the context suggested that readers and

writers expected victory over those against whom they fought. Table 10 records the

number of occurrences of the five key militancy related word appearances in the *Vedas*

and the resulting Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) score.[10]

Table 10. Analysis results (The Four *Vedas*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	383	424	238	29	141	1215
Non-Count	28	0	0	0	4	32
Non-Physical	35	93	31	19	34	212
Physical/Human	320	331	207	10	103	971
Non-violent	3	34	4	2	4	47
Violent	317	297	203	8	99	924
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	3	0	3	6
Neutral, nothing (3)	46	26	28	2	4	106
Encourages violence (4)	269	271	171	6	92	809
Commands violence (5)	3	0	1	0	0	4
DMI	*3.88*	*3.91*	*3.84*	*3.75*	*3.90*	*3.88*

[9] Ralph T. H. Griffith, Arthur B. Keith, and Jon William Fergus, *The Vedas: The Samhitas of the Rig, Yajur (White and Black), Sama, and Atharva Vedas*, (N.p.: Kshetra Books, 2017), 74. This reference is comprised of primary sources, as this book contains all the Vedas with a small amount of commentary. Therefore, I have used it extensively. The Vedic scriptures provide many examples of requests for victory, such as the Rig Veda Hymn 5:9. Agni 6b–7: "May we, averting hate, subdue the wickedness of mortal men. O Agni, to our heroes bring us such riches, thou victorious God. May he protect us and nourish us, and help in gaining strength, be thou near us in fight for our success."

[10] Hindu Online, *The Four Vedas*, accessed May 4, 2019, http://www.hinduonline.co/Digital Library/Small Books/FourVedasEng.pdf. The data in this table result from an analysis of the online version of the Vedas cited here.

Interestingly, Vedic scriptures encouraging physical violence often associate victory with booty, gold, or some other word for physical wealth. "Wealth" and its stems (i.e., "wealthy") are found 1417 times, signifying importance. in the *Vedas*. "Booty" appears 112 times, "gold" or "golden" 523 times, and "rich" or its related words (riches, richness, etc.) 1159 times. The prominence of these words might suggest that wealth is a major motivator for Hindus to go to war, or at least a major expectation of those who fight. Anantanand Rambachan opposes the idea that fighting is associated with wealth in Hinduism. He argues that "violence for the sake of achieving power and wealth" is not sanctioned in the Hindu tradition.[11]

Sri Chinmoy considers the *Rig Veda* the "most inspiring, most soulful, and most fruitful Veda."[12] He characterizes life as a "battlefield," both internal and external, and suggests that the seers who wrote the *Rig Veda* are the "builders of Hindu culture and Hindu civilization."[13] Chinmoy thus recognizes the non-physical and physical natures of the *Rig* with respect to militancy. Chinmoy, like Nehru, writes of "Hindu civilization" rather than a Hindu religion isolated from the rest of society. The religion of Hinduism is inseparable from Hindu society and culture.

Anantanand Rambachan emphasizes non-violent traditions in Hinduism but notes that physical violence is acceptable for self-defense and "implementing the injunctions of the *Vedas*."[14] This second justification vastly expands the potential

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[11] Anantanand Rambachan, "The Co-Existence of Violence and Non-Violence in Hinduism," *The Ecumenical Review* 55, no 3 (2003): 115–21.

[12] Sri Chinmoy, *Commentaries on the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Bhagavad Gita: The Three Branches of India's Life Tree* (Jamaica, NJ: Aum Publications, 1996), 20.

[13] Chinmoy, *Commentaries on the Vedas,* 24.

[14] Rambachan, "The Co-Existence of Violence and Nonviolence in Hinduism," 116.

justifications for war. The key word usages noted in this study reflect this broader range

of war justifications.

Table 11. Analysis results (The *Upanishads*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	0	6	1	0	0	7
Non-Count (OW/ITCN)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Physical	0	6	1	0	0	7
Physical/Human	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-violent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neutral, nothing (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Encourages violence (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DMI	–	–	–	–	–	–

The *Upanishads*, the earliest group of which was written between 800 and 200

BC, are largely philosophical texts focusing on the Self. The ten principal *Upanishads* are

Isha, *Katha*, *Brihadaranyaka*, *Chandogya*, *Mundaka*, *Mandukya*, *Kena*, *Prashna*,

Taittiriya, and *Aitareya*.[15] The *Brihadaranyaka,* which Paul Deussen considers "the

greatest and most beautiful of the *Upanishads*," and the others listed have been the

subject of this analysis.[16] These *Upanishads* have only seven mentions of the key words

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[15] Eknath Easwaran, trans., *The Upanishads* (Tomales CA: Nilgiri Press, 1987), 5–6. Easwaran and the online sources agree on these ten. In addition to those listed, Easwaran adds Shvetashvatara, the faces of God. It was not included in the digital version and is not included in this analysis. Easwaran's book contains the actual Vedas and therefore his book is a primary source.

[16] Paul Deussen, The *System of the Vedanta,* trans. Charles Johnston (Chicago: Motilal Banarsidass, 1912), 24, https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.114147/page/n23/mode/2up?q= beautiful.

for militancy in this study; all of which are non-physical. Other key words related to militancy, including "army" and "soldiers," appear four times each, but those instances are also non-physical or non-violent. The *Upanishads* therefore have no militancy score to figure into the analysis and must be excluded. Much shorter than the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* mention "wealth" only eighteen times, "gold" or "golden" ten times, and "rich(es)" and "booty" not at all. Unlike the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* highlight the superiority of self-control and self-fulfillment to material gain. Table 11 reports the DMI analysis for the second major division of Hindu holy books chosen for this study, the *Upanishads*.[17]

Table 12. Analysis results (The *Bhagavad Gita*)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	8	11	14	2	5	40
Non-Count (OW/ITCN)	2	0	0	0	3	5
Non-Physical	0	8	1	2	0	11
Physical/Human	6	3	13	0	2	24
Non-violent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violent	6	3	13	0	2	24
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	2	2	4	0	1	9
Neutral, nothing (3)	1	0	3	0	0	4
Encourages violence (4)	3	1	1	0	0	5
Commands violence (5)	0	0	5	0	1	6
DMI	*3.17*	*2.67*	*3.54*	*–*	*3.50*	*3.33*

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[17] W. B. Yeats and Shree Purohit Swami, trans., *The Ten Principal Upanishads*, Holybooks.com, last modified May 21, 2012, https://www.holybooks.com/ the-ten-principal-upanishads/. This online version, as well as *The Upanishads* by Eknath Easwaran, contain the actual *Upanishads*, a primary source. The analysis results in this table come directly from this digital version.

Table 12 reveals the DMI analysis results for the most recent Hindu holy book, the *Bhagavad Gita*. The *Gita* is part of the Hindu epic poem, the *Mahabharata*. Of forty references to key militancy words, twenty-four (sixty percent) are physical, human, and violent. Eleven (twenty-nine percent) are non-physical. Six (fifteen percent) command violence, and no verses prohibit violence.[18]

The *Bhagavad Gita* both encourages and discourages war. It never prohibits war and at times commands it. The theme of the *Bhagavad Gita* is that man must do his duty, regardless of his personal desires, and leave the outcome to the gods. Chinmoy sees the Battle of Kurukshetra, in which Krishna encourages the Kshatriya Prince Arjuna to do his duty and fight his enemies, as an historical event with historical characters and locations.[19] The teaching is therefore, "Do your duty. Do not waver. Do not be faint-hearted. You are a *Kshatriya*. There can be no greater invitation than that of a righteous war for a *Kshatriya*."[20] Anantanand Rambachan considers this was a battle "fought in defense of justice and righteousness and for the security and well-being of the community."[21] Hindus such as Mohandas Gandhi interpret the *Gita* allegorically rather than historically, with the conflict being internal rather than external, as was discussed in chapter 1. In this case, the *Gita's* teachings on physical violence are closer to the *Upanishads* than to the *Vedas*. Including each of the major scriptures in Hinduism, the findings regarding the Doctrinal Militancy Index of Hinduism are noted in Table 13. The *Vedas* were written much earlier and are more militant than the *Upanishads*, which

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[18] Shri Purohit Swami, trans., *The Bhagavad Gita*, accessed May 4, 2019, https://holybooks-lichtenbergpress.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/The-Bhagavad Gita-Translation-by-Shri-Purohit-Swami.pdf. This digital version is a primary source containing the actual Bhagavad Gita. As such, this source was analyzed directly to provide the numbers noted here.

[19] Chinmoy, *Commentaries on the Vedas,* 140–42. Chinmoy names the place, the rivers, the activities, and other details indicating the historicity of the battle.

[20] Chinmoy, *Commentaries on the Vedas,* 152.

[21] Anantanand, "The Coexistence of Violence and Nonviolence," 116.

themselves predated the *Bhagavad Gita*. The Hindu war epics were not comprehensively

analyzed, but a random sample was taken and analyzed.[22]

Table 13. Doctrinal militancy index (DMI) scoring chart–Hinduism

Religion	Source of Authority	Score (1–5)
Hinduism	*Vedas*	3.88
	Upanishads (Ten Principle)	–
	Bhagavad Gita	3.33
	Average (DMI score)	3.61

Hinduism and Buddhism have a higher likelihood than the Abrahamic religions

to use a militancy related word in a non-physical or non-human manner, such as when

one conquers a desire or when a dog fights a wolf. Judaism and Christianity have the

lowest percentage of all the religions studied of militancy key words that have non-

physical or non-human meanings. "Battle," "conquer," "fight," "sword," and "war" are

less likely to refer to human physical violence in Hinduism and Buddhism than they are

in Christianity or Judaism. Hinduism has a higher proportion of key word appearances

coded as "encourages" than any other religion, but a smaller proportion of "commands"

than Islam or Christianity.

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[22] I did not include the Hindu war epics, Mahabharata and Ramayana because neither book meets the inclusion criteria identified in chapter 1. Furthermore, to have included these long works would be to have oversampled Hinduism relative to the other four faiths. I did, however, perform a subgroup analysis of these works to determine if including the epics would have notably changed the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) for Hinduism. Randomly sampling thirty-eight of the 756 references (5%) to Battle, Conquer, Fight, Sword, and War in the Ramayana demonstrated a DMI of 3.56. Randomly sampling forty-seven of the 9289 (0.5%) references to the five key words in the Mahabharata revealed a DMI of 3.52. The DMI for Hinduism calculated for the included books (the Vedas, Upanishads, and Bhagavad Gita). The difference is small and would not have changed the ranking of Hindu doctrinal militancy relative to Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, or Christianity.

**Discussion of the Doctrinal Militancy
of Hinduism–Scriptures**

Hindu religious texts, whether the highly regarded *sruti* (Sanskrit "that which

is heard") or the lesser regarded *smrti* (Sanskrit "that which is remembered"), do not

claim authority over Hindus the way that the *Quran* or the Bible do over Muslims and

Christians, respectively. YHWH tells Joshua never to abandon the study of the Law (Josh

1:8), but Krishna says to Arjuna, "just as a reservoir is of little use when the whole

countryside is flooded, scriptures are of little use to the illumined man or woman, who

sees the Lord everywhere."[23] Nonetheless, Hindu holy books influence the behavior of

many Hindus.

The four *Vedas* are the most authoritative texts of Hinduism, and the first, the

Rig Veda, the knowledge of recited praise, is the oldest.[24] Written around the same time as

the Jewish Torah (1500–1200 BC), the *Rig Veda* contains hymns and verses about Hindu

deities and instructions on ritual. The setting of the *Rig Veda* was the interplay, peaceful

and violent, of the Aryans of the north with the Dravidians of the south.[25] R. N. Dandekar

notes, "Many of the hymns glorify the heroic and martial virtues of the conquerors, with

an emphasis on success in battle as proof of divine favor."[26]

The god Indra is featured in over twenty-five percent of the poems of the *Rig*

Veda, often imbibing the plant-based drink soma, which intoxicates him and gives him

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[23] Eknath Easwaran, trans., *The Bhagavad Gita*, 2nd ed. (Tomales, CA: Nilgiri Press, 2007), 94. Easwaran's book includes the actual text of the *Bhagavad Gita*, and this quote comes directly from that Hindu holy book.

[24] Robert Charles Zaehner, *Hinduism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 6. The antiquity of a religious book is often associated with greater authority in the eyes of its adherents.

[25] The Dasyu were an aboriginal people in India who fought the Aryans during the Aryan migration. They were described as dark-skinned phallus worshippers with harsh voices. The origin of the word Dasyu may be Dasa, "servant" in Sanskrit. The word also refers to the entirety of people who are not in the Hindu caste system. The Dravidians are a specific ethnic group in southern India. The traditional theory is that Aryans from the northwest conquered the indigenous people in the mid-second century BC. This theory has been challenged vigorously, so I used the phrase, "interplay, peaceful and violent," rather than conquest. See also T. R. S. Prasanna, "There Is No Scientific Basis for the Aryan Invasion Theory," *Current Science* 103 no. 2 (2012): 216–21.

[26] R. N. Dandekar, "Cosmic and Ritual Order in Vedic Literature," in Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition,* 7.

power over Vritra and other demons.[27] Hymn 2.15 Indra, comprised of only ten verses,

describes the god Indra slaying a dragon, performing miracles, slaughtering the demon

Vala, and slaying the Dasyu, all in the Soma's rapture, which is mentioned eight times in

the hymn. In Hymn 7.48 Ribhus (Sun deity) of the *Rig Veda*, petitioners ask their god to

help them in their wars: "May Vija aid us in the fight for booty, and helped by Indra may

we quell the foeman, for they rule many tribes with high dominion and conquer all their

foes in close encounter."[28]

Sexuality and riches are important features in the *Rig Veda*. Dandekar

summarizes Rig Veda 1:115 by saying, "Here Dawn is a lovely woman, driving her

chariot across the skies to usher in the new day, and a young girl, stripping away her

garment to reveal her naked radiance."[29] *Rig* Hymns 5.7 and 5.8 ask Agni (fire god) to

"bestow fame, splendor, and intelligence" and to "lavish wealth" upon the petitioner.[30]

James D. Sellmann explains:

> The Hindu tradition is practical in nature, recognizing that the ultimate aim of life,
> the peace of liberation (moksha), is grounded on the other aims of life, namely,
> physical well-being or wealth (artha), emotional well-being or love and security
> (kama), which are necessary conditions for one to pursue community building and
> social responsibility (*dharma*).[31]

The other *Vedas* have similar themes. The *Yajurveda* (White and Black)

focuses on the knowledge of sacrifice, the *Samaveda* on the knowledge of chanted

hymns, and the Atharvaveda on the knowledge of prayer, charms, and spells. Adhyaya 8

in the *White Yajurveda* beseeches the gods to help the sacrificer become a strong male

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[27] Dandekar, "Cosmic and Ritual Order in Vedic Literature," 1:15. Soma is a ritual drink derived from the juice of an unknown plant. It seems to have been a hallucinogen.

[28] Griffith, Keith, and Fergus, *The Vedas*, 108.

[29] Dandekar, "Cosmic and Ritual Order in Vedic Literature," 1:14. This book is an anthology of original articles and therefore contains a collection of primary sources.

[30] Griffith, Keith, and Fergus, *The Vedas*, 74. Again, this book contains the actual Vedas, the oldest, most authoritative, and primary sources.

[31] James Sellmann, "Asian Insights on Violence and Peace," *Asian Philosophy* 19 no. 2, (2009): 159–71.

(impregnator who sires sons), gain forgiveness of sins, acquire wealth, and "beat our foes away, humble the men who challenge us."[32] The horse sacrifice (*Ashvamedha*) in the *Black Yajurveda* is the one of the most important rites in ancient India. By performing the *Ashvamedha*, essentially a military rite, the king legitimized his rule, gained divine favor for prosperity, and ensured victory against his enemies and expansion of his borders.[33]

The Samaveda continues the heavy emphasis on temporal prosperity and military success. Verses two and three of Dasati 4:212 read, "And in thy friendship, Indu, most sublime and glorious, may we subdue all those who war with us. Those awful weapons which thou hast, sharpened at point to stroke men down–guard us therewith from every foe."[34] Finally, the charms and incantations of the *Atharvaveda* promise protection from illness and injury, but also protection against enemies, and military success, for those who use them.

The DMI of 3.88 demonstrates that the *Vedas* are the most doctrinally militant of Hindu scriptures. Readers may object that such a number is irrelevant as a measure of current Hindu militancy because few modern Hindus consult the *Vedas* for religious guidance. First, this objection is incorrect as Vedic verses are used in regular worship as well as ceremonies such as weddings.[35] Burjor Avari writes, regarding the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*, "They are not dead works of intellect; they are consulted and made use of

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[32] Griffith, Keith, and Fergus, *The Vedas*, 201–02.

[33] Roman Zaroff, "Aśvamedha -A Vedic Horse Sacrifice," *Studia Mythologica Salvica*, no. 8 (2005): 75–86, https://www.academia.edu/21275602/. This article provides details and history on the horse sacrifice. Horse sacrifices were also considered powerful rituals in Roman, Irish, and Nordic traditions.

[34] Griffith, Keith, and Fergus, *The Vedas*, 367. Again, this book contains the actual Vedas, a primary source.

[35] Carolyn Mordecai, *Weddings, Dating and Love Customs of Cultures Worldwide*, (Phoenix: Nittany Publishers, 1999), 18–21. This survey of dating and love customs suggests that life stage rituals hold peculiar meaning in the lives of people. The Vedas read at a Hindu wedding or funeral may be even more important than a *smrti purana* read rarely in school.

even today in contemporary India."[36] Second, this objection is not relevant to this dissertation, as I am searching for militancy as found in key scriptures, not in any specific modern practice or interpretation of this militancy.

The *Upanishads*, estimated to have been written between 600 and 100 BC, are more focused on the inner world than their Vedic ancestors.[37] The goal of life according to the *Upanishads* is *moksha*, release of the person from *samsara* (the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth). However, those who see "sacrificial ritual as the highest spiritual good go again and again through the cycle of old age and death."[38] Asceticism and spiritual discovery are the real path to moksha.

For example, in the *Katha Upanishad*, Yama, the "king of death," promises three "boons" to his student Nachiketa.[39] For his first boon, the young man requests that his father's anger would be appeased, and that he would receive his father's love. Yama grants it. For his second boon, Nachiketa asks to learn the fire sacrifice. Yama teaches him. For his third boon, the young man asks Yama to answer whether a man continues to exist after his death. Yama replies:

> Ask for sons and grandsons who will live a hundred years. Ask for herds of cattle, elephants and horses, gold, and vast land. And ask to live as long as you desire. Or, if you can think of anything more desirable, ask for that, with wealth and long life as well. Nachiketa, be the ruler of a great kingdom, and I will give you the utmost capacity to enjoy the pleasures of life. Ask for beautiful women of loveliness rarely seen on earth, riding in chariots, skilled in music, to attend on you. But Nachiketa, don't ask me about the secret of death.[40]

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[36] Burjor Avari, *India: The Ancient Past: A History of the Indian Subcontinent from c. 7000 BCE to CE 1200* (London: Routledge Books, 2016), 94.

[37] This study did not evaluate all the *Upanishads*, of which there are over two hundred. To do so would have, as with the Hindu epics, resulted in oversampling. Rather, it studied the ten most influential *Upanishads*, as indicated by experts in the field such as Easwaran. The two examples listed, found in two different *Upanishads*, illustrate common ideas of the ten principal *Upanishads*.

[38] R. N. Dandekar, "The Ultimate Reality in the Upanishads," in Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 31.

[39] A "boon" is a "thing that is helpful or beneficial." Also, it is "a favor or a request."

[40] Easwaran, *The Upanishads*, 73–74.

Nachiketa refuses to be tempted by temporal pleasures, and Yama is forced to answer, saying that the Self alone is eternal, the Self is Brahman, the Self is the underlying spiritual unity of the world, and the Self is in each of us. Success and pleasure in this life are thus diminished, while spiritual, philosophical knowledge, and experience become paramount.

This theme of valuing spiritual experience and philosophical knowledge over temporal pleasures persists in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, which recounts a dialogue between King Janaka and the sage Yajnavalkya. The king begins by asking about Self, the ultimate reality, which is the sea of all consciousness. Overwhelmed by the wisdom and power of the sage's words, Janaka concludes with, "Venerable One, I offer myself and my kingdom in your service."[41] The *Upanishads* emphasize the spiritual and philosophical over the physical and temporal. The otherworldly focus of the *Upanishads*, as exemplified by the stories of Nachiketa and Janaka, tends to diminish the importance of the external world and tends to influence the priorities of the faithful away from war and wealth.

The *Bhagavad Gita (Song of the Lord)* may be the most beloved of Hindu scriptures. Though not *sruti*, as discussed in chapter 1, it is very highly regarded, having been the inspiration for Mohandas Gandhi's work.[42] The *Gita* is a seven-hundred verse portion of the *Mahabharata*, which tells of the Pandava prince (Kshatriya), Arjuna, telling his chariot driver, Krishna, that he will not go to battle against his friends and family members in the opposing army. The driver, really the incarnation of the Supreme God, teaches Arjuna that his duty (*dharma*) as a prince was to fight, despite the terror and

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[41] Easwaran, *The Upanishads*, 116.

[42] Mahadev Desai, *The Gita According to Gandhi* (Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Mudranalaya, 1946), 9. https://www.mkgandhi.org/ebks/gita-according-to-gandhi.pdf. It contains Gandhi's writings on the Gita.

bloodshed that would inevitably follow.[43] He sums up his arguments in the final chapter: "The person who is free from ego, who has attained purity of heart, though he slays these people, he does not slay and is not bound by his action."[44]

Gandhi argues that the *Bhagavad Gita* is allegory, describing the duties of caste, the characteristics of ideal fathers, the nature of duty, and the paths to moksha. In fact, Gandhi sees parallels between the *Gita* and Jesus' *Sermon on the Mount*. He writes,

> Especially, the Sermon on the Mount went straight to my heart. I compared it with the Gita. The verses, 'but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak too,' delighted me beyond measure and put me in mind of Shamal Bhatt's 'for a bowl of water give a goodly meal,' etc. My young mind tried to unify the teaching of the Gita, the Light of Asia, and the Sermon on the Mount. That renunciation was the highest form of religion appealed to me greatly. (1948, 92)[45]

K. N. Upadhyaya, in his article "The Bhagavad Gita on War and Peace," contends that the *Gita* describes a specific historical event and therefore condones "righteous" war and violence.[46] The fact that the battle has a specific location, modern Kurukshetra in the state of Haryana, India, and a specific time, roughly 1000 BC, suggest that the *Gita* is based, however loosely, on a historical event.[47] Upadhyaya continues, "In fact, if the allegorical or metaphorical interpretation is accepted, the *Gita* will lose all its

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[43] "*Dharma*" in the Hindu scriptures is a notoriously difficult word to define. It is used to refer to the whole teachings of Hinduism, its "Canon Law." Zaehner calls *dharma* "the form of things as they are and the power that keeps them there." From the perspective of an individual, one's *dharma* includes duties, rights, virtues, and conduct. I have chosen to use the word "duty" to emphasize that part of *dharma* in this dissertation, but readers should be advised that the actual meaning in Hinduism is much broader.

[44] Easwaran, *The Bhagavad Gita*, 258.

[45] Uma Majmudar, "Mahatma Gandhi and the Bhagavad Gita," American Vedantist, December 6, 2014, https://americanvedantist.org/2014/articles/mahatma-gandhi-and-the-Bhagavad Gita/.

[46] K. N. Upadhyaya, "The Bhagavad Gītā on War and Peace," *Philosophy East and West* 19, no. 2 (1969): 159–69.

[47] Easwaran, *The Bhagavad Gita*, 13. This source provides the primary source documents and a fuller commentary on the background of this battle.

relevance to the context of the Mahabharata in which it is fitted, and which itself presupposes and relates throughout the text."[48]

In summary, Hindu scholars are divided on whether to interpret the *Gita* literally or figuratively. If one compares the *Gita* account with the account of the Fall of Troy in the Iliad, which is dated around 1200 BC, Upadhyaya and Homer provide similar historical details. Even as archeology has moved Troy from legend to history, archeology is also moving the *Gita* from legend to history. For example, the city of Dwaraka mentioned in the *Mahabharata* was discovered by underwater archeologists.[49] Other findings, unknown to Gandhi, have supported the historicity of the *Mahabharata* and the *Gita*. As modern science has found a basis in history for the Iliad, so it seems to be finding a basis in history for the Mahabharata. With such new evidence, a literal interpretation, keeping in mind the normal caveats for understanding ancient events, makes the most sense.[50] Thus, the *Gita* reveals a lot about Hindu militancy.

The *smrti* texts include the *Puranas*, Law Books (such as the *Law of Manu*), *Sutras*, and the great epics: *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, and *Bhagavad Gita* (around 200 BC). The *Mahabharata* (200,000 verses, 1.8 million words), the world's longest epic poem, recounts the Kurukshetra War between the Kaurava and the Pandava rulers. The *Ramayana* (24,000 verses) tells the story of Rama, the seventh avatar of the god Vishnu, and his battle against the demon-king Ravana.

As noted in chapter 1, I did not calculate the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) on other *smrti* texts, but some of the more influential ones are worth discussing.

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[48] Upadhyaya, "The Bhagavad Gītā on War and Peace," 160.

[49] Archaeology World, "India: Archaeologists found 9,000 Years Old City Beneath the Surface of Modern-day Dwarka," last modified August 27, 2020, https://archaeology-world.com/india-archaeologists-found-9000-years-old-city-beneath-the-surface-of-modern-day-dwarka/.

[50] Ancient history is markedly different from modern history. Ancient societies had local and regional calendars, not universal ones, so comparative dating is difficult. Documents are rare, either having never been made or having been destroyed over the ages. Perishable materials such as wood and flesh decay, limiting archeological findings. Records are often topical rather than chronological, as readers of the Old Testament know well.

According to Kautilya, in his famous text, the *Arthashastra*, Hindu kings have two primary and continual responsibilities. The first is the defense of their realms from external and internal foes. The second is "the enlargement of the territory by conquest."[51] There are four ways to accomplish this: (1) a "war by counsel" in which a weaker king makes alliances and gains time against a stronger foe, (2) "open warfare, specifying time and place - a set piece battle,"[52] (3) concealed warfare, which includes psychological warfare, bribery, and other instigation of treachery in the enemy camp, and (4) clandestine warfare including assassination and sabotage. Kautilya provides detailed instructions for the organization of armies, the base camp, the battle ground, preparations for battle, open warfare, battle formations, sieges, and every other part of war. For those kshatriyas whose *dharma* requires that they run nations, political and military instruction is an important part of their faith.

The *Manusmrti* (Law of Manu) contains laws that organize society. It has, like the *Arthashastra*, heavily influenced all aspects of Hindu society, including war and the use of violence, over the centuries. Manu instructs kings: "as he protects his subjects, never to back away from battle" when challenged by rivals, whether they are stronger, weaker, or equal in strength.[53] Furthermore, they are not to use "treacherous" weapons such as those "barbed, laced with poison, or whose tips are ablaze with fire."[54] Certain men should not be killed, including the effeminate, the handicapped, the wounded, and the defenseless. Booty from a slain enemy belongs to the man who kills him, after a

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[51] Kautilya, *The Arthashastra,* trans. L. N. Rangarajan (Haryana, India: Penguin Classics, 1987), 636. This book is an English translation of the original Arthashastra.

[52] Kautilya, *The Arthashastra*, 636.

[53] Patrick Olivelle, trans., *The Law Code of Manu* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 112. This book is an actual translation of the Indian *Manusmrti*. It is an authoritative primary source.

[54] Olivelle *The Law Code of Manu*, 113.

portion is given to the king.[55] Kings should acquire from others but not oppress their own people.

Raj Balkaran and A. Walker Dorn analyzed the *Valmiki Ramayana*, one of the two great Indian epics, against the classical Christian just war criteria, as derived from Saint Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* and subsequent development.[56] They concluded that war in the *Ramayana* met the requirements for just cause, right intent, net benefit, legitimate authority, last resort, proportionality of means, and right conduct.[57] They also identified differences between the Hindu tradition and the Christian tradition. First, the *Ramayana* teaches that the *Kshatriya*, the warrior caste, can use violence for protection and punishment. By contrast, Christian just war justifies protection but not punishing your enemy. Second, the *Rama* does not allow preemptive self-defense but does allow wars of conquest.[58] Third, in the Western tradition, any legitimate national authority may authorize war, but only leaders in the Kshatriya caste may do so in the Ramayana.[59] Fourth, armies in the Indian Epics may only fight each other if they have equal strength.[60] Christian Just War theory does not require that armies be equally matched to have a just war.[61]

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[55] Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu*, 113. The distribution of booty after a victory has been a major issue for ancient armies. The issue could make or break the discipline and effectiveness of an army. Muhammad kept 20% of the booty from his wars and left the rest for his soldiers.

[56] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Question 40, Article 1, Christ Medicus Foundation, accessed November 28, 2020, https://www.newadvent.org/summa/3040.htm. This is a primary source of Aquinas' writings.

[57] Raj Balkaran and A. Walter Dorn, "Violence in the 'Valmiki Ramayana': Just War Criteria in an Ancient Indian Epic," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 3 (2012): 659–90.

[58] Preemptive self-defense refers to attacking enemies before they attack you. The Israelis in the Six Day War (June 1967) attacked the Egyptian and Syrian armies that were mobilizing to attack them.

[59] The West does not have a formal caste system, so leaders can be drawn out of any segment of society. Hinduism has a caste system and leaders are only supposed to come from one caste, the Kshatriya.

[60] Of course, armies strive for overwhelming strength against their enemies. The ideal of having the fairest possible fight does not often prevail in the real world.

[61] Balkaran and Dorn, "Violence in the 'Valmiki Ramayana,'" 659–90.

The brief discussion of the holy books of Hinduism reveals two strains of thought regarding war. First, war and violence, when sponsored by a legitimate authority and considered just, are not only tolerated, but they are also glorified. Second, nonviolence is lauded. The Upanishads promote the idea that religion and asceticism, not sacrifices or good deeds, lead to *moksha*. Other texts in Hinduism glorify non-violence. Yudhishthira is portrayed in the *Mahabharata* as a prince commanding the ultimately victorious Pandava army. His *Kshatriya dharma* (duty) was to slaughter his enemies, but he was disgusted by the rivers of blood that resulted. Yudhishthira came to see an overriding *dharma*, that of nonviolence (*ahimsa*).

Self-sacrifice is another important theme in Hinduism. A foundational story in the *Rig Veda* describes the willing sacrifice of the god Purusha. He was murdered at the hands of other deities, and out of his corpse man was created. The *Brahmins* (religious leaders and scholars) came from his mouth, the *Kshatriyas* (*rajanyas*: warriors and kings) from his arms, the *Vaishyas* (merchants and landholders) from his thighs, and the *Shudras* (servants and slaves) from his feet. Thus, the Hindu castes came into being. Robert Charles Zaehner argues that these castes form the fundamental structure of Hindu life.[62] Arun R. Swamy agrees, "Hindus have no central organization, no single religious text, and do not share the same rituals, practices, deities, or beliefs. What Hindus across India shared was a distinctive social structure, composed of 'hereditary occupational groups or castes that were ranked according to various criteria.'"[63] Swamy's statement suggests that the caste system, not a particular doctrine or book, is the core of Hinduism. There is truth in this assertion, though certain Hindu doctrines such as the transmigration of souls and the law of karma are close to universal among Hindus.

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[62] Zaehner, *Hinduism*, 17–19. The caste system that developed from this story has determined Indian social structure for over 2,000 years.

[63] Arun R. Swamy, ed., "Hindu Nationalism - What's Religion Got to Do with It?" *Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies*, Special issue (March 2003):1–16, http://apcss.org/Publications/ Ocasional%20Papers /OPHinduNationalism.pdf.

What is the doctrinal militancy of Hinduism? The DMI of 3.61 reveals that Hinduism is doctrinally more militant than Buddhism and Judaism, and as will be covered in chapter 6, Christianity. Chapter 5 will reveal that Islam is doctrinally more militant than Hinduism. Nonviolence is a part of Hinduism, but the weight of the Hindu scriptures supports war and violence under many circumstances. Air Marshall Nehra is right in his assertion that Hinduism is not as doctrinally nonviolent as many believe. In his nonviolence, Gandhi was an outlier among Hindus. In fact, his insistence on nonviolent reconciliation with Pakistan in 1947 and 1948 cost him his life at the hands of Hindu nationalists. Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Godse, was hanged in 1949, but now is celebrated as a hero by many Indians, including members of the current Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government under Prime Minister Narendra Modi.[64]

The Lived Militancy of Hinduism

The doctrinal militancy of Hinduism is moderate (DMI = 3.61), but as with the other faiths, such is only part of the total militancy of Hinduism. The historical example, known here as the lived militancy, reveals how Hindus in the past have understood the militancy of their religion and how they have acted in response.[65] Since Hinduism has no identified founder, I will use a proxy, the writing of the *Upanishads* (ended around 500 BC), to date the "founder and his earliest disciples."[66] Using the Upanishads as the

[64] Mahesh Shivhare, "War of Words between Congress, BJP as Godse's Anniversary Celebrated in Madhya Pradesh," *Hindustan Times,* last modified May 20, 2020, https://www.hindustan times.com/india-news/war-of-words-between-congress-bjp-as-godse-s-anniversary-celebrated-in-madhya-pradesh/story-7JPipigY8eLu2ZuEzSFKZP.html. Societies reveal volumes about their priorities and their development by who they celebrate and who they despise. India has undergone a major shift towards Hindu nationalism in the past seventy years.

[65] As noted in chapter 1, doctrinal militancy is defined here as the militancy encouraged by the religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy is defined here as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

[66] Unlike Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, Hinduism has no known founder. Therefore, those who want to study Hinduism over time must pick a date on which to begin of their study. Most scholars measure Judaism from Moses in 1400 BC, Buddhism from Siddhartha Gautama in 500 BC,

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boundary between Vedic Brahmanism and Hinduism reflects the philosophical realities

that, as Zaehner writes,

> What most sharply distinguishes Hinduism, like its offshoot, Buddhism, from the religions of Semitic origin, is its unquestioning acceptance of the doctrine of rebirth, reincarnation, or the transmigration of souls. Of this there is no trace in the Samhitas or the Brahmanas, and it is only when we come to the Upanishads that we first meet with this doctrine which was to become central to all Hindu thought.[67]

As with the other religions in this study, I have divided the survey of lived

militancy into the examples of early, within the first three centuries, and later leaders of

Hinduism.

**Examples of the Early Leaders
of Hinduism**

The centuries before and during the Mauryan Empire (322 to 187 BC)

illustrate early lived militancy in Buddhism, as noted in chapter 3. Chandragupta, the

ruthless founder of the first great empire on the subcontinent, the Mauryan Empire, was a

Jain. Historians can find an array of examples of Hindu militancy from the Mauryan era,

but this study cannot use Chandragupta himself as an example of Hindu militancy. Burjor

Avari summarizes Indian and Hindu militancy in that period: "with a few exceptions, the

Indian monarchs turned out to be no less violent and cruel, or vain and stupid, than their

many counterparts in various parts of the world in different epochs."[68]

The Mauryan Emperor Ashoka (304 to 232 BC) converted from Jainism to

Buddhism, ostentatiously disavowing violence.[69] Ashoka's empire was majority Hindu,

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Christianity from Jesus in AD 30, and Islam from Muhammad in AD 620. The Vedic religion is traditionally Brahmanism, and Hinduism as it is manifested today began with the writing of the Upanishads and finally the completion of the Gita.

[67] Zaehner, *Hinduism*, 57.

[68] Avari, *India*, 101. Burjor Avari (1938 to 2019) taught at Manchester Metropolitan University.

[69] Buddhism was especially attractive to ambitious men from lower castes who did not wish to be confined by the caste system to their hereditary *dharma*. Shudras and Vaishyas were not allowed to be kings, but Buddhists were.

and his realm stretched from Afghanistan to Bangladesh, including all except the southernmost tip of India. Ashoka expanded Buddhism aggressively, waging wars against Hindu kingdoms, most notably Kalinga. Ashoka's heirs demonstrate both Buddhist and Hindu militancy.

The era of composition of the *Mahabharata*, which includes the *Bhagavad Gita*, is estimated to be between 200 and 100 BC. The first three hundred years of post-*Bhagavad Gita* Hinduism (100 BC to AD 200) saw frequent conflict between the Indians (Hindus), the Parthians (Pahlavi), the Shakas (Scythians), and the Greeks (Bactrian and Indo).

The Hindu Shunga Empire (185 to 75 BC) rose in the central state of Magadha and fought continually. The Kalinga kingdom regained its power, and many other formerly Mauryan regions were lost to Hindu aggression. The Kanva Dynasty (75 to 30 BC) and other short-lived and weak dynasties followed. The Kushan tribe migrated from Central Asia, occupied most of northern India, and settled into a kingdom that lasted from AD 30 to 250.[70] Tolerated by the Kushans and aided by the friendly Satavahana Dynasty (37 BC to AD 236) in the south, Buddhism spread. By the early centuries after Christ, Buddhism was the predominant religion in northwestern India, including modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan.[71] Smaller kingdoms fought each other regularly, such as the wars over trade between the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Cheras.[72] The continual swirl of conquerors, the endless religious conversions and reconversions, and the weakness of

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[70] Avari, *India*, 154. The Kushans tolerated all religions, and their leaders could be Hindu, Buddhist, or Zoroastrian.

[71] A. L. Basham, "The Vehicle of the Thunderbolt and the Decline of Buddhism in India," in Embree, *Soures of Indian Tradition*, 188. The Buddhist period in Afghanistan explains the presence of the statues of the Buddha, the "Buddhas of Bamyan," destroyed by the Taliban in 2001.

[72] Avari, *India*, 249–51. As in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, trade wars between petty kings proliferated.

competing rulers prompted regular conflict during the first three centuries of the Christian

Era in India. Such militancy is consistent with the instruction in the Hindu *Vedas*.

**Examples of the Later Leaders
of Hinduism**

In AD 320, the Hindu Gupta Empire arose. Lacking royal support, Buddhism

receded. "Life in the monasteries became gradually more and more estranged from that of

the people, and the activities of monks, grown wealthy from longstanding endowments,

became increasingly confined to small circles of initiates."[73] Hindu rulers of the Gupta

Empire (AD 320–550) promoted Hindu supremacy throughout India.

The collapse of the Guptas led to a period of smaller empires stretching across

India for the next six hundred years. These included the Gurjaras in the north (AD 550 to

1018), the Vishnukundinas in the south (fifth and sixth centuries), the Maitrakas in the

west (AD 475 to 76), the Rajput Chauhans in the north and west (eighth to twelfth

centuries), and others.

Arabs have traded with Indians along shipping routes across the Arabian Sea to

the Indus River valley since at least 3000 BC.[74] Within five years of the death of

Muhammad (d. AD 632), an Arab Muslim army attacked Thane, near Bombay.[75] Dozens

more expeditions followed, climaxing in the Battle of Raor/Aror (AD 712). The Indian

Army was crushed, and their leader Raja Dahir Sen was killed. His wife and other

women in the royal household immolated themselves to prevent rape and enslavement, in

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[73] Basham, "The Vehicle of the Thunderbolt and the Decline of Buddhism in India," 1:192.

[74] Gordon Johnson, *Cultural Atlas of India: India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka,* (New York: Facts on File, 1996), 72–75. Records of trade between Indus River civilizations and Euphrates River civilizations go back to 3000 BC.

[75] Mona Sharma, "First Three Failed Arab Invasions of India By Sea," Medium, last modified May 26, 2019, https://medium.com/islamic-invasion-of-india/first-three-failed-arab-invasions-of-india-by-sea-bb43495db5cd. Arab traders by sea launched this attack, but their more permanent ventures were overland.

accordance with the Hindu practice of *jauhar*.[76] Within a few years, the Arabs had conquered Baluchistan, Sind, and much of Pakistan and western India.[77] Sen was the last Hindu ruler before the Muslim conquest.

Skirmishes continued between Hindu and Muslim forces in Western India for several centuries, with the plunder raids of Mahmud al Ghazana (971 to 1030) being the most famous. Coming from Kabul in modern Afghanistan, from 1001 to 1027, al Ghazana took slaves, sacked temples, and carried away fabulous amounts of wealth. Muhammad al Ghur led a Turkish Muslim army from Afghanistan but was beaten by Hindus under Prithviraj in the first Battle of Tarain (1191). The following year, al Ghur returned, smashing Prithviraj in the second Battle of Tarain (1192). He and his successors conquered much of northern India. In 1221 the Mongols under Genghis Khan swarmed across the Indus, sweeping away Hindu and Muslim armies alike. By the reign of Alauddin (d. 1316), Muslims held most of northern India and many Mongols accepted Islam as their religion.

The examples illustrate the militancy of the Muslim conquerors, or at least the success of their militancy, as measured by victory. They also illustrate the militancy, or at least the failure of the militancy, as measured by defeat, of the Hindu guardians of India.[78] In these cases, Muslims frequently, and Hindus infrequently, initiated combat on a strategic level, and both initiated combat on a tactical level.[79] In the pivotal Battles of

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[76] "Raja Dahir: The Last Hindu Ruler of Sindh," Sanskriti, last modified August 3, 2017, https://www.sanskritimagazine.com/history/raja-dahir-last-hindu-ruler-sindh/. Jauhar is the ritual mass self-immolation of Hindu women to avoid enslavement in war.

[77] Alain Daniélou, *A Brief History of India* (Rochester. VT: Inner Traditions, 2003), 195–96. It is hard to overemphasize this disaster in Indian history. The conquest of Sind was only one year after the Muslim Moors conquered most of Spain. Islamic expansion was at high tide. Christians reconquered Spain. however, Hindus never reconquered Sind, which remains Muslim majority to this day.

[78] Militancy can be defined as "the use of confrontational or violent methods in support of a political or social cause." Militancy can promote violence but is not the same as violence.

[79] The strategic level of combat refers to combat between nations, while the tactical level refers to combat between smaller military units. At the strategic level, Islamic armies from Persia and

Paniput (1526, 1556, 1761), and other battles, Hindus formed a significant percentage of both armies.[80] Hindu warlords arrayed themselves against other Hindus for preservation and for spoils. Thus, these episodes constitute the lived experience of all sides, and demonstrate Hindu militancy as much as Muslim militancy. Fighting for preservation and for spoils against enemies, or even co-religionists, is not inconsistent with the teachings of the *Vedas* and even the *Gita*.

Further, seeing these Hindu-Muslim conflicts as only illustrating Muslim militancy oversimplifies the perennial dispute over who is to blame for any given conflict. In antiquity, the Israelites and Moabites believed the other side was the aggressor who oppressed them.[81] The pattern of blaming others for violence persists today. Every major European power in World War I has remained convinced that the war was forced upon them, and every power has been accused of causing the war.[82] To examine every conflict and accurately decide who is to blame is impossible.

Atrocities abounded. In the famous siege of Chitor (1303), thousands of Hindu Rajputs were routed and their women, including the famous Queen Rani Padmini, committed *jauhar*. These Indian noblewomen felt that death was better than life in a Muslim harem. Daniélou writes "probably never, in any country, had tyranny been so total."[83] When the Mongol emperor Timur sacked Delhi under the Muslim Delhi

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Afghanistan invaded India and attacked Hindu armies there. At the tactical level, smaller units of Islamic armies attacked, and were attacked by, smaller Hindu units.

[80] Muslims are not and have never been a majority in India. Armies on all sides contained many contingents of Hindu forces brought by warlords hoping to be on the right side of the battle. The same was true regarding the Europeans in the colonial era.

[81] Annie Caubet, "The Mesha Stele," Louvre, accessed November 28, 2020, https://www.louvre.fr /en/oeuvre-notices/mesha-stele. Biblical scholars have ample evidence of the Israelite vs. Moabite contest from the Jewish perspective, but little from the Moabite perspective. The Mesha Stele fills in some gaps, which demonstrate the same bickering about who was in the right about Israelite conflicts that we see in any other conflict.

[82] World War I, the Question of Blame, https://www.military.com/history/world-war-i-who-to-blame.html.

[83] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India*, 210.

Sultanate (1398), soldiers massacred, plundered, raped, and burned for several days. "Hindus and Muslims suffered in equal measure."[84]

Far to the south, the Vijayanagar Empire (1336 to 1646) took root, hoping to restore Hindu power culturally, economically, and militarily. The empire prospered through trade and fomented a rebirth in science, architecture, arts, philosophy, and social organization. Militarily it held its own against the Sultan of Decca and even pushed Muslim rulers back. But in 1565 the Vijayanagar army was smashed and "for more than five months, the Muslims did their best to destroy everything–temples, palaces, and magnificent residences."[85]

Leaders from 1500 to 1900. In the first Battle of Panipat (1526), one of the first encounters using gunpowder and field artillery, Muslim Mughals under Babar destroyed the Muslim Lodi Dynasty. Babar's Uzbek Turks prevailed against a much larger army in the Battle of Khanua (1527), confirming Mughal dominance and slaughtering thousands of Hindu and Muslim soldiers. After a setback against Afghans under Sher Khan in the Battle of Chaunsa (1539), the Mughals permanently established themselves in the Second Battle of Panipat. As had become the pattern, while Muslim forces could trade victories against each other, they usually gained victory over the Hindus. How much of a role did Hindu *ahimsa* play in India's military weakness? Air Marshal R. K. Nehra would attribute much of India's historical suffering, such as during the Muslim conquests, to what he called earlier a misunderstanding of Hinduism, i.e., the notion that that Hinduism required passivity when faced with the possibility of conquest. Where did that idea arise? As noted above, the idea of *ahimsa* most likely arose from the otherworldly focus of the *Upanishads* and an allegorical understanding of the *Gita*.

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[84] Burjor Avari, *Islamic Civilization in South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 82.

[85] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India,* 226.

The Mughal emperor, Akbar "the Great" (1542 to 1605), vastly extended Mughal conquests, eventually encompassing the top two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent. He besieged the fortress at Chitor (1567). The outcome was the same as it had been in 1303 and 1535. Eight thousand Hindu soldiers and forty thousand peasant auxiliaries were routed by four thousand Mughal troops and five thousand Mughal engineers.[86] The thirty thousand women present immolated themselves (*jauhar*). Otherwise, Akbar's reign was relatively prosperous. He was interested in religion, philosophy, arts, and music, even inviting Hindu and Buddhist scholars and Christian missionaries to his court. Akbar "disallowed persecution of any sort, even setting aside the legal death penalty for conversion away from Islam but contributed financially to the building of temples for various faiths."[87]

By the death of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (1658 to 1707), only the area around the city of Madura in the far south remained free of the Mughal whip. A pattern persisted: while Christians met the Muslim sword, Hindus felt the Muslim boot. Violence between Muslims and Hindus today echoes from similar violence for over a millennium.

Searching for an all-water route to the Spice Islands (Maluku Islands) to take the lucrative spice trade from the Ottomans, Portuguese explorer Vasco De Gama landed at Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India in 1498. The Portuguese established a colony in Goa on the West Coast (1510).[88] The Dutch (1610), the Danes (1620), and the French (1668) followed, largely supplanting the Portuguese. Mughal emperors from Akbar sent armies against the Europeans but found little lasting success. When the Mughals

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[86] Paul K. Davis, *Besieged: An Encyclopedia of Great Sieges from Ancient Times to the Present* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 111–3. This is the only account of which I am aware that reports that Muslim Emperor Akbar allowed such widespread killing and pillage after victory in battle.

[87] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 3:72.

[88] Daniélou, *A Brief History of India*, 271. The Portuguese not only built forts. They encouraged their soldiers to take Indian wives and grow the Portuguese-sympathizing population. Eventually, many European nations used this strategy of not merely conquest but settlement and colonization.

recaptured territory, Western fleets would blast the defenders with naval guns and send another land force to recapture it. India had no effective defense against fleets, and no land power could defend the whole Indian coastline. Additionally, Western nations would play willing Hindu warlords against each other and against the Mughals.[89] The small number of Western traders, soldiers, families, clergy, and administrators would have been short work for the Mughals had the westerners not allied with Hindu opposition rulers.

The British arrived in India in 1608 and soon established a trading colony at Surat (modern Gujarat). They recognized India's value as a transit point but also her value as a trading partner, a source of materials, and a huge market. After defeating a Portuguese fleet in the Battle of Swally (1612), the British East India Company (EIC) established trading posts and colonial communities in Madras (1639), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1698). Each post included a fortress, soldiers, frigates and supply ships, factories, a community, and a local government. The EIC negotiated with Mughal rulers for trading rights, and Muslim rulers tried to play Europeans against each other. The British, with their superior naval forces, gained the upper hand. At the Battle of Plassey (1757), a Mughal army of fifty-two thousand with fifty-three guns and two hundred French auxiliaries under Emperor Nawab Siraj ud-Daulah was smashed by an EIC army of eight hundred fifty British and twenty-one hundred Indian sepoys under Robert

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[89] David G. Chandler, *Atlas of Military Strategy: The Art, Theory, and Practice of War, 1618–1878*, (London: Arms and Armour, 1998), 149. The Gurkha War (1814–1816) and the Pindari and Maharata War (1817–1819) exemplified conflicts in which the British won with the help, or at least the acquiescence, of minor Hindu warlords and their armies. Divide and rule is a time-honored method of victory in war and pacification.

Clive.[90] Plassey secured British supremacy in India and began the long road towards total hegemony on the subcontinent. By 1850, Whitehall reigned over all of India.[91]

Muslim rulers lost political power in India with the coming of the Europeans. Portuguese, French, and British authorities suppressed much of the organized Muslim-Hindu violence. While individuals of differing religions sometimes coexisted amicably, group tensions grew. The Hindu nationalist group Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875. Hindu writer Lajpat Rai wrote in 1924, "practically all social relations between Hindus and Muhammadans, and Sikhs and non-Sikhs, have ceased. All three communities have their separate clubs, separate organizations and separate colleges."[92]

Rammohan Roy argued that "Divine providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of these tyrants, and to receive the oppressed natives of Bengal under its protection."[93] Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote, "all good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England."[94] Keshub Chander Sen encouraged Indians to loyally support the British. He wrote,

> Do you not believe that there is God in history? Do you not recognize the finger of special providence in the progress of nations? Assuredly the record of British rule in

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[90] Chandler, *Atlas of Military Strategy,* 78–79. Chandler describes the Battle of Plassey, one of the pivotal fights in world history. How did the tiny British force and their Indian allies (largely Hindu) crush such an overwhelming foe, especially since the Mughals also had cannon and European support (French)? The Mughals had Muslim forces and numerous Hindu forces, and a large part of Clive's victory was his behind-the-scenes efforts to undermine the unity of the Mughal forces.

[91] The term "Whitehall" is used synonymously with the central government of the United Kingdom. The British armies involved in the British conquests were overwhelmingly Hindu, not Muslim or Christian.

[92] Lala Lajpat Raj, "The Hindu-Muslim Problem, 1924," in *Sources of Indian Traditions: Modern India, Pakistan, and Bangledesh,* ed. Rachel Fell McDermott et. al., 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 2:478.

[93] Rammohan Roy, "Pioneer in East-West Exchange," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 72–73.

[94] Sayyid Ahmad Khan, "Lessons from London," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions,* 2:149.

India is not a chapter of profane history, but of ecclesiastical history. You are bound to be loyal to the British government that came to your rescue, as God's ambassador, when your country was sunk in ignorance and superstition.[95]

Dadabhai Naoroji argued that British rule was at least as much a blessing as a bane for India.[96] Even today some Indians credit England with uniting the nation.

As the duration of the English occupation lengthened, friction rose. McDermott identifies *sati*, in which a Hindu widow immolated herself on the pyre of her dead husband, which the British outlawed in 1829, as a significant source of such friction.[97] Restricting child marriage and pushing for widows to remarry also angered Hindu traditionalists. The East India Company (EIC) eased limitations on Christian mission work, undermining the secular premise of the English occupation. The Anglo-Sikh Wars (1845 to 1846 and 1848 to 1849) dissolved the Sikh Empire in Punjab and poisoned the waters between the British, Sikhs, and many other Indians. Animosity came to a head in the Sepoy Rebellion (1857 to 1858), which prompted atrocities on both sides.

Leaders in the Twentieth Century. India supported the United Kingdom with troops in World War I, with Indian soldiers serving from France to Basra. The highest concentration, however, was in the campaign in Mesopotamia. The Indian Expeditionary Force (IEF) took Basra from the Ottomans in November 1914. They wintered until April, and then hoping for a quick victory, the British marched to Ctesiphon, outside Baghdad. The battle was a stalemate, but the IEF retreated to Al-Kut, about one hundred miles southeast of Baghdad (November 1915). The Ottomans surrounded the British, and the British government could not keep them supplied. On April 29, 1916, thirteen thousand

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[95] Keshub Chunder Sen, "Loyalty to the British Nation," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 128–9.

[96] Dadabhai Naoroji, "Architect of Indian Nationalism," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 188, 192.

[97] Rachel Fell McDermott et al., ed., *Sources of Indian Traditions,* 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014) 57–58. *Sati* is modeled after the legendary actions of the goddess Sati, wife of Shiva. Sati immolated herself because she could not bear the humiliation brought on her and Shiva from her father Daksha.

British soldiers, mostly Hindu and Muslim Indians, surrendered to the Muslim Ottomans. Many Indian Muslim prisoners of war defected to the Ottomans and fought against their former leaders in the Ottoman Indian Volunteer Corps.[98] After the war, many Indian veterans became leaders in the movement for Indian independence. The example of Muslim and Hindu Indians fighting against their Christian British masters demonstrates that religion sometimes trumps political affiliation.

The preceding paragraphs might be seen as colonial or even Christian militancy rather than Hindu militancy because the colonial powers initiated the conflicts or because the colonial powers won, and the Hindus lost. This interpretation fails for the argument of colonialist militancy for the same reasons that it did for Muslim militancy. As noted above, the identity of the aggressor can be debated for any conflict. Even after the Southern states bombarded Fort Sumter to begin the American Civil War, the South contended that the war was the North's fault. Assigning militancy to the victors and not to the vanquished is equally fraught. Few people would assign militancy to the United Kingdom and Russia and not assign it to the French in the Napoleonic Wars, even though France lost.

What do these examples say about Hindu militancy? From the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries, much of India was dominated by Muslim and later Christian rulers. Hindu warlords retained varying degrees of operational flexibility during the period and showed no aversion to war. While non-violence remained a factor in Hindu thinking, Hindus by and large followed a militant path.

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[98] Joseph Hammond, "Remembering the Ottoman Empire's Forgotten Indian Allies," *Daily Sabah*, February 14, 2005, https://www.dailysabah.com/world/2015/02/14/remembering-the-ottoman-empires-forgotten-indian-allies. In a letter to Indians fighting for the British against the Ottomans, one Muslim Indian writes, "You are entangled in a war in which no victory has been gained nor can any be gained in the future. What you ought to do is raise your fellow caste-men against the English and join the army of Islam (the Turks)." This conflict between religion and politics influenced the war, but even more, events in the later twentieth century.

The greatest clash between a predominantly Hindu nation and a predominantly Buddhist nation in the twentieth century was the Japanese attack in Southeast Asia during World War II. British-Indian forces were crushed by the Imperial Japanese Army in 1941 and 1942. For example, forty thousand British Indian soldiers surrendered to the Japanese after the fall of the Malay Peninsula and Singapore (1942), and British Burma fell shortly thereafter. The catastrophe of the loss of Britain's far eastern possessions to an Asian power shredded what little esteem locals, mostly Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists retained for the white man and Western civilization. Religion increased its role in distinguishing the West from the rest. The Japanese blatantly used their Buddhism against their opponents' non-Buddhism. Ronald H. Spector notes, "They appealed as fellow Buddhists to the Burmese and Thais."[99] Aided by the Americans, the Empire stemmed the Japanese advance in southeast Asia from 1942 to 1943 and counterattacked to victory in 1944 and 1945.

At this point, one might object that the Japanese were not Buddhist, the Indians were not Hindu, and the British were not Christian, so characterizing these battles as religious is inappropriate. Such an argument minimizes the impact of religion in war as was discussed at length in chapter 1. The point is not that Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity were the primary motivators for the Japanese, Indians, and British, respectively. Rather, for each person and group who claimed a religion, and the majority of them did, their religion was one factor in their decision to go to war, their conduct in the war, their hopes of gain from the war, and their expectations of the future if they did not survive the war. This study does not intend to prove that religion is the most important cause of war, but rather that it is a cause, and an influence, the importance of which varies from war to war, religion to religion, and combatant to combatant. Further,

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[99] Ronald H. Spector, *Eagle Against the Sun: The American War with Japan* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 465. Many more examples exist of how Japan used Buddhism to influence conquered peoples.

this study suggests that astute observers can use their knowledge of relative religious militancy to guide actions today.

In 1947, an exhausted Britain gave India her independence. At the insistence of Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876 to 1948) and the Muslim League, West Pakistan was split off from India, as was East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Hindus and Sikhs fled Muslim majority provinces and Muslims fled Hindu majority provinces. Approximately one million people died, largely from violence and starvation.[100] India and Pakistan fought in 1947, 1965, 1971, and 1999, often over suzerainty over the province of Kashmir. Even today, nuclear armed Pakistan and India glare at each other over their disputed border.

Separated by the Himalayan Mountains, including Tibet and Nepal, moving armies between China and India is hard, as is keeping them reequipped and supplied. The Communist Chinese invaded Tibet on October 7, 1950, but India was too weak to respond. Even today China and India dispute the border regions of Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh.[101] India claims Aksai Chin is part of Kashmir and China claims it is part of Xinjiang. From October 20 to November 21, 1962, China invaded and consolidated their claims in these regions while Indian forces fell back. Skirmishes continue. The Chinese hold a mix of Buddhist, Daoist, Confucian, and Communist ideals, while the Indians are overwhelmingly Hindu. While it is difficult to quantify how much these ideals impact this Himalayan conflict, these ideals certainly do impact it.

With the ascent of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the late 1980s and early 1990s, tensions between Muslims and Hindus rose. Rehan Fazal

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[100] S. Gurbachan Singh Talib, ed.*, Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab 1947*, repr. (New Dehli: Voice of India, 1991), http://www.voiceofdharma.org/books/mla/. More Indians died in the partition of India than Indian soldiers died in the world wars combined.

[101] GlobalSecurity, "India-China Border Dispute," accessed July 27, 2020, https://www.global security.org/military/world/war/india-china_conflicts.htm. Fighting markedly escalated in 2020, as exemplified in this and many other news reports.

notes that the current BJP president, Narendra Modi, is accused of fomenting the 2002 Gujarat riots in which the state reports that 790 Muslims and 250 Hindus died.[102]

Two themes appear in investigating the lived experience of Hindus in history. First, scripture and tradition emphasize that Hinduism is not only a religion: it is also a social system and a structure for government. The caste system, a pillar of the Hindu faith, arranges society. The life cycles, from student to householder to ascetic, arrange individual lives. While Buddhism is primarily a monastic system and Christianity explicitly denies governmental ambition (John 18:36), Hinduism is a religio-socio-political construct.[103] Hindus had no need to join the government, as Buddhists did, and no need to oppose the government, like Christians often have. Rather, Hinduism encompassed the government. Second, Hinduism failed at defending the nation of India against non-Hindu foes, but partly succeeded in keeping the allegiance of many people in India. As noted earlier, thinkers like Nehra believe that Hindu teachings on violence impaired Hindu rulers' ability to successfully employ violence in the defense of the nation.

This survey of the lived militancy of Hinduism under the early and later leaders suggests that Hindus were as violent and as non-violent as the nations around them. Burjor Avari's quote, "with a few exceptions, the Indian monarchs turned out to be no less violent and cruel, or vain and stupid, than their many counterparts in various parts of the world in different epochs,"[104] rings true in every era. The difference is that Hindus

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[102] Rehan Fazal, "India's Gujarat Riots: 10 Years On," *BBC News*, March 13, 2012, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-17176853. Modi's association with radical Hinduism does not seem to be hurting him at the ballot box, as he has been elected twice as prime minister, the second time by wider margins.

[103] The fact that Christianity has manifested itself in Christendom often throughout the ages might tempt some to believe the Christianity is a religio-social-political construct just like Hinduism and Islam. However, the New Testament provides neither instructions nor examples teaching kings how to set up their governments, how to fight wars, and generally how to rule. The Hindu scriptures and the Muslim scriptures do…explicitly. The religio-social-political construct found in the Old Testament applied to the physical nation of Israel.

[104] Avari, *India,* 101.

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were less successful in their militancy than were the Muslims and Christians. As noted above, Nehra would argue that the reason for Hindu military failure was the confusing interpretations of the Hindu scriptures about militancy, violence, and war.

**Discussion on the Lived Militancy
of Hinduism–Current Situation**

The Jewish state of Israel and the Hindu majority countries such as India or Nepal share little history of conflict and no current conflicts. Rather, India has close ties to Israel. Rajat Pandit writes that after a productive state visit in which Narendra Modi visited Benjamin Netanyahu in 2017, Israel became the third largest supplier of military equipment to India, after Russia and the United States.[105] Nepal is a longtime friend of Israel, being the second nation in Asia to recognize Israel, in 1960.

The geography of India has forced the nation to look west, not east, for most of its history. The mighty Himalayas separated India from China and dense jungles separated it from its eastern neighbors. The broad plains and deserts of the West were wide open to movements of populations and armies, and they came. Deep water navigation in the sixteenth century made India accessible by European powers and forever shattered India's relative isolation. Due to British suzerainty, the Indians faced few external attacks from the east until the twentieth century.

India has experienced friction with Muslim Bangladesh but little with Buddhist Burma, Thailand, or regions east. India's biggest threat to the east and north is China. The World War II rift with Japan has healed as both nations, as well as the small states in Southeast Asia, look to contain a resurgent Beijing. Border disputes, the status of Tibet, and memories of defeat in 1962 color the mood between New Delhi and Beijing.

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[105] Rajat Pandit, "With 12% of Global Imports, India Tops List of Arms Buyers: Report," *Times of India,* March 13, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/with-12-of-global-imports-india-tops-list-of-arms-buyers-report/articleshow/63276648.cms.

As the economic growth of China slows, India hopes to take its place. China is considered the third most militarily powerful nation on earth.

But China is only plurality Buddhist, with large populations with Dao-Confucian or non-aligned (Communist) beliefs. What does the conflict between Hindu majority India and Buddhist-plurality China have to do with religion? As noted earlier in this study, religion is a factor but often not the major factor, and rarely the only factor, in group-to-group conflict. Buddhism likely plays a smaller role for the Chinese than Hinduism does for the Indians in this conflict. In part, this is because Buddhists are not the majority in China, and Buddhism is less doctrinally militant than Hinduism. China does not claim to be a Buddhist nation, but many in India claim that their nation is a Hindu nation.

Articles twenty-five through twenty-eight of the Indian Constitution refer to India as a secular state, but Manosh Das notes that pressure is increasing for India to declare itself a Hindu nation.[106] Most Muslim-majority nations, meanwhile, insist that they are Muslim. Pakistan and India remain at odds in conventional and nuclear forces. India has the fourth, and Pakistan the fifteenth, most powerful military in the world. Both possess nuclear weapons and have experienced disputes such as the question of who owns the province of Kashmir, which could at any time serve as a *casus belli*. Pakistan and India have fought several times since the partition in 1947.

Open warfare is not the only danger. As reported by the Tribune Media, on July 27, 2015, Pakistani gunmen from Lashkar-e-Tayiba killed nine in an attack on a bus, a police station, and the community health center in Punjab.[107] On November 26, 2008,

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[106] Manosh Das, "After Partition, India Should Have Become Hindu State, Observes HC Judge," *Times of India,* December 13, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/after-partition-india-should-have-become-hindu-state-observes-hc-judge/articleshow/67068049.cms.

[107] Jupinderjit Singh, "Terror Attack in Gurdaspur; SP Among Seven Killed," *Tribune (India)*, July 28, 2015, http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/punjab/terror-attack-in-gurdaspur-9-dead-4-injured/111963.html.

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members of the same Pakistani Islamist group killed 165 and wounded over three hundred in attacks on hotels, a rail station, and other government buildings.[108] Such transnational attacks destabilize the already fragile peace.

Other areas of risk abound. Demographic competition occurs, with the fertility rate in Pakistan (2015) at 2.75 children per woman, compared to 2.48 children per woman in India. Both nations lose citizens to emigration, and life expectancies are similar. Economic competition is fierce. India has the bigger economy by far, but Pakistan is winning the favor of China and the big contracts that go with it, especially in the Belt and Road Initiative.[109]

India's relationship to the West is complicated. The colonial days included both cooperation and conflict, while the early post-independence days manifested an icy tension. India founded the "Non-aligned" Movement (NAM) during the Cold War. Though it claimed to be "non-aligned," NAM's stated purpose was to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries" in their "struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against great power and bloc politics"[110] These words were spoken by Fidel Castro, hardly an honest broker between East and West. NAM members regularly railed against the US, European post-colonial powers, and Israel. Little wonder that most of

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[108] Mark Maginer and Subash Sharma, "Terror Attacks Ravage Mumbai," *Los Angeles Times*, November 27, 2008, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2008-nov-27-fg-mumbai27-story.html.

[109] Mu Chunshan, "China's Choice: India or Pakistan?" *The Diplomat*, September 27, 2014, 1, http://thediplomat.com/2014/09/chinas-choice-india-or-pakistan/. Strategically, China is encircled by Japan, the island chain from Kagoshima to Okinawa, Okinawa, Taiwan, and the Philippines. To project power globally, China must have a port outside of its own east coast, which is vulnerable to blockade. China especially needs ports west of the Straits of Malacca, a 550-mile long narrowing between the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra which carries 25% of the world's trade. Through the Belt and Road initiative, Karachi and Gwadar in Pakistan will be available to China. They are both deep-water ports well west of the Straits.

[110] Subhash Kapila, "Non-Aligned Movement (Nam) Summit in Havana, September 06," Boloji, last modified September 17, 2006, http://cms.boloji.com/index.cfm?md=Content&sd=Articles&ArticleID=6545.

these countries were aided and armed by the Soviet Union. The Nixon Administration's support of Pakistan over India in the 1971 war was both a result and a cause of Indian hostility toward the US.

However, the power of the West is undeniable, especially since the fall of the Soviet Union, India's former de facto ally. Therefore, India has had to cooperate with Washington and Brussels. Gross Domestic Product growth averaged a steady two percent over the past twenty years.[111] A member of the Bretton Woods system, Indian exports into the US have skyrocketed from $2.3 billion in 1985 to $44.7 billion in 2015.[112] Economic growth may have made India friendlier to the West, but tensions still arise. A recent dispute on patent laws pitted India against the US.

Hindu immigrant populations are growing in the US and Europe. The share of Indian immigrants, about eighty percent of whom are likely to be Hindu, expanded from half a percent of all foreign-born people in the US in 1960 to five percent in 2011.[113] Such migration is also occurring in Europe. The export of jobs from the US to India is a source of friction. The US suffers from a large trade deficit with India, while the European trade deficit with India is much smaller.

Hindu nationalism is a rising force in India. The thought leader of Hindu nationalism, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883 to 1966), wrote a pamphlet entitled *Hindutva: Who Is a Hindu?* In it, a Hindu is defined as "one who regards India both as fatherland and holy land,"[114] a definition which excludes East Asian Buddhists, converts

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[111] Trading Economics, "India GDP Growth Rate," accessed May 18, 2016, http://www.trading economics.com/india/gdp-growth.

[112] United States Census Bureau, "Foreign Trade," last modified December 12, 2015, https://www.cen sus.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5330.html.

[113] Monica Whatley and Jeanne Batalova, "Indian Immigrants in the United States," Migration Policy Institute, last modified August 21, 2013, http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indian-immigrants-united-states-0/.

[114] Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Hindutva: Who Is a Hindu?* (Bombay: John Press, 1969), http://www.culturism.us/booksummaries/Hindutva%20Who%20is%20a%20Hindu4Posting.pdf.

to Hinduism outside of India, Indian Muslims, and Indian Christians. He considered that "Hindus were the original indigenous people of India and constituted a single nation as well as a single race with common origin and blood."[115] Hindutva thus creates a powerful us-them dynamic within India itself and between India and her neighbors.

Conclusion–The Doctrinal Militancy of Hinduism

Hinduism is one of the world's great religions, with nearly one billion adherents. It is also a popular tradition in the West, with a reputation for tolerance, flexibility, and non-violence. The Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) of Hinduism is 3.61. Muslim armies ran roughshod over Indian empires and forces for six hundred years, only losing power when confronted with European Christian militaries from Portugal, Holland, Denmark, France, or Great Britain. Indian forces occasionally defeated outsiders on their own. Indian thinkers have blamed their defeats on the caste system, the tradition of non-violence, and a host of other causes.[116]

Hinduism is inherently political. The caste system is not merely a religious artifact of bygone days, but a structure to order society. The nature of the Vedas, with their emphasis on earthly victory and material success, contributes to the political nature of Hinduism. The other worldly *Upanishads* seem to mitigate away from political and military power, as was suggested in the analysis. The *Bhagavad Gita* can be interpreted as an historical event or allegorically. If interpreted historically, the *Gita* provides a powerful motive for kings to be militarily strong and protect their people. If interpreted allegorically, the *Gita* says little or nothing about physical militancy and violence and provides no guidance on what Hindus should do if faced with war. The conflicting scriptures advising Hindus and their political leaders in Indian history may have made

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[115] Rambachan, "The Co-existence of Violence and Nonviolence in Hinduism," 118.

[116] History Discussion, "Causes of the Success of the Turks Against the Rajput," accessed March 3, 2020, http://www.history discussion.net/history-of-india/causes-of-the-success-of-the-turks-against-the-rajput/2644.

Indians uncertain about war. Consequently, they have been vulnerable to conquerors who lacked their uncertainty.

CHAPTER 5

THE RELIGIOUS MILITANCY OF ISLAM

Forbes Magazine, in December 2018, reported that 18,814 people were killed by terrorism in 2017. Of these, 10,632 deaths were caused by four groups: (1) Islamic State–4350, (2) Taliban–3571, (3) Al Shabaab–1457, and (4) Boko Haram–1254.[1] The same article identified Islamic groups in Syria, Pakistan, India, Yemen, and the Philippines as responsible for hundreds of deaths. Not all groups mentioned are Muslim; the Communist Party of India (Maoist), also known as the Naxals, killed 205 people in 2017 and the Marxist New People's Army in the Philippines killed 113. However, terrorists who claim inspiration from Islam account for a large majority of terror-related deaths in the modern world.

Is Islam inherently more militant than Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Christianity? In the current context, does Islam encourage more violence than other religions through means that are considered terrorist in nature? Do other faiths have as many attacks but fewer deaths, suggesting that if the goal was murder, Muslims are more effective at killing than other religionists?

Quran 3:110a reads, "you are the best of Peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah." If Muslims believe that Allah has made them the best of peoples, how would that affect their militancy? Shmuel Bar's description of the Islamist worldview, with its deep roots in mainstream Islam, provides one perspective on that question:

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[1] Dominic Dudley, "The Deadliest Terrorist Groups in the World Today," *Forbes*, December 5, 2018, https://www.forbes.com/sites/dominicdudley/2018/12/05/deadliest-terrorist-groups-in-the-world/#75e91e532b3e.

The underlying element in the radical Islamist worldview is ahistoric and dichotomist: Perfection lies in the ways of the Prophet and the events of his time; therefore, religious innovations, philosophical relativism, and intellectual or political pluralism are anathema. In such a worldview, there can exist only two camps — Dar al-Islam ("The House of Islam" — i.e., the Muslim countries) and Dar al-Harb ("The House of War" — i.e., countries ruled by any regime but Islam) — which are pitted against each other until the final victory of Islam. These concepts are carried to their extreme conclusion by the radicals; however, they have deep roots in mainstream Islam. [2]

Islam does not separate the Islamic religion from the Islamic state. Majid Khadduri notes, "the state was the instrument with which Islam sought to achieve its ultimate objective – the establishment of God's Will and Justice over the world."[3] For hundreds of years, from Andalusia to Indonesia, political Islam seemed to be conquering the world. Once Constantinople, the citadel of Christendom, fell, the leading Muslim leader, the Ottoman Caliph, was expected to "extend his sway as far as possible to increase the area of social order and peace."[4] Contrary to such expectations, as Hodgson notes, Islamdom "was the one society that had come the closest to playing the world dominating role which, as it turned out, the West was actually to play."[5] The reality of Muslim weakness presented not only a political but a theological problem for Muslims. If theirs was the true path, religiously and politically, why were the infidels, the *Dar al Harb* (House of War), so prosperous and powerful? Furthermore, why were the Christians challenging their social and political systems, and even their way of life,

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[2] Shmuel Bar, "The Religious Sources of Islamic Terrorism," *Hoover Institution: Policy Review*, June 1, 2004, https://www.hoover.org/research/religious-sources-islamic-terrorism. Islam is the latest great religion, measured by adherents, in the world. No major religion has come after it. In an almost evolutionary sense, Muslims have historically assumed that their faith is the last and therefore the greatest revelation from God. As such, all men should believe Islam, and all men should submit to its governance, if nothing else, for their own good. The belief in the supremacy of Islam persists today.

[3] Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 162. In an earlier paragraph on the same page, Khadduri notes that God's Justice had to prevail, if necessary, by the sword.

[4] Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 2:562.

[5] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 3:3.

sometimes successfully? These questions resonate throughout the *Dar al Islam* (House of Submission), and in the twenty-first century there are still no satisfactory answers.[6]

I will examine the doctrinal militancy of Islam, as found in the *Quran* and the most influential *hadiths*, the *Sahih al Bukhari*. Then I will examine the military history of states that profess Islam by majority or by ruler and examine how the doctrinal militancy has played out in history.

The Doctrinal Militancy of Islam

Primary documents of a religion provide the most authoritative knowledge about that religion. The discussion of the Religious Militancy of Islam must begin with the doctrinal militancy of Islam.

The Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI) Analysis

Using the DMI methodology noted in chapter 1, I have evaluated every occurrence of the top five militancy-related words in the Quran and the *Sahih al Bukhari*, the primary holy books of Islam. Table 14 includes the results for the Quran.[7]

The Quran is the singular holy book of Islam. Muslims hold that the Quran is divinely revealed, with many professing that it is eternal. Many Muslims consider it to be the center of Muslim ontology; their philosophy of being.[8] Islam intends to be the fundamental reality of life for its adherents, transcending every other allegiance,

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[6] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily Be Mollified," *The Atlantic*, September 1990, https://www.theatlantic. com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/. Lewis illustrates how Western thought challenges Islam to the core, not only economically and militarily but socially and culturally.

[7] Yusuf Ali, trans., *The Holy Quran*, 1946 ed. (Durban, South Africa: Islamic Propagation Centre International, 1946), https://archive.org/details/ english-quran-yusuf-ali/mode/2up. The findings in this table result from an analysis of this online translation of the Quran.

[8] Fazlur Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), xi. The Quran, the associated *hadiths*, and the resultant law contain everything that Muslims traditionally felt they needed in life. Islamic philosophy, culture, economics, education, and social relationships are heavily influenced if not dictated by these fundamental books.

politically, socially, and religiously. The Quran is fundamentally Arabic, both in language and culture, and Muslim tradition holds the Quran was given by Allah in Arabic. The idea of Arabic language singularity is found in Quran 43:3, which reads, "We have made it a Quran in Arabic, that you may be able to understand (and learn wisdom). And verily it is in the Mother of the Book, in our Presence, high (in dignity), full of wisdom." The Quran is shorter than the New Testament. and much shorter than the Jewish scriptures (*Tanakh*, *Babylonian Talmud*), Hindu scriptures (*Vedas*, *Bhagavad Gita*, and *Upanishads*) and the Buddhist *Tipitaka*.

Table 14. Analysis results (Quran)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	5	1	77	1	24	108
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	2	0	0	0	2	4
Non-Physical or Non-Human	0	0	0	1	1	1
Physical/Human	3	1	78	0	22	103
Non-violent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violent	3	1	78	0	22	103
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	4	0	2	6
Neutral, nothing (3)	0	0	10	0	5	15
Encourages violence (4)	12	4	37	0	13	53
Commands violence (5)	0	0	27	0	2	29
DMI	*4.00*	*4.00*	*4.12*	*–*	*3.68*	*4.02*

Quran Sura 4, Nisaa, or "The Woman," contains fifteen texts using the key word "fight." According to Maria Massi Dakake, the text in verse 74 refers to "fighting

for the protection of all those who remember God."[9] She explains that the word "fight" in verse 75 means that fighting to relieve the oppressed is a legitimate basis for religious warfare. She also comments that in verses 74 to 77, fighting for the oppressed means opposing base spiritual instincts in one's life. "Fight" appears three times in verse 76, and the use of the term instructs believers to fight in the name of God alone and not for booty or pride.[10] Quran 4:77 records three occurrences in which a body of men in Mecca were told not to fight, presumably because they were few. Later they were told to fight, but they did not because they feared men rather than fearing God.[11] In this study, these eight instances were coded as encouraging violence.[12] Verse 84 continues the theme of fighting, this time commanding the faithful to fight in the way of God, irrespective of what others, such as other soldiers, might do. Dakake suggests that the context of this passage was the aftermath of the Muslim defeat at Uhud,[13] but did not suggest that this command was only applicable to that instance. Scriptures provide precedent to guide behavior. This occurrence of the key word "fight" was coded as a command to fight using physical violence.

"Fight" appears three times in verse 90. Dakake suggests that this incident refers to a group of professed believers who refused to fight, wanted protection, or left Medina to avoid a plague. Fahim, Ali and Naik argue that verses 71–76 discuss

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[9] Maria Massi Dakake, "Women," in *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary,* ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Caner K. Dagli, Maria Massi Dakake, and Joseph E. B. Lumbard (New York: Harper One, 2015), 224.

[10] Dakake, "Women," 225. Fighting in God's name and not for booty or pride sounds like an act of fighting physically to convert the enemies to Islam. Other verses reject forced conversion in Islam (Quran 2:256). The idea, here, certainly refers to physical combat, not just striving against personal vices.

[11] Faisal Fahim, Yusuf Ali and Zakir Naik, *The Quran: With 2 English Translations, Commentary Plus* (USA: Create Space, 2014), Quran, Sura 4, Nisaa. Kindle.

[12] "Encouraging violence" is not the same as encouraging unrestrained or unlimited violence. All religions in this study have a "just war" tradition in which violence is encouraged or at least permitted in certain circumstances.

[13] Dakake, "Women," 230. Uhud was the first major defeat of the early Muslim armies, occurring shortly after Badr, their first major victory.

physically defending the weak and helpless and verses 88-91 require physical defense against the intrigues of hypocrites.[14] Given the varying opinions found here, these texts were categorized as "neutral." Finally, verse 95 contains three references to "fight." It ranks those who physically fight with their goods and lives as having the greatest spiritual advantage but allows that the physically disadvantaged (like the blind) and women can earn spiritual merit as well.[15]

Quran 9:123 exhorts Muslims to "fight the disbelievers who are near to you and let them find harshness in you. And know that God is with the reverent." The Arabic word translated as "fight" in this passage is "qitab," which connotes physical fighting. Caner K. Dagli opines that this incidence of "fight" refers to a command to fight the non-believing Arabs before fighting the infidel Byzantines. The command for "harshness" is intended to deter others from evil deeds.[16] Fahim, Ali and Naik prefer, "let them find you standing firm" rather than "let them find harshness in you," but both translations bespeak of encouraging militancy.[17]

Sura 8 of the Quran ("*Anfal*" or "Spoils of War") contains eight appearances of the key word "war." The first appearance is found in the title and is coded as ITCN.[18] The second appearance of "war" in verse one records the historical background of this section, which was conflict over spoils in the aftermath of Muhammad's victory at Badr. The second appearance of "war" was coded as "neutral." In the third appearance of the key word "war," in verse sixteen, withdrawal is condemned unless it is a stratagem. Dagli notes that "many commentators consider the threat of punishment here for desertion to be

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[14] Fahim, Ali and Naik, *The Quran: With 2 English Translations.*

[15] Dakake, "Women," 236–37. In Sura 4, verse 95, the Quran makes provision for women and the handicapped to be able to gain spiritual merit.

[16] Caner K. Dagli, "Repentance," in Nasr, Dagli, Dakake and Lumbarrd, *The Study Quran*, 540.

[17] Fahim, Ali and Naik, *The Quran: With 2 English Translations.*

[18] As noted in chapter 1, ITCN refers to Introduction, Title, Comments, or Notes.

specific to the participants of the Battle of Badr."[19] Nonetheless, punishment for desertion was coded as an encouragement to violence. Verse 57 contains the fourth usage of "war" and enjoins the Muslims to punish those who break pacts and was coded as "neutral" in this study. Verses 60, 67, and 69 teach Muslims to frighten their opponents, to subdue their enemies before taking captives, and to enjoy the spoils of war. The appearances of the key word "war" found in verses 60, 67, and 69 were coded as "encouraging" violence.

Table 15. Analysis results (Sahih al Bukhari)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	304	34	318	83	125	864
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	4	0	73	0	31	108
Non-Physical or Non-Human	0	0	0	0	94	756
Physical/Human	300	34	245	83	0	756
Non-violent	0	0	1	0	94	1
Violent	300	34	244	83	94	755
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Discourages violence (2)	20	4	51	14	3	92
Neutral, nothing (3)	122	8	66	23	35	254
Encourages violence (4)	158	22	117	46	55	398
Commands violence (5)	0	0	10	0	1	11
DMI	*3.46*	*3.53*	*3.35*	*3.39*	*3.57*	*3.43*

Maulana Muhammad Ali differentiates between the Meccan and the Medinan revelations, suggesting that the Meccan revelations dealt with faith in God while the Medinan revelations dealt with the working out of such faith with other men in the

[19] Dagli, "The Spoils," in Nasr, Dagli, Dakake and Lumbarrd, *The Study Quran*, 486–87.

physical world.[20] The key militancy words in this study of Islam are concentrated in the Medinan revelation, especially chapters 4,8, and 9. The location of these words suggests that they refer to actions in the physical world, which is consistent with the findings in Table 14.

The *Sahih al Bukhari* contains the *hadith* of Muhammad. Hadith are not the words of Allah and not included in the Quran. Rather, "a *hadith* is a report of something that our beloved Prophet Muhammad did, said, or consented to."[21] When combined with the Quran, the *Sahih al Bukhari* provides a similar number of total militancy word references as the Hindu and Buddhist scriptures. Results for the Doctrinal Militancy Index for the *Sahih al Buhkari* are found in Table 15.[22]

Of 972 total mentions of "battle," "conquer," "fight," "sword," or "war" in the Quran and *Sahih al Bukhari*, eighty-eight percent refer to physical and violent phenomena. Of these, eleven percent discourage, thirty-one percent are neutral, fifty-three percent encourage, and five percent command militant behavior. Table 16 combines the DMI results for each book and contains the summary of doctrinal militancy for Islam.

Table 16. Doctrinal militancy index (DMI) score–Islam

Religion	Source of Authority	Score (1–5)
Islam	Quran	4.02
	Sahih al Bukhari	3.43
	Average (DMI score)	3.73

[20] Maulana Muhammad Ali, *Holy Quran: English Translation and Commentary* (USA: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam Lahore, 2011), Introduction, "Makkan and Madinan Revelations Intermingled in the Final Arrangement," para. 1. Kindle.

[21] Shaykh Omar Subedar, *Commentary on Sahih Al-Bukhari, Vol 1, Beginning of Revelation and Belief* (Karachi, Pakistan: Bukhari Publications, 2015), 43.

[22] M. Muhsin Khan, trans., *Sahih Bukhari*, last modified October 11, 2009, Islam House, https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih_books/single/en_Sahih_Al-Bukhari.pdf.

The brevity of the Quran does not allow it to answer many questions that Muslim communities face, so the *hadiths* in the *Sahih al Bukhari* fill an important void in Islamic life. In this analysis, each book is weighted equally. The DMI score of 3.73 reveals that the Islamic scriptures evaluated encourage physical militancy.

According to Muslim belief, the Quran was received by the Prophet Muhammad (570 to 632) between 609 and 632. The *hadiths* were assembled later, during the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. Since the *hadiths* refer to the Prophet's actual words and actions, the *Sahih al Bukhari* dates from the same time frame as the Quran, which is the lifetime of the Prophet. By contrast, the primary Jewish scriptures and the primary Hindu scriptures were each written and compiled over a millennium. Broad changes in thought, influential leaders, critical events, interactions with other civilizations, and changes in science and technology had over a thousand years to influence Jewish and Hindu doctrinal militancy but only fifty years to impact Islamic doctrinal militancy.

Sahih al-Bukhari contains the *Book of Jihad*, which includes several appearances of key words for this study.[23] Passage 4:58 recounts an episode in which Muhammad says to his bleeding finger during a battle, "you are just a finger that bled, and what you got is in Allah's cause." Behind the Prophet's minor injury was the greater purpose of obedience to Allah. I coded this episode of Muhammad's minor injury as "encourages," as Muhammad minimized his injury and attached it to a greater good. Passage 4:61 describes the exploits of Anas bin An-Nadr, who missed Badr but "smelled the aroma of Paradise" while fighting bravely. He ultimately perished at Uhud. An-Nadr's

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[23] Please refer to chapter 1 for an explanation of the use of the word *jihad* in this study.

sacrifice is honored, and these two instances of "battle" were coded as "encourages," consistent with The *Summarized Sahih al-Bukhari*.[24]

Another occurrence of the word "battle" occurs when the Prophet returns from the Battle of the Trench. The angel Gabriel, covered in dust, noted that Muhammad had put down his weapons, which Muhammad denied. The Prophet asked him where to go, and Gabriel directed him toward the Bani Quraiza, a Jewish tribe that Muhammad later destroyed. The fact that Gabriel was covered in dust could indicate that he was mourning that Muhammad had lowered his arms. Pointing to the Bani Quraiza could indicate that Gabriel wanted Muhammad to attack them, which would be an encouragement, if not a command, to war. However, these assumptions are not clear in the text and therefore this episode has been coded as "neutral."

Passage 4:98 mentions "battle" three more times. The context is clearly physical war, the Battle of Yamama. Thabit bin Qais is preparing himself to fight, and notes with disapproval the heathens, and some Muslims, penchant for running away. This episode was coded as "encourages." Passage 4:99 recounts Az-Zubair volunteering for a reconnaissance mission for Muhammad, and the latter calling him a disciple. The reward of such a relationship with the Prophet was coded as "encourages." Passage 4:116 tells of Muhammad standing strong at the Battle of Hunain when others fled, also coded as "encourages." Passage 4:134 lauds Muslim women providing water to soldiers in battle, tending their wounds, and helping to remove the dead, thus encouraging others to do the same. The section was coded as "encourages." In passage 4:149, Muhammad tells his soldiers to use archery against the Quraish during the Battle of Badr. As this instance refers to a tactical decision while at war and does not speak of whether they should be in the battle to begin with, it was coded as "neutral."

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[24] M. Muhsin Khan, *The Translation of the Meanings of Summarized Sahih al Bukhari*: *Arabic-English* (Ridyah, Saudi Arabia: Dar u Salam, 1996), 583–85. This book contains parts of the *Sahih al Bukhari* and commentary on meanings past and present.

In two instances of "battle" in passage 4:164, Muhammad prophesies that Allah will make his enemies flee at the Battle of Badr. This section was also coded as "encourages." Passage 4:170 tells of Muhammad allowing Abdur Rahman bin 'Auf and Az-Zubair to wear silken clothes during a battle to avoid itching from lice. This appearance of the word "battle" was coded as "neutral." The Prophet invoked Allah's curse against pagans in 4:184. Since Allah himself was cursing Muhammad's enemies, this passage was classified as "encourages." Passage 4:192 records a miracle performed by Muhammad, his promise that at the Battle of Khaibar his enemies would be defeated, and that they would become Muslims. This was coded as "encourages." Passage 4:206 speaks of the pledge for death ("neutral"), 4:208 encourages a pledge of allegiance for Islam and for jihad ("encourages"), and 4:210 records Muhammad telling his followers to be patient, not asking Allah for victory, because "Paradise is in the shade of swords." He then asked Allah for victory. These two occurrences of "battle" were deemed "encourages."

**Discussion of the Doctrinal Militancy
of Islam–Scriptures and Founder**

Islam grew out of a tribal Arab cultural milieu in which migratory, family-based clans constantly competed against each other for the best pasture lands in a harsh, largely desert environment. Malise Ruthven notes, "A key concept in the Bedouin value system was manliness, described as meaning bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak, defiance of the strong."[25] As Hodgson writes, "each group defended its own grazing rights in its own area or attempted to better its position at others' expense."[26] Violence was commonplace and bloody. As evidenced

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[25] Malise Ruthven, *Islam in the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 29.

[26] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 1:149.

by the DMI noted above, the Quran, the holy book of Islam, supports warfare. So do the *hadiths*, as noted in the DMI of the *Sahih al Bukhari*. Nevertheless, scholars differ markedly on the circumstances under which war is allowed. Two famous passages in the Quran read:

> Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress. Indeed. Allah does not like transgressors. And kill them wherever you overtake them and expel them from wherever they have expelled you, and fitnah is worse than killing. And do not fight them at al-Masjid al-Haram until they fight you there. But if they fight you, then kill them. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers. And if they cease, then indeed, Allah is Forgiving and Merciful. Fight them until there is no [more] fitnah and [until] worship is [acknowledged to be] for Allah. But if they cease, then there is to be no aggression except against the oppressors. (Quran 2:190–193)

> Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture - [fight] until they give the jizyah willingly while they are humbled (Quran 9:29).

These passages in the Quran tell its readers to fight those who fight them. They also tell Muslims to fight disbelievers until they cease, that is, until they become believers (convert to Islam) or accept their humbled status as *dhimmi* and pay the poll tax (jizya). Quran 22:39 reads, "Permission [to fight] has been given to those who are being fought, because they were wronged. And indeed, Allah is competent to give them victory."

Another passage suggests a militant Islam. In it, Muslims are not only to defend themselves but also are to dominate their enemies and disperse them.

> Indeed, the worst of living creatures in the sight of Allah are those who have disbelieved, and they will not [ever] believe - The ones with whom you made a treaty but then they break their pledge every time, and they do not fear Allah. So if you, [O Muhammad], gain dominance over them in war, disperse by [means of] them those behind them that perhaps they will be reminded. (Quran 8:55–57)

These texts clearly teach that violence, at least in certain circumstances, is necessary and even laudable. Ayman Ibrahim delves deeply into the exegesis of the two words most associated with Islamic militancy: *jihad* and *qitab*. He concludes that Muslims are told to fight in self-defense. One specific group, *alladhin utu al kitab*, should be fought against by Muslims if: (1) they do not believe in Allah, (2) they do not believe in the last day, (3)

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they do not forbid what Allah and his Apostle forbid, and (4) they do not follow or practice the religion of truth.[27]

These passages support militancy in certain circumstances, and also seem to support forced conversion to Islam. Other Quranic verses, however, seem to reject forced conversion.

> There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong. So whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold with no break in it. And Allah is Hearing and Knowing. (Quran 2:256)

> Say, O disbelievers, I do not worship what you worship. Nor are you worshippers of what I worship. Nor will I be a worshipper of what you worship. Nor will you be worshippers of what I worship. For you is your religion, and for me is my religion. (Quran 109:1–6)

Apologists for Islam cite these passages when arguing that Islam rejects forced conversion. But even if they are right, as long as political Islam seeks to rule, religious Islam by de facto coercion is never far behind. Bernard Lewis gives one perspective as to how Muslims historically handled the issue of forced conversion: "Tolerance must be extended to those who reach the required minimum of belief–that is, those who profess what Islam recognizes as a revealed religion with authentic scriptures."[28] However, Joseph S. Spoerl notes many examples of Muhammad and the early leaders of Islam forcing Jews, pagans, and others to convert to Islam or perish.[29] Muslim scholars who hold to the doctrine of abrogation argue that Sura 2 of the Quran was revealed to Muhammad during his early days in Mecca when Islam was weak and persecuted, while

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[27] Ayman S. Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2018), 209–10.

[28] Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: 2000 Years of History from the Rise of Christianity to the Present Day* (London: Phoenix Giant, 1996), 230.

[29] Joseph S. Spoerl "Islam and War: Tradition Versus Modernity," *Comparative Islamic Studies* 4, no. 1–2 (2008): 191–95. Muslims who convert to another religion are subjected to anti-apostasy laws and could face death. Non-Muslims who refuse to become Muslim are termed *dhimmi*.

Sura 9 was revealed later when Muslims had grown strong in Medina. Since later revelation supersedes earlier revelation, the far more combative Sura 9 abrogates Sura 2.

Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism are religious and political systems. Christianity, specifically the New Testament, does not specify any governmental style or context. Neither does Buddhism. Jewish, Islamic, and Hindu scriptures lay out governance in detail.[30] The New Testament says little about leading nations, while the Quran contains quite a bit about how the Muslim community should rule itself. The New Testament commands personal purity and discusses the organization of the Christian Church. The Quran commands personal purity and discusses the organization of the Muslim state. Jesus was never king over Jerusalem, much less Rome, but Muhammad was the ruler of Medina, Mecca, and most of Arabia at the time of his death. Bernard Lewis explains, "the dichotomy of *regnum* and *sacerdotum*, deeply rooted in Western Christendom, does not exist in Islam."[31]

Muhammad was the political, military, and religious leader of the Arabs in his day, as were the caliphs after him. The Leader of the Faithful in war was also expected to be the Leader of the Faithful in worship. Malise Ruthven states, "Since Islam made no distinction between religious and political activity, the Hajj was inherently political, and those who had tried to make it a purely spiritual occasion had deviated from the true path of the Prophet."[32] He further notes, "If *imitatio Christi* meant renouncing worldly ambition and seeking salvation by deeds of private virtue, *imitatio Muhammadi* meant

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[30] Since Israel assigned the scepter to Judah (Gen. 49:10) and Moses assigned religious leadership to Levi (Num 3:38), the Hebrew religion and its successors, Judaism and Christianity, have recognized a separation between religious and secular power, between "church" and "state." Samuel rejected King Saul for assuming religious power (1 Sam 13:7–14) and God struck King Uzziah with leprosy for doing the same (1 Chr 26:18–21). The Old Testament of the Bible contains religious as well as civil rules, as does the Quran. The only New Testament admonition concerning civil government is that believers should render to Caesar what is Caesar's (Mark 12:17) and submit themselves to their earthly rulers (Rom 13:1).

[31] Bernard Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam: From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople,* vol 1, Politics and War, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), xvi.

[32] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 9.

sooner or later taking up arms against those forces which seemed to threaten Islam from within or without."[33] While Jesus commanded His disciples to "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's" (Mark 12:17), Muhammad taught that "Islam is a total way of life that makes no distinction between God and Caesar."[34]

The *Sahih al Bukhari* and the Quran contribute to the sacred law of Islam and have a large influence on day-to-day life for Muslims, whether in Muslim-majority countries or not. Islamic law covers many aspects of personal life, from adultery to *zakat* (almsgiving), and includes guidance for rulers as they lead Muslim nations. In Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri's *Reliance of the Traveler*, the caliph is commanded to raise armies, establish an administration, protect the religion, lead Muslims in worship, and "undertake *jihad* against enemies."[35]

As alluded to earlier, traditional Islamic jurisprudence divides the world into two spheres, the *Dar al Islam* (House of Islam or the House of Submission), in which an Islamic state rules over a significantly Islamic population, and the *Dar al Harb* (House of War), which is characterized by three things: the security of Muslims no longer exists and security is now provided by non-Muslims, Muslims of the country are unable to receive aid from other Muslims, and Islamic Law is not heeded.[36]

Fazlur Rahman writes that "the central aim of the *Qur'an* is to establish a viable social order on earth that will be just and ethically based."[37] In this spirit the

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[33] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 7.

[34] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 355.

[35] Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*, trans., Nuh Ha Mim Keller (Beltsville MD: Amana Publications, 1991), 647. *Reliance* is influential in studies of early and later Islam from the Shafi'i school of Islamic jurisprudence. Other major schools include the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali. I have noted places where there is a significant difference between the schools in footnotes and text.

[36] al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler,* 946–47. Arguably, according to this idea, Muslims should leave the *Dar al Harb* nations and migrate to the *Dar al Islam* nations of the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, and others.

[37] Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an*, 37.

political domain of Islam was spread by the sword. Majid Khadduri expands on the idea of political Islam being spread by the sword, writing, "the territory of war (*Dar al Harb*) was the object, not the subject, of Islam, and it was the duty of the Imam, head of the Islamic states, to extend the validity of its Law and Justice to the unbelievers at the earliest possible moment."[38] The Shafi'i school of law teaches that jihad, which it defines as holy war, is to be waged, "on unbelievers for their disbelief and not only when they entered into conflict with the Islamic state."[39] The Shafi'i stance contrasts with the teachings of Abu Hanifa and Shaybani. Georgetown Professor Amira Sonbol writes, "Medieval (Islamic) theologians saw Islam as Allah's way of establishing Muslim hegemony over the world, as a way of spreading Islam . . . without Islamic law there could not be an equitable and just community, and chaos or immorality would reign. Therefore, it became the duty of *Dar al-Islam* to spread its word."[40]

Regardless of one's opinion of the significance of *Dar al Harb*, the historical context of the *Dar al Harb* is telling. Hinduism was never a serious threat to Islam, religiously or politically. China never had a prolonged war with the Muslims. Excepting Christianity in Ethiopia, Sub-Saharan Africa had no worldwide religion to challenge the supremacy of Islam. The Turks and Mongols were initially part of the *Dar al Harb* but eventually many embraced Islam and joined the *Dar al Islam*.

In Christian Europe, however, Islam had a real foe, and Muslims knew it.[41] Christianity rivaled Islam as an international faith, and the states of Europe, while losing

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[38] Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice*, 163.

[39] Shafi, *Kitab al-Umm*, IV, 84-85 quoted in Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice*, 165-66. The internet version of the original work at https://ia800909.us.archive.org/11/items/KitabalUmm/alom04.pdf is in Arabic only.

[40] Amira Sonbol, "Norms of War in Sunni Islam," in *World Religions and Norms of War,* ed. Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner (New York: United Nations University Press, 2009), 296–97.

[41] Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage." In this article, Lewis mentions the history of Christian-Muslim conflicts and also mentions that as comprehensive worldviews, Christianity and Islam clash.

ground to Islam, retained the strength and the will to stand against it. The primary

historical target of *Dar al Harb* was the West and the people of Christ. Lewis continues,

"From its birth the Islamic religion was the chief contender with Christianity for the

hearts of men. Islamic civilization was the nearest neighbor and deadliest rival to

European Christendom. Between the two there was almost a permanent conflict."[42] The

actions of the early followers of Christianity and Islam illustrate the historical penchant

for militancy, or lack thereof, for each religion. Many dedicated Christians became

monks and Christianity has an extensive, non-violent monastic tradition. By contrast,

Islam has very little monastic tradition, Muhammad said, "there is no monasticism in

Islam–the monasticism of my community is the *jihad* (holy war)."[43]

The specific scope of *Dar al Harb* and *Dar al Islam* is not as important as the

fact that Muslim sacred law divides the world into Muslims and everyone else religiously

and politically. Islam teaches that the community of Islam is superior politically and

religiously to all other communities (Quran 3:110–112). Unbelievers (*dhimmi*, "protected

people"), generally Christians and Jews, under Islamic rule were therefore inferior to

Muslims and were treated differently than their Muslim neighbors. Even when the

treatment was not violent, it was generally onerous and reflected the fact that Islam

remained at war with Christian and Jewish peoples in other areas. Such treatment

demonstrates non-violent militancy.

Quran 9:29 mentions a poll tax (*jizya*) paid by the *dhimmi* in Islamic lands. Bat

Yeor notes that taxes on transport and trade paid by Muslims were generally doubled for

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[42] Lewis, *Islam*, xiv.

[43] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 153. Saint Benedict of Nursia (480–543), the author of the Rule of Saint Benedict, inspired a huge monastic movement in the Christian world in the aftermath of the fall of the Western Roman Empire. Muhammad encountered monasteries in his travels as a trader and later in his role as a political, religious, and military leader. He wrote a "Charter of Privileges" to the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, a monastery that endures today.

dhimmi.[44] Having sizeable non-Muslim populations in Muslim-controlled lands provided a large tax base because of *jizya*. With *jizya*, Jews, Christians, Hindus, and other religionists in Muslim-controlled regions funded wars against their co-religionists, as well as internal government operations.[45] Women, children, the elderly, and the infirm were supposed to be exempt, and the rate of *jizya* was ostensibly set at different levels based on wealth. In practice, these safeguards were unreliable. Individual *dhimmi* could be treated well; some of the most famous people in leadership in Muslim empires were of Jewish or Christian origin. In other cases, such as under the Muslim Almohad dynasty in twelfth century Spain, *dhimmi* were savagely persecuted.[46]

According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad came into the world in the Banu Hashim clan, part of the Qurashi tribe in Mecca. Orphaned at age six, Muhammad's Uncle Abu Talib raised him and introduced him to the merchant life. He lived as a merchant, married his first wife Khadijah in 595, received what Muslims believe was his first revelation from the Angel Gabriel in 609, and began telling others of his revelations. The early Muslims suffered persecution in Mecca and migrated to Medina in June 622 (the Hijra). Muhammad gradually gained political strength, arbitrated disputes between rival tribes, and built an army among his followers. He began his military career around 623 by raiding caravans traveling from Mecca through Medina to Byzantine and Sassanid locations throughout the Middle East. These raids provided loot for Muslims and weakened Muhammad's Qurashi enemies in Mecca.

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[44] Bat Yeor, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide* (Cranbury NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), 71.

[45] al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler,* o11:1–11. Jizya is explicitly required in Islamic law. Its parameters are set in this manual.

[46] Yeor, *Islam and Dhimmitude,* 88. The variances in treatment of the *dhimmi* under Islamic rule over the centuries allows historians to pick a time and place where *dhimmi* were treated better or worse, and then cite whatever supports the point that they are trying to make.

With raiding success, Muhammad gained both authority and followers in Medina. His greatest early success was the Battle of Badr (March 624) in which his forces prevailed over a Qurashi caravan and a relief force sent from Mecca. Most significantly, several leading Meccans, who were Muhammad's major enemies, died. Ruthven observes that the Battle of Badr was undoubtedly the most important victory in the history of Islam because, thereafter, Muslims believed that God was on their side.[47] Other battles followed, including the Battle of Uhud (625), the Battle of the Trench (627), and the Battle of Khaybar (628), in which Muslims almost equally won and lost against their foes. Muslims lost their first battle against the Byzantines at Mutah in September 629. Nonetheless, Muhammad's ranks swelled, and the Meccans grew gradually weaker. After seven years of assassinations, raids, and battles, the Muslims conquered Mecca in December 629.

Though Muhammad considered Jews "people of the book," Byfield reveals that the Jewish tribes at Medina, the Banu-al-Nadir and Banu Qurayza, perished early at the hand of the Muslims.[49] Relations between Islam and the Jews were tense in Medina, and in 625 Muhammad attacked the Banu-al-Nadir, who had allegedly challenged him. The Jews promptly surrendered, received safe passage from the Muslims, and fled.

The Banu Qurayza were not so lucky. In a last-ditch effort to destroy Muhammad, the Quraysh of Mecca asked the Jews to join them in an attack on Medina. The Qurayza did not join, but when the Meccan attack failed, Muhammad turned on the Banu Qurayza. After nearly one month of resistance, they offered to surrender. The Muslims killed every man and divided the spoils, including the weapons, treasure, and

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[47] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 52. The idea that God is on one's side is one of the most powerful ideas in warfare, and even in life. Such a belief can keep an army fighting against hopeless odds and make a minor dispute into a mortal fight. The victory at Badr sustained the Muslims through a series of latter defeats, and undermined the confidence of their enemies, such as the Qurashi of Mecca.

[49] Ted Byfield, ed., *The Christians: Their First Two Thousand Years* (Edmonton: Christian History Project, 2004), 5:78–79. The idea that Muhammad was a man of peace does not square with the historical record.

slaves. Muhammad took a woman that he had made a widow, Reihana bint Zayid, for his own.[50]

Muhammad's wars did not end after his traditional enemies in Mecca were destroyed. In the Battle of Hunayn (January 630), Muslims attacked and destroyed the Bedouin tribe of Hawazin after it refused to accept the authority of the Prophet (Quran 9:25). As successful conquerors have since the dawn of time, Muhammad ensured ample spoils for his soldiers.[51] Between the fall of Mecca and Muhammad's death on June 8, 632, Arab Muslims subdued the rest of Arabia and invaded Palestine in dozens of raids and expeditions. The Prophet sent letters to Byzantium, Persia, Abyssinia, Egypt, and Bahrain demanding that they embrace his authority and Islam or perish.[52] Muhammad was as good as his word, and his successors completed what he did not. Ethiopia alone on the list did not bow the knee to the rule of Islam.

Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, was a successful military commander in addition to being a religious leader. While Jesus said that His kingdom was not of this world, and so, His servants did not fight, Muhammad had a kingdom of this world and his servants fought. In Rahman's perspective, Muhammad "hoped to unify the multiplicity of these religions into one single community, under his teachings and on his terms."[54] It is no exaggeration to say that warfare was one of the most important activities of the earliest Muslims. As Ruthven notes about Muhammad, "at times he would be utterly ruthless, resorting to war, assassination and even massacre to achieve this purpose

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[50] Byfield, *The Christians: Their First Two Thousand Years*, 5:81. In the tradition of conquerors throughout history, Muhammad fought wars and took spoil. Such an example is much more consistent with Alexander or Justinian than with Moses, the Buddha, or Jesus.

[51] Hadith Collection, "Sahih Bukhari 4:53:370," accessed May 8, 2015, http://www.hadith collection.com/sahihbukhari/86--sp-501/3896-sahih-bukhari-volume-004-book-053-hadith-number-370.html. Spoils, including treasures and slaves, were a major motivator for men to risk their lives in war.

[52] Hadrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, "Prophet Muhammad's (Pbuh) Letters to Various Kings," Islam Information Portal, last modified March 20, 2013, http://islam.ru/en/content/story/prophet-Muhammads-pbuh-letters-various-kings.

[54] Rahman, *Major Themes of the Qur'an*, 138.

(of promoting Islam)."[55] Muhammad's behavior could be justified by stating that Islam was the only true religion and the only just political system. All children were born Muslim, and only apostasy allowed them into other religions (Quran 30:29–30). Muslim warriors were therefore doing Allah's work in spreading Islam around the world. Ruthven described the Hijra/Jihad cycle, in which the Faithful flee persecution, gain strength, and then return to fight, which recurs throughout the history of Islam.[56]

In summary, neither the Quran nor the *Sahih al Bukhari* condemn warfare per se. As interpreted by traditional Islamic jurisprudence, both encourage the use of warfare, when necessary, to accomplish societal goals, which Leamon would say are divine goals, such as global justice.[57] Georgetown Professor Amira Sonbol, in *World Religions and Norms of War* states, "according to the Quran, war is waged for self-defense, defense of one's faith, in support of those oppressed and who lose their homes, and to ward off evil."[58] Punitive war to take back what has been lost is a duty in Islam. Muhammad was a religious leader and a political leader.

The Lived Militancy of Islam

While the doctrinal militancy of Islam is high (RMI = 3.73), such is only part of the total militancy of Islam. The historical example, known here as the lived militancy, reveals how Muslims in the past have understood the militancy of their religion and how they have acted in response.[59]

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[55] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 40.

[56] Ruthven, *Islam in the World*, 77. The Hijra/Jihad cycle is burned deeply into the Muslim psyche, and it is a common theme throughout history among many groups. The Communist "Long March" under Mao fleeing Chiang Kai Shek was followed by the Red return after World War II and the ultimate communist victory.

[57] Oliver Leaman, *Islamic Philosophy, an Introduction* (Malden MA: Polity Press, 2009), 133–35.

[58] Sonbol, "Norms of War in Sunni Islam," 289.

[59] As noted in chapter 1, Doctrinal militancy is defined here as the militancy encouraged by the

Examples of the Early Leaders of Islam

Muhammad died suddenly in AD 632 without a successor or plan of succession.[60] In the crisis, Muslims wanted an imam with seniority and a good reputation to lead the faithful. Many Muslims (later called Sunni) held that any man from Muhammad's tribe, the Qurashi, qualified, while others (later called Shia) believed that only a man from the household of the Prophet was qualified.[61] The former believed that the community had the authority to choose their imam while the latter did not. Both agreed, however, that ultimately the imam had to be recognized by the Muslim community. The imam led politically, religiously, socially, and militarily. Even today, "for the Sunnis, any relevant, de facto, political authority can declare war, while for the Shia it must be an imam, a divinely appointed leader."[62]

The earliest leaders of Islam after Muhammad were the Rashidun ("rightly guided") caliphs. Abu Bakr (573 to 634), the father of Muhammad's wife Aisha, was elected caliph by the Muslim ummah (community) in June 632. Abu Bakr ruled the people and consolidated Muslim power but had no religious authority. Several Arab tribes had sworn allegiance to Muhammad the Prophet, but not to Abu Bakr, and they refused to follow Islam or to pay *jizya*. In the Ridda Wars, Abu Bakr sent small units into Mesopotamia and Persia to capture small villages and incite the Byzantines and Persians

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religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy is defined here as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

[60] Muslims held two diverging views on succession to the caliphate. One group, today known as Sunnis, believed that Muhammad's successor should be elected by the community of Muslims. The other group, today known as Shia, believed that a direct heir of Muhammad had to lead the Muslim community.

[61] Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice*, 16–17. The Shia-Sunni split has caused bloodshed for centuries and persists today.

[62] Leaman, *Islamic Philosophy*, 136.

to retaliate. Islamic forces defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Ajnadayn (August 634).[65] Abu Bakr died of natural causes the same month.

The second Rashid was Umar ibn al-Khattab (586 to 644), the father of Muhammad's wife Hafsa bint Umar. Umar's reign saw the fastest expansion of the Islamic Empire. The Arabs were able to attack at will at any point in Mesopotamia and then withdraw into the safety of the desert. In the fall of 636, Sa`d ibn Abi Waqqas led a large Arab army against the Persian capital at Ctesiphon on the Tigris River. The Sassanids responded with a large but poorly trained and poorly led force. The Arabs, hearty warriors inspired by their new faith and with confidence in their ultimate victory, smashed them at the Battle of Qadisiyya (636).[70] The Muslim Arab armies seized vast amounts of treasure, including wealth, weapons, and slaves, and the armies were able to settle the eastern portion of the Fertile Crescent. Forced to withdraw to the Iranian plateau, the Persians skirmished with the marauding Arabs until 642 when they were again crushed by Arab arms at the Battle of Nahavand. In retaliation a Persian slave assassinated the Caliph Umar in 644, but the Persian Empire was destroyed. Within a century, as Francis Robinson notes, "Arab political power began rapidly to decline as the subject peoples of the empire, particularly the Persians, asserted themselves."[71]

Caravans from Mecca travel north through the Hejaz to Palestine to get to the Fertile Crescent, the richest and most populous part of the Middle East. Muhammad led a raid into Palestine along this route shortly before his death and was planning to lead another. Damascus fell to Arab forces in 634. The Byzantines counterattacked, sending an

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[65] Ted Byfield and Paul Stanway, eds., *The Sword of Islam, AD 565-740*, The Christians: Their First Two Thousand Years (Edmonton, Alberta: Christian History Project, 2004), 166.

[70] Confidence derived from believing in the absolute justice of your cause and in the inevitability of ultimate victory is a major force multiplier in war. The Muslims enjoyed such advantages in their early centuries. The Buddhists fighting Oda Nobunaga, though far weaker than their foe, had the same.

[71] Francis Robinson, *Atlas of the Islamic World* (New York: Equinox, 1982), 24.

army to recover Syria, but met with disaster at the Battle of Yarmuk (August 636). For millennia, Arabs from the desert had struck their enemies with lightning hit and run raids, feigned retreats, concealment, and brutality.[72] After the birth of Islam, the Arabs added a sense of inevitable victory and a courage borne of willingness to die; a nearly unstoppable combination. After Yarmuk, Khalid's army hunted down and slaughtered fleeing soldiers without mercy.[73]

A great famine and plague in Arabia (638) helped convince Umar to invade Egypt, and he struck in 640. After a series of sieges and small Muslim victories, weakened by chronic warfare between the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, and disheartened by the Muslim tsunami, Alexandria, under the Patriarch Cyrus, surrendered to Umar in 642. With its fertile soil from the annual flooding of the Nile, Egypt had been the breadbasket of the Roman Empire since the first century BC. Because Egyptian grain had to be shipped to Rome, it was also a source of the skilled mariners needed for a navy. In conquering Egypt, the Muslims gained the expertise and resources needed to continue their expansion against the Byzantines. In doing so, they denied those same resources to their Greek foes. The third Rashid was Uthman ibn Affan (579 to 656, reigned 644 to 656), a son-in-law of Muhammad. The Islamic empire expanded into Armenia, Afghanistan, and the Magreb (northwest Africa). Uthman sent powerful Muslim forces from Egypt into Tunisia against Gregory the Byzantine. The Romans were beaten at the Battle of Sufetula (647), losing much of modern Tunisia. In 674, Muawiyah I sent Umayyad forces into the Transoxiana of Central Asia, conquering native armies, and ensuring Muslim suzerainty. Uthman allowed his cousin, the Syrian governor Muawiyah I (597 to 680), to establish a navy in Syria and conduct essentially independent military

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[72] John Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2008), 64. These tactics are classic guerilla tactics used from the Maccabees to Ho Chi Minh. They work to weaken a superior force and deflate its morale. Eventually, the weaker can crush the stronger.

[73] Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars*, 62–63. Massacring fleeing soldiers is seen in military histories of antiquity, such as in the Bible. Such a practice is illegal by international law today.

operations against the Byzantines. Uthman's permissiveness paid off when Muawiyah I's navy defeated the Byzantine navy in the Battle of the Masts (654) and Muslims besieged Constantinople (654).[75] However, his hands-off approach led to disaster when Muawiyah I rebelled against the Caliph Ali after Uthman's assassination in the *Fitna*.[76] Trying to promote unity within a fractious *umma*, Uthman oversaw the standardization of the Quran from its many then-extant multiple oral and textual traditions.[77]

The final Rashid was Ali ibn Abi Talib (606 to 661), a cousin of Muhammad and husband of Muhammad's daughter Fatima. Ali presided over an *ummah* split by the First Muslim Civil War against Muawiyah I, governor of Syria.[78] Sunnis consider Ali the fourth of the Rashidun (rightly guided Caliphs) and the Shias regard him as the first imam (religious leader of Islam) after Muhammad. Shias consider Ali and his descendants to be the only legitimate successors of the Prophet. Ali's status marks the fundamental split between Sunni and Shia Islam. Shia and Sunni tensions rose under the Abbasid Caliphate (750 to 1258). By 909 centrifugal forces had pulled parts of the empire of Islam away from the Caliph in Baghdad. One group, the Fatimids of North Africa (Caliphate 909 to 1171), were descended from Fatimah the daughter of Muhammad. The Fatimids followed the Ismaili sect of Shia Islam, which was founded in Syria by the eighth imam Abd Allah al-Akbar.

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[75] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 1:212. Egyptian and Syrian Monophysite Christian Arabs contributed shipbuilding and sailing skills to the nascent Islamic navy. Losing control of the Western Mediterranean was devastating for Byzantine security, as well as the security of the underbelly of Europe. It also prevented Western Europeans from helping their Byzantine co-religionists by sea. Muslim forces used these advantages to help conquer Spain, Sicily, and areas in the Balkans, thus contributing to centuries of interreligious war in Europe.

[76] Fitna is the Arabic word for temptation, trial, sedition, civil strife, or conflict. In this context, Fitna refers to the first Muslim Civil War (656).

[77] Keith E. Small, *Holy Books Have a History: Textual Histories of the New Testament and the Qur'an* (Monument, CO: Avant, 2009), 24-25.

[78] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 1:214. The Shia-Sunni split became the first Muslim civil war. More followed.

In the first *Fitna* (civil war), Muawiya I (governor of Syria) rebelled against Ali's caliphate. The Kharijites in Ali's army, members of which had assassinated the prior caliph Uthman, turned on Ali. Though he defeated the Kharijites in battle, one of their number, Abd-al-Rahman ibn Muljam, assassinated him in the Great Mosque of Kufa in AD 661.[79]

Muhammad's successors destroyed the non-Muslim governments and instituted Muslim governments on the Arabian Peninsula, Persia, Egypt, and the Byzantine provinces in the Fertile Crescent. This achievement fulfilled the Prophet's intention as indicated by his actions and in his letters to the leaders noted above. Such military campaigns were consistent with the instructions in Quran 9:29, 9:123, and elsewhere in the Quran, as has been discussed above. By their actions, the Islamic Rashidun proved themselves faithful to the testimony of their scriptures and to the example of their leader.

In summary, all four Rashidun, disciples of Muhammad, followed a militant path, like Muhammad. In some ways, they also imitated Joshua of the Bible. The Rashidun were men of war, unlike the disciples of Jesus and the Buddha, who were men of peace. Umar, Uthman, and Ali were all assassinated. Abu Bakr, Umar, and Uthman expanded the Islamic empire with fire and iron. These examples of the lived militancy of the earliest leaders of Islam show that these leaders followed closely in their master's footsteps. Muhammad felt himself justified in his warfare and so did his early followers. He was a skilled and sometimes savage conqueror and so were the early leaders of Islam. This study does not comment on whether these examples of militancy and violence were justified because that would require a standard that would itself come from the cultural contexts and be highly debatable. Rather, this study demonstrates that the earliest Muslim leaders believed that their wars were justified.

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[79] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 1:215. Shia lament this event to this day.

The ascension of Muawiyah I to the Caliphate and the beginning of the Arab Umayyad Dynasty (660 to 750) ended the era of the Rashidun but did not stop the conflicts within Islam or the conquests by Muslim armies. Muawiyah I launched the final subjugation of central North Africa (670). His deputy Ziyad initiated a great campaign in Khurasan. Muawiyah I appointed his son Yazid I (646 to 683) as successor in 676. Husayn, the grandson of Ali, and considered by Shia to be the second Imam, rebelled against Yazid I in the second *Fitna* (680 to 692). Husayn's tiny force was overwhelmed, and he was killed near Karbala in 680.[80] Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (644 to 705, reigned 685 to 705) spent much of his reign trying to reconquer the fractured Muslim lands from North Africa to Iran. His forces lost to a Byzantine-Berber alliance at the Battle of Vescera (682) but they defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Sebastopolis (692). Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (668 to 715, reigned 705 to 715) conquered the Sind province of India, including the entire Indus river valley.

The early eighth century saw another major siege of Constantinople (717), the final conquest of the remainder of North Africa, and the capture of most of Andalusia (the Iberian Peninsula).[81] After decades of war and trade many Berbers adopted Islam. After years of raiding across the Straits of Gibraltar the Muslims of the Maghreb moved into Spain, defeating King Roderic and his Visigoths in the Battle of Guadalete (711). All of Hispania except for a small mountain territory in the north, kept free by the Spanish victory at Covadonga (718), fell under the political power of Islam. Had the Franks led by Odo of Aquitaine not beaten an Umayyad Army at Toulouse (721) and the Frankish

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[80] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 1:219. The death of Husayn, the grandson of Muhammad, is pivotal in the relationship between Sunni and Shia Islam. Ashura (the tenth day of Muharram) is an annual festival in the Iraqi city of Karbala commemorating this atrocity.

[81] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam,* 1:226. Spain and Portugal are two of the few countries that remained majority Christian despite centuries of Islamic rule. Other examples include and states in the Balkans. According to Muslim thought as detailed elsewhere in this dissertation, once a land has been under Islamic rule, it is never supposed to revert to non-Islamic rule. In such a paradigm, Islam must always advance and never retreat. For a people to reject Islam after they have experienced it is inexplicable and intolerable. This thinking is a cause of conflict today.

army under Charles Martel not defeated another in the Battle of Tours (732), France would have bowed her knee to the power of the Prophet.

Umayyad rulers fought primarily to consolidate gains and resist invaders until their destruction in the Third *Fitna*, which began as a revolt of the Abbasids (746-750). During the transition, Muslim armies in Central Asia defeated the Chinese at the Battle of Talas (751). Al-Mansur (714 to 775, reigned 754 to 775) consolidated the power of the Abbasid Caliphate throughout the Muslim-held lands. Caliph Harun al-Rashid (766 to 809, reigned 788 to 809) ruled during the peak of the Islamic golden age. Al Rashid saw the beginning of the dismemberment of his empire. Subsequent Abbasid Caliphs ruled over fractions of the former empire and coped with the growing influence and Islamization of the Turks.

In summary, leaders in the first three hundred years of Islam fought a lot, and fought successfully, against all comers. Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and others struggled against Muslims, who had been taught by their scriptures that their religion and their way of life were superior to all others. That sense of superiority was not so much ethnic as it was religious, since Arabs, Persians, Berbers, and multitudes of other nations and tongues found themselves marching together under the banner of Islam.

Examples of the Later Leaders of Islam

Friction between Shia and Sunni Muslims waxed and waned over the centuries. In the eleventh century Hasan-i Sabbah, a Shia Nizārī Ismāʿīlite leader, was expelled from Fatimid Egypt and traveled to Persia. Over time he attracted followers and in 1090 rebelled against the Seljuk Turk rulers of the area. He founded the Assassins, a secret society that killed or threatened many leaders, including opposing Muslims, such as the Sunni Kurdish hero Saladin.[83]

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[83] Bernard Lewis, "Saladin and the Assassins," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African*

Leaders around Constantinople. Muslim armies attacked Constantinople in 654, 717, 1453, and many times in between. Each time, except the last, these armies faltered against the famed Theodosian walls. For eight hundred years Byzantine Christians fought for the survival of their empire and the Arab (later Turkish) Muslims fought to conquer it. In the mid-seventh century, Arabs in Syria, Egypt, and North Africa built a navy to challenge the Greeks in the Mediterranean and soon gained naval dominance.[84] Over the centuries Muslim Arab power against Byzantium was replaced by Muslim Turkish power, Eastern Roman Christendom grew steadily weaker, and Islam grew steadily stronger. After the defeat of Romanus IV at the Battle of Manzikert (August 25 to 26, 1071), the ancient Byzantine Empire, bulwark of Christendom against Islam for four centuries, looked as though it was about to fall.

Despite the Great Schism between the Eastern and Western Roman Churches in 1054, the defeat at Manzikert prompted Pope Urban II to launch the Crusades (1096). The success of the First Crusade took considerable pressure off Constantinople and allowed the Empire to recover, but the Latin sack of the city in 1204 weakened it.[85] In the middle of the fourteenth century the Ottomans advanced across the Dardanelles Straits into Europe. Western Christian armies failed to relieve Constantinople at the Battles of Kosovo (1389), Nicopolis (1396), Varna (1444), and Kosovo (1448). Sultan Mehmed and his armies besieged and conquered the city (April 6 to May 29, 1453). Nicolo Barbaro, a Venetian surgeon living in Constantinople at the time it fell, wrote:

Studies, *University of London* 15, no. 2 (1953): 239–45. Saladin was not only a Sunni, but also a Kurd. Religion as well as ethnicity contributed to the Assassin's dislike of the Hero of Hattin.

[84] Haldon, *The Byzantine Wars*, 66. The Arabs had a long history of sound seamanship in the Indian Ocean trades with India and Africa. Upon conquering Egypt, they improved their access to the Mediterranean and challenged the heretofore victorious Romans.

[85] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 36. Crusaders became involved in one of the perpetual power struggles for the Byzantine throne, and thus precipitated one of the most shameful episodes in Christian history.

All through the day the Turks made a great slaughter of Christians through the city. The blood flowed in the city like rainwater in the gutters after a sudden storm, and the corpses of Turks and Christians were thrown into the Dardanelles, where they floated out to sea like melons on the canal.[86]

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the fall of Constantinople in the mind of much of the Muslim world both at that time as well as today. From its inception the Dar al Islam had two major enemies; the Persians, who were dispatched within forty years, and the Byzantines, who required more than eight hundred years to crush. Cretan historian George Trapezountios, called to Mehmed's court, told him, "No one doubts that you are the Emperor of the Romans. Whoever is legally master of the capital of the Empire is the Emperor, and Constantinople is the capital of the Roman Empire."[87] Mehmed was the embodiment of Khan (Mongol ruler), Caesar (Roman ruler), and Ghazi (Muslim warrior-king).[88] To this way of thinking, Mehmed fulfilled a divinely appointed role of bringing the just society, the Islamic one in their view, to all the world.

The final conquest of the Romans by the Muslims, in this case, not Arabs but Turks, had taken over eight centuries. Of the kingdoms that had received a letter from the Prophet, Byzantium was the last to fall. Citing Quran 9:29, al Misri instructs the Caliph to "make war upon Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians provided he has first asked them to become Muslims in faith and practice, and if they will not, then invited them to enter the social order of Islam by paying the non-Muslim poll tax."[89] This Sanif'i idea gained adherents among other Islamic jurists and even some of the Hanafi school.[90] The

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[86] Peter, ed., "The Siege of Constantinople in 1453, according to Nicolo Barbaro," *De Re Militari: The Society for Medieval Military History*, August 23, 2016, https://deremilitari.org/ 2016/08/the-siege-of-constantinople-in-1453-according-to-nicolo-barbaro/.

[87] George Trapezountios, quoted in Patrick Balfour Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: Morrow, 2002), 112.

[88] Kinross, *The Ottoman* Centuries, 112. The idea that Mehmed was the king of the Muslims, the Christians, and the others played well into the eschatological idea of a worldwide Islamic jurisprudence, even if subjects were *dhimmi*.

[89] al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler*, 602.

[90] Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice*, 165–66

conquest of Constantinople is another example of Islamic leaders behaving faithfully to their scriptures and their founder in war.

At the end of the fifteenth century the Ottomans seemed poised to overrun the fractious Christians in Europe, Arab traders from Yemen and Omen plied the lucrative spice trade to the Maluku and other islands in the Far East, and much of the Indian subcontinent was under Muslim control. Islam was moving into Central Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Only Spain saw the tide of Islam receding. The New World was not yet known to most people in the Old World, but the goal of Muslim global political hegemony appeared inevitable.

Marching south after Constantinople, the Ottomans conquered Athens in 1458 and the rest of the non-mountainous areas of Greece by 1500. Cyprus fell in 1571, and Crete in 1669. Only in the mountainous areas did the Greeks retain their freedom. After Greek independence, the Greeks and Turks clashed again in 1897, the conflict ending in a stalemate. The Greeks played a minor role in World War I (1914 to 1918), but after the war they attacked Turkey to regain Constantinople and the historical Greek cities around the Aegean. In the Greco-Turkish War (1919 to 1922) the Greeks collapsed. While the Allies who had defeated Turkey in World War I did not allow Turkey to take any Greek territory, an estimated 1.3 million Greeks were deported from Anatolia and Western Turkey into Greece, and 800,000 Muslims left Greece for Turkey, an early "ethnic cleansing."[91]

Leaders in Spain. Persia forsook its native Zoroastrianism within a few generations of the Arab conquest and embraced Islam, but Spain never forgot its Christian heritage. The Spanish Reconquista began with the Battle of Covadonga (718)

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[91] GlobalSecurity, "Megali Katastrofi / Great Catastrophe," accessed July 29, 2020, https://www. globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/greco-turkish-megali-katastrofi.htm. Forced movements of conquered peoples is as old as war. The Assyrian treatment of the northern Jews after the fall of Samaria is an early example.

and continued with smaller engagements through the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) in which Christians under Alfonso VIII of Castille defeated Muslims of the Almohad Caliphate under Muhammad al-Nasir. With this victory all the Iberian Peninsula escaped Berber/Arab control except for the southern province of Granada. Further skirmishes and battles slowly weakened the Moors and they were gradually pushed back. The Reconquista ended with fall of Granada in 1492.

For centuries Islam had advanced against what it saw as the armies of Christ. There were temporary setbacks and minor defeats but beginning in the seventh century the banners of Islam advanced, whether carried by Arabs, Persians, Turks, or others. The Reconquista was the first time that Muslim arms were permanently rolled back, and a population which had known Muslim rule definitively rejected it. According to the Islamic metanarrative, this was never supposed to happen. Allah was to ensure that his armies never (permanently) failed, and people, once they had tasted the rule of the "just society" of Islam, were never supposed to want to return to their former faith.

The Muslim loss of Spain less than forty years after the fall of Constantinople still irritates some of "The Faithful." Osama Bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri said, "Let the whole world know that we shall never accept that the tragedy of Andalucia (ph) would be repeated in Palestine. We cannot accept that Palestine will become Jewish."[92] ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi promised to "conquer not only Spain but also Rome."[93] These leaders represent the views of tens of thousands of others if the number of people in al Qaeda and ISIS is any indication.

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[92] Osama bin Laden, transcript of speech given on Al Jezeera Radio October 7, 2001, *Washington Post,* https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/specials/attacked/transcripts/binladen_100801.htm.

[93] Jessica Elgot, "ISIS Head Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi Warns 'We Will Conquer Rome'," *Huffington Post UK*, February 7, 2014, https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/07/02/rome-conquer-islam_n_5550646.html.

Leaders in the Crusades. The Crusades, the struggle between Christian forces from western Europe and their non-Christian foes (Muslims in the Middle East, Africa, and Spain, and pagans in northeastern Europe) are covered in the chapter on the Militancy of Christianity.

Leaders in India. Muslim Arabs under Rashidun Caliph Umar annihilated the main army of the Sassanid Persians at the Battle of Qadisiya (636). Arab pirates raided Sindh during Umar's reign, carrying off treasure and women.[95] They consolidated their position with another stunning victory at the Battle of Nahawānd (642). By 651, Arabs under Uthman had crushed the Persian Empire and stood on the frontier of India. Arab forces subjugated Kabul, modern Afghanistan, then considered part of India, in 682. The Umayyad Caliphate Arabs smashed the Hindu ruler Dahir's army and took Sindh (in modern Pakistan) in 712. Task forces pillaged Hindustan in the 730s. A Hindu alliance defeated the Arabs at the Battle of Rajastan (738) forcing them to withdraw. The Muslim tide crested at the Indus for the next three hundred years.

Powerful Turkish tribes from Central Asia adopted Islam from the eighth to the eleventh centuries and moved into Afghanistan. Mahmud of Ghazni (971 to 1030) led armies southeast against India and conquered an empire stretching from the Amu Darya in the east to the Indian Ocean in the south and to Persia in the west. Seljuk Turks replaced Ghazanid Turks and, meanwhile, most of the center, south, and east of India suffered from the struggles of the Palava, Rashtrakuta, and Chalukya Empires.[96]

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[95] Mountstuart Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol 1, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1843), 509, https://ia 800208.us.archive.org/16/items/historyofindia01elph/ historyofindia01elph.pdf. As with most conquerors in history, women were a prime prey of Muslim soldiers. *Dhimmi* families were required to feed and lodge Muslim soldiers, even when barracks space was available. This inevitably resulted in the kidnapping and rape of Jewish and Christian women from Bosnia to Armenia.

[96] Burjor Avari, *India: The Ancient Past: A History of the Indian Subcontinent from c. 7000 BC to CE 1200* (New York: Routledge Press, 2016), 245–47. The frequent inter-Hindu struggles, even when faced by dangerous enemies like the Mongols or Arabs, dispels the myth of inherent Hindu non-violence.

Muhammad of Ghor (1149 to 1206) invaded from Afghanistan in 1191 and was narrowly defeated at the First Battle of Tarain by Indian forces under Prithvīrāj Chauhān (1166 to 1192). Forcing a rematch in 1192, Muhammad of Ghor crushed Chauhan in the Second Battle of Tarain. Afghani tribes conquered most of India in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. His successor founded the Sultanate of Delhi (1206 to 1526), which controlled most of what is today modern India.

Zahīr ud-Dīn Muhammad (1483 to 1530), better known as Babur, rode out of Uzbekistan and defeated Ibrahim Lodi (d 1526) of the Delhi Sultanate at the First Battle of Paniput (1526). He smashed his former Hindu ally, Rana Sanga (1482 to 1528), at the Battle of Khanwa (1527).   The Mughal Empire (1526 to 1857) reached its maximum extent, including all India except for the southern tip and Sri Lanka, in 1720, shortly after the death of the last major emperor, Muhi-ud-Din Muhammad (Aurangzeb, 1618 to 1707). The greatest Mughal Emperor, Akbar (1542 to 1605), tolerated Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, and other religions. Such tolerance largely died with him.

The Mughal Empire was born, lived, and died alongside a growing threat to its rule in India. The Portuguese captain Vasco de Gama (1460 to 1524) became the first European since the Romans to establish direct trade in India. In an impressive display of bravado, de Gama was appointed Governor of India by the Portuguese government in 1524. The Dutch (1605), English (1612), Danish (1620), and French (1668) came to trade and to expand their holdings in India.[97] The Europeans fought each other as frequently as they fought the Mughals, and eventually the British victory at the Battle of Plassey (1757) secured the Crown's hold on India.[98]

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[97] Burjor Avari, *Islamic Civilization in South Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 110–11.

[98] David G. Chandler, *Atlas of Military Strategy: The Art, Theory, and Practice of War, 1618–1878* (London: Arms and Armour, 1996), 78–79. Plassey was one of the most pivotal battles in world history. A small British force defeated such an overwhelming Muslim-Hindu force, backed by the French. Mughals considered the British to be the strategic aggressors, but the Mughals themselves could be considered aggressors by the Hindus that they had attacked two centuries earlier. The Hindus, again, failed in their defense and offense.

Al Misri specifies the Caliph's duty to fight Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. Though Muhammad did not send a letter to India as he did to his neighboring lands, Al Misri in o9.9 notes, "the Caliph fights all other peoples until they become Muslims because they are not a people with a book, nor honored as such, and are not permitted to settle with paying the poll tax."[99] Muslims considered those they called polytheists, such as Hindus and Buddhists, to be idol worshippers. Thus, the Muslim conquest of India remains consistent with prior Islamic scriptures and practice.

Leaders in the Balkans. Immediately before the collapse of Byzantium, Western nations tried to help their Eastern co-religionists. In the Battle of Kosovo (1389), a Serbian army under Prince Lazar was devastated by a larger Ottoman force. At the Battle of Nicopolis (1396), an army of Franks, Wallachians and Hungarians, after initial success, was inundated and destroyed by another Turkish army. A turning point in Nicopolis occurred when Serbian horsemen under Stephen Lazarevich, a vassal to the Sultan, attacked the Western Christian forces.[100] The Battle of Varna was the last significant attempt to relieve Byzantium. An army from Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Lithuania, Wallachia, Moldava, and the Papal States, joined by Bulgarian rebels and Teutonic knights, moved against a larger Ottoman army near a small town of Varna on the Bulgarian coast. After King Władysław III of Poland was killed, the allied force wilted, and the battle was lost. The Hungarians and Wallachians tried one more time at the Second Battle of Kosovo (1448) but could not prevail against the much larger Ottoman force. Five years later, Constantinople fell.

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[99] al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler,* 603. The Hanafi school permitted even idolaters to pay the poll tax, and many did in India. O9.8.

[100] Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 560. Christian disunity and even treachery snatched away victory against the Ottomans time and again, from "Christian" Arab tribes fighting Muhammad to Ottomans fighting Europeans at Constantinople and Nicopolis.

With their rear secured the Ottomans were able to range deeper into the Balkans than ever before. Hungarians under John Hunyadi beat back the Turks in the siege of Belgrade (1456), but losses were heavy, and Hunyadi died of plague three weeks later. Sultan Mehmed II turned his attention to conquering farther east in Moldavia and the Crimea. Mehmed's son, Suleiman the Lawgiver, finally conquered Belgrade (1521) and then routed a smaller Hungarian army in the Battle of Mohacs (1526). Suleiman besieged but failed to conquer Vienna (1529). He gained supremacy of the Balkans by the end of his life (1566).

Time, however, was against the Turks. Their success against the Theodosian walls of Constantinople was helped by the heavy siege guns built and deployed for them by a Hungarian engineer named Orban. Advanced Venetian warships called galleases proved decisive against Ottoman galleys in the Battle of Lepanto (1571).[101] Western technological supremacy in gunpowder weapons, naval technology, and tactics tilted the balance of power on the battlefield. Despite the catastrophe of the Thirty Years War (1618 to 1648), which decimated central Europe, the Ottomans failed to conquer Vienna (1683) and so began their long retreat. A series of wars between Russia and Turkey in the eighteenth century resulted in nearly continuous losses for the Ottomans. In the nineteenth century, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, and most of the Balkans wrested independence from their Turkish overlords.

Leaders in other Struggles. Muslims fought others in the early years and were generally successful. Islamic forces conquered Crete (826) and Sicily (827 to 878). Abbasid forces defeated a Chinese army at the Battle of Talas (751), securing control of Central Asia. Within 900 years of the Prophet, men who considered themselves warriors

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[101] Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries,* 267–72. In the Muslim mind, the technological advantage should never accrue to the infidels. Allah provided all wisdom to his people, and the infidels were decidedly not His people.

of Islam ruled much of the known world. The spread of Arab and Persian trade in the Indian Ocean produced Muslim majorities in Indonesia and Malaysia and large Muslim minorities in the Philippines and Singapore. As detailed in Barter and Zatkin-Osburn's work, bloody rebellions, holy wars, and other unrest in Aceh (Indonesia), Patan (Thai-Malay border), and Mindanao (Philippines) have been one result.[102]

The parade of Muslim-related conflicts over the centuries demonstrates that later Islamic leaders interpreted the words of the Quran and the example of Muhammad in much the same way that the earlier Islamic leaders did. Stated simply, both early and later Muslim leaders believed that Islam promoted militant and even violent behavior against infidels, even if those infidels were other Muslims. For a thousand years after the Prophet, while Muslims overpowered their foes, Muhammad's banner advanced. He had said, "paradise is under the shadow of swords."[103] Only when Islam's enemies gained the economic and military upper hand did Islamdom, the kingdoms of Islam, reconsider their pugnacious interpretations of their scriptures.

Muslim Leaders against the West in the Modern Era. By 1789, France was more concerned with foiling English ambitions than with anything the once-great Ottoman civilizations might do. After rising to power in the chaos of the French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt, then held by the Mamelukes under Ottoman suzerainty. He intended to conquer Egypt, thereby threatening British trade from India through Egypt into the Mediterranean and through Gibraltar to England. Eventually the ambitious Frenchman wanted to dig a "Suez Canal" from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean.

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[102] Shane Barter and Ian Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded: Islam, War, and Holy War in Southeast Asia," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 53, no. 1 (2014), 187–201.

[103] Lewis, *Islam,* 210.

Napoleon landed at the Nile Delta on July 2, 1798, and crushed the Mameluke armies in the Battle of Shubrakhit on July 13. He did so again at the Battle of the Pyramids on July 21. Thus, the French did in three weeks what the Crusaders had failed to do in thirty-five years. Napoleon followed with a successful invasion of Palestine, a failed siege at Acre, a crushing victory over the Ottomans at Mt. Tabor on April 16, 1799, and another rout of the Turks at Aboukir on July 25, 1799.[104] The only serious resistance Napoleon faced was the British fleet under Admiral Nelson, who destroyed the French fleet in the Battle of the Nile from August 1 to 3, 1798. When Napoleon left to return to France, his successor General Kleber defeated the Ottomans yet again.

Mameluke power was not entirely broken but the followers of Muhammad, once masters of land and sea in the eastern Mediterranean, were reduced to hoping that a stronger Western nation would come to their rescue. Mameluke power finally broke when a British army moved into Egypt and defeated the French at the Second Battle of Aboukir on March 8, 1801.[105] After the stinging defeats, the priority for Muslim nations became the modernization of their armies. Unfortunately, growing in power like the West required not just upgrading armaments but encouraging intellectual innovation, changing judicial systems, and reevaluating the structure of society and the family. These changes were beyond the will or ability of many Muslim nations.[106]

Leaders in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. The nineteenth century saw more European advances against the waning power of the Ottoman Empire.

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[104] Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries,* 426. Western armies were superior to Ottoman armies in weaponry, but also in coordination, communications, and other necessities of modern war.

[105] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3:216–17. The British defeat of the French convinced local leaders that new weaponry was enough. It was not, as repeated events in the nineteenth century were to demonstrate.

[106] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3:228–31. The power of a national military rests on the industrial, transportation, communication, and economic base of that nation. These factors, in turn, are determined by cultural, demographic, and geographic realities. Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* and Peter Zeihan's *Accidental Superpower* describe these fundamental realities in detail. Changing only the military is like changing only the frosting on the cake.

France invaded Algiers in June 1830 and over the next eighteen years conquered and colonized the country. The French moved into Morocco in 1844 and Tunisia in 1881, thus wresting these provinces from the Ottomans and establishing their suzerainty over the western Magreb. Great Britain provided money, expertise, and labor to complete the Suez Canal in 1869, linking the British Isles with Imperial India. Growing Arab nationalism as well as Islamic fervor convinced the English that the existing Egyptian government was about to be overthrown and, so, an Anglo-French force invaded and overwhelmed Egypt in 1882.

The Dutch, who had first landed in Indonesia in 1602, colonized the Muslim-majority region, making it the Dutch East Indies. The British colonized Malaysia. Christian missionaries arrived under the protection of colonial governments. Though the colonists are long gone, the struggles between traditionalism and modernism, and the struggles between Islam and Christianity, endure.[107]

After the French debacle in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the Iron Chancellor, Otto Von Bismarck, united the small squabbling German states into greater Germany. Primarily agrarian, Bismarck made Germany a major industrial power within a few decades. Kaiser Wilhelm II, the eldest grandson of Queen Victoria, forced Bismarck out in 1890 and led Germany on an imperial race to gain its "place in the sun." Germany's major enemies in this battle for influence were Great Britain and France. Everyone wanted and needed the Middle East and the Suez Canal.

To the Holy Roman Empire, the armed forces of nations professing Islam were an existential threat. To the French and British empires three centuries later, the armed forces of nations professing Islam were a nuisance, at worst, to their conduct of global power politics against other Western majority Christian nations. Except for scattered

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[107] Institute for South Asia Studies UC Berkeley, "Islam in Southeast Asia," accessed July 29, 2020, https://southasia.berkeley.edu/islam-southeast-asia. Religious tension is growing in the region.

trading opportunities, and until the discovery of vast seas of oil in the Middle East, no one besides Christian missionaries and religious pilgrims cared much about the lands of the Prophet. To the minds of the colonized, Western missionaries carried (largely non-violent) cultural time bombs that threatened to undermine the way of life for Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, Jews, and every other group on earth.[108]

Leaders in World War I. In 1914 the Ottoman Empire stretched from the Balkans through Anatolia and into Palestine. Stiffened by German advisors, arms, and training, Turkish forces defeated the British and French at Gallipoli in April 1915. After initial losses in Mesopotamia, the Sublime Porte also surrounded and captured a large, overextended, and undersupplied British task force at Al Kut in 1916. Nonetheless as German help dwindled the Ottomans failed, losing Jerusalem, Palestine, and Syria to Sir Edmund Allenby in 1917.[110] By the armistice of 1918, Turkey was a shadow of the nation that terrorized Europe four centuries before. Mustafa Kemal, better known as Ataturk (father of the Turks), dissolved the Caliphate entirely in 1924.

Religion was a weapon in the hands of the combatants on every side. In one example, Count Max Oppenheim, the German ambassador to Egypt, and his protégé Kurt Prufer, unsuccessfully encouraged *jihad* to undermine British rule in Egypt and French rule in the Magreb.[111] In an irony of history, leaders in one Christian-majority nation (Germany) tried to increase the militancy of a non-Christian group (Arab Muslims) to

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[108] These "cultural time bombs" were schools, hospitals, businesses, newspapers, and other Western cultural items that would endanger traditional ways of life.

[110] Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries*, 608. In his conquest of Jerusalem, General Allenby reportedly said that the Crusades were finally over, provoking a howl of protests in the Middle East and an epidemic of headaches on Downing Street.

[111] The Free Library, "German policy toward the Sharif of Mecca, 1914–1916," last modified January 1, 1993, https://www.thefreelibrary.com/German+policy+toward+the+Sharif+of+Mecca%2c+ 1914-1916.-a013507190.

defeat other Christian-majority nations (Britain and France) and to defeat a Muslim-majority empire (Ottoman).

The major colonial powers in Europe drew boundaries to differentiate which colonial power owned which area and which local ruler was responsible to keep peace in each area. After World War I, under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, the French and British divided the western Fertile Crescent, which Britain had conquered from the Ottomans, into Syria-Lebanon, a French protectorate, and Palestine, a British one. The French then subdivided their lands into a majority Muslim area, Syria, and a majority Christian area, Lebanon. The Lebanese Christians were to support France and keep their key coastal terrain under French influence. Striving for stability, Europeans froze boundaries and froze dynasties.[112]

Leaders in World War II. After its defeat in World War I, Turkey remained neutral. The government of Iran under Reza Shah was sympathetic to the Axis, so the British invaded the south and the Soviets invaded the north, driving out the Pahlavi dynasty in less than one month. Arabs in North Africa helped British, French, Americans, Germans, and Italians. Eventually, Free French and British forces, many from North Africa, fought against Germany in Italy. Arabs and Jews skirmished in Palestine to shape its postwar status. In the Pacific, the Dutch East Indies and Malaysia were conquered by the Japanese. India was a colony of the British Empire, and Indian Muslims aided the fight against Tojo's forces. From a Muslim standpoint, World War II continued the theme of Western nations (and now Japan) using their economic, technological, and military superiority to fight each other and debase the rest of the world. In one description,

> European colonialism replaced Muslim self-rule under Islamic Law, which had been in existence from the time of the Prophet Muhammad, by their European lords. The colonialists were modern Crusaders–Christian warriors going out of their way to

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[112] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3:227. Sykes-Picot has served to deepen divides and concretize conflict in the Fertile Crescent.

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uproot Islam. The French spoke of their battle of the cross against the crescent. The only difference was that the Europeans came, this time, not with cavalry and swords, but with an army of Christian missionaries and missionary institutions like schools, hospitals, and churches, many of which remain in Muslim countries to this day.[113]

In summary, nations and peoples of the *Dar al Islam* have warred frequently throughout their history. Such activity is consistent with the DMI as calculated above, with the overall testimony of the Quran and *Sahih al Bukhari*, and with the examples of early and later leaders. I am making no judgments about the rightness of their struggles.

**Discussion on the Lived Militancy
of Islam–Current Situation**

The founding of the State of Israel was a watershed in Muslim-Jewish relations. Just as European crusaders had taken Palestine and set up a Kingdom of Jerusalem, so European colonial powers supporting mostly European (Ashkenazi) Jews had taken Palestine (from the Ottomans in World War I) and established a nation of Jews. The United Nations voted on November 29, 1947, to authorize a Jewish state in Palestine. On November 30, "the Supreme Muslim Council pronounced a three-day general strike."[114] Arabs harassed the Jews with snipers and bombs and attacked them at the frontier and on trade routes. On May 14 to 15, 1948, the combined armies of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan assaulted Israeli settlements and forces in Palestine.

After Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956, Israel joined Britain and France against Egypt in 1956 to return the canal to its international status. Under intense US and Soviet pressure, the alliance failed. Under threat, Israel attacked preemptively and routed the armies of Syria and Egypt in 1967. Israel won a hard battle against Syria and Egypt after a surprise attack on Yom Kippur in 1973. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 and 2006, and Palestinians have had major uprisings (Intifada) from

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[113] The Religion of Islam, "The Role of Colonization on the Political System of the Muslim World," last modified May 29, 2006, https://www.islamreligion.com/articles/359/role-of-colonization-on-political-system-of-muslim-world/.

[114] Mordechai Naor, *Ha'Haganah* (Tel Aviv, Israel: Naidat Press LTD, 1985), 186.

1987 to 1993 and 2000 to 2005. Skirmishes have abounded. Many Arabs still consider Israel to be a Crusader state, military interlopers on authentic Arab territory who must be driven out.[115]

The primary conflicts between Buddhism (Daoism, Confucianism) and Islam occur today between the Chinese and their Uighur minority and the Burmese and their Rohinga minority. Modern Uighurs are descendants of Turkish tribes who have lived in eastern Central Asia for millennia. After the Abbasids smashed the Tang Chinese at the Battle of Talas (751), a rebellion in China forced the recall of remaining forces from the western provinces to the heartland of China. Muslim armies and Muslim teachers filled the gap and by 1600 the Turks in the far west of modern China had adopted Islam. Arabs, Mongols, Chinese, and others have enjoyed political domination over the region, with the Qings taking control in the seventeenth century.

Since 2014, Communist Chinese authorities under Chairman for Life Xi Jinping have sent over one million Uighurs, including many women and children, into detention camps for reeducation in Communist orthodoxy.[116] World leaders took notice in 2019, but China argues that its actions are to diminish the risk of terrorism.[117] The last notable terror attack by Uighurs was a railway station massacre of twenty-nine in 2014.[118]

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[115] el-hasan, Hasan Afif, "Israel: Modern Crusaders and No Modern Arab Saladin," *The Palestine Chronicle,* December 1, 2014, http://www.palestinechronicle.com/israel-modern-crusaders-and-no-modern-arab-saladin/. The feeling that the Jews must go is not merely held by extremists such as Al Qaeda and the Islamic State.

[116] "UN 'Alarmed' by Reports of China's Mass Detention of Uighurs," *BBC News*, August 31, 2018, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-45364689.

[117] *The Guardian*, "More Than 20 Ambassadors Condemn China's Treatment of Uighurs in Xinjiang," July 10, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/11/more-than-20-ambassadors-condemn-chinas-treatment-of-uighurs-in-xinjiang.

[118] Hannah Beech, "Deadly Terrorist Attack in Southwestern China Blamed on Separatist Muslim Uighurs," *Time*, March 1, 2014, https://time.com/11687/deadly-terror-attack-in-southwestern-china-blamed-on-separatist-muslim-uighurs/.

Leaders of Muslim countries have been remarkably silent about the treatment of their coreligionists, their fellow Muslims.[119]

The violence between Pakistan and India is the most significant conflict between Muslims and Hindus. Intra-national attacks between Hindus and Muslims are also an issue. In one convulsion of violence on September 7, 2013, Hindu-Muslim violence sent 15,000 Muslim refugees into refugee camps outside of Loi, India. One refugee, Muhammad Akhtar, summarized the position of many, saying, "Security comes from being with Muslims." He continued, "There is no security for us there now."[120] A report by the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) suggested that the persecution of minorities is not an isolated trend in India, noting, "Minority communities, especially Christians, Muslims, and Sikhs, experienced numerous incidents of intimidation, harassment, and violence, largely at the hands of Hindu nationalist groups."[121]

Conclusion–The Doctrinal Militancy of Islam

Islam is one of the world's great religions, with over 1.6 billion adherents. Despite several high-profile conversions of Americans to Islam, a Pew study found that about as many Americans join Islam as leave Islam.[122] As communicated by its DMI of 3.73, the doctrinal militancy of Islam is higher than that of Judaism, Buddhism,

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[119] Sabena Siddiqui, "Why Muslim Countries are Turning Their Back on China's Repressed Uighurs," *The New Arab*, August 14, 2019, https://english.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/8/14 /muslim-states-and-the-uighur-conundrum.

[120] Ellen Barry and Betwa Sharma, "After Fleeing Violence, Many Indian Muslims Refuse to Return Home," *New York Times*, January 3, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/04/world/ asia/uttar-pradesh-religious-violence.html?_r=1.

[121] *Indo Asian News Service*, "India Dismisses US Watchdog Report On Growing Religious Intolerance," May 3, 2016, https://in.news.yahoo.com/india-dismisses-us-watchdog-report-growing-religious-intolerance-124604473.html.

[122] Besheer Mohamed and Elizabeth Podrebarac Sciupac, "The Share of Americans Who Leave Islam is Offset by Those Who Become Muslim," Pew Research Center: Fact Tank: News in the Numbers, last modified January 26, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/26/the-share-of-americans-who-leave-islam-is-offset-by-those-who-become-muslim/.

Hinduism, or as we shall see in the next chapter, Christianity. The lived militancy examples demonstrate that Muslims have been as violent and empire-building as their founder was. Heated debates surround the question of whether violence committed by Muslims is because of or in spite of Islam, but this study indicates that the Quran and the *Sahih al Bukhari* encourage militancy to an extent that holy scriptures from the other major religions do not. A key reason for such militancy seems to be that Islam is inherently political in a way that Buddhism and Christianity are not.

Islam does not distinguish between the faith and geographic or political communities, so the political and the religious are united. Non-Muslims (*dhimmi*) in a Muslim state are politically subordinate to Muslims and provide a large tax base by paying *jizya*.[123] Muhammad sent letters to the Byzantine and Persian emperors and other leaders around him demanding that they embrace Islam or be destroyed, personally and nationally. The only reasonable explanation for Muhammad's letters is that the Prophet was planning to gain political power over his foes, whether or not they accepted his religion. The peace, and even more the justice, of Islam does not demand that each person believes in Islam, but rather that each person falls under Muslim rule.

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[123] al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler,* o11:1–11.

CHAPTER 6

THE RELIGIOUS MILITANCY OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity has the most adherents of any religion in the world and Christians are the majority or plurality religion for over half of the nations on the globe. Judging by military and economic strength, Christian-majority or plurality nations comprise five of the top six most powerful nations on earth.[1] As a result, Christian militancy is a major topic in the world today.

From my friend's son to George Carlin, some people are convinced that Christianity is a militant religion, perhaps even the most militant of the major world religions. Evangelist Ron Luce is a favorite target of those who see Christianity as equivalent to Islam in its militancy. Sociology and Global Studies professor Mark Juergensmeyer states, "prior to the 911 attacks in New York and Washington DC, however, the religion associated with most acts of terrorism in the West was not Islam but Christianity. . . . in the years since 1990 there have been far more terrorist attacks by Christians than Muslims on European and American soil."[2] Juergensmeyer included Norwegian bomber Anders Breivik and Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh as "soldiers for Christ," though the former was a pagan Odinist and the later an unbelieving former Catholic.[3]

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[1] *US News and World Report,* "Power," accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.usnews.com/news/best-countries/power-rankings. How and why Christian-majority nations gained that power, as opposed to Muslim, Hindu, or Buddhist majority nations, is a hotly debated question.

[2] Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 19.

[3] To update this potential accusation, the New Zealand Christchurch Mosque terrorist, Brenton Tarrant, claimed to be an ethnonationalist and ecofascist. He gave no indication of being a Christian.

The medieval Crusades provide endless fodder for those who believe that Christianity is deeply militant. Notables from Osama Bin Laden to US President Bill Clinton have blamed current Muslim rage on Christians from nine hundred years ago. Historians counter with facts and narratives in a battle over history.[4] But facts do not necessarily win public opinion. Journalists debate objectivity. Robert Bazell of NBC said, "there are different opinions, but you don't have to give them equal weight."[5] Irving R. Levine of NBC argued, "the reporter has got to determine, ultimately, what is valid and what is not."[6] The objective in this chapter is to cut through this haze of subjectivity and address the question, "What is the religious militancy of Christianity?" The analysis of this militancy will include doctrinal and lived factors.

The Doctrinal Militancy of Christianity

Documents of a religion, usually provided by and about the founder of said religion, provide the most authoritative and lasting knowledge about that religion. The discussion of the Religious Militancy of Christianity must begin with the doctrinal militancy of Christianity.

Further, the Global Terrorism Index, published by the Institute for Economics and Peace, has recorded twice as many incidents of terror in the West with more than ten fatalities due to Islamist attacks than any other cause. The justification for Juergensmeyer's accusations is not clear.

[4] Thomas Madden, "The Real History of the Crusades," *Christianity Today,* May 6, 2005, https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2005/mayweb-only/52.0.html. Madden argues that the Crusades were a counter to Muslim aggression, a position also held by sociologist of religion Rodney Stark.

[5] Robert Bazell, quoted in Marvin Olasky and Warren Cole Smith, *Prodigal Press: Confronting the Anti-Christian Bias of the American News Media* (Philipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2013), 75.

[6] Irving R. Levine, quoted in Marvin Olasky and Warren Cole Smith, *Prodigal Press: Confronting the Anti-Christian Bias of the American News Media* (Philipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2013), 75.

**The Doctrinal Militancy
Index (DMI) Analysis**

Using the DMI methodology noted in chapter 1, I have evaluated every

occurrence of the top five militancy-related words in the Bible, the holy book of

Christianity. Christians believe that the Old Testament summarizes the creation and early

history of the world, and it describes dealings between God and His chosen people,

Israel, from roughly two thousand to four hundred BC. The Old Testament includes

history, law, prophecy, songs, and other writings to teach and empower the Hebrew

people to build a unified and just society under the rule of the Almighty through a series

of human leaders. Table 17 covers the Old Testament.[7]

Table 17. Analysis results (Old Testament)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	172	0	100	412	231	915
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	1	0	1	1	1	4
Non-Physical or Non-Human	5	0	2	15	3	25
Physical/Human	166	0	97	396	227	886
Non-violent	3	0	0	2	0	5
Violent	163	0	97	394	227	881
Prohibits violence (1)	4	0	3	2	2	11
Discourages violence (2)	45	0	31	180	59	315
Neutral, nothing (3)	41	0	24	117	105	287
Encourages violence (4)	66	0	36	91	51	244
Commands violence (5)	7	0	3	4	10	24
DMI	*3.17*	*–*	*3.05*	*2.78*	*3.04*	*2.95*

The numbers from the Old Testament in the above table are the same as the

numbers from the Jewish *Tanakh* discussed in chapter 2 because Christians adopted the

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[7] Holy Books, "The King James Version of the Holy Bible," accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.holybooks.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/The-Holy-Bible-King-James-Version.pdf.

Jewish *Tanakh* as the Old Testament in the Christian Bible.[8] The Christian and Jewish interpretations of the *Tanakh* are similar except that Christians see predictions of Jesus throughout the Old Testament while Jews do not.

Christians find evidence for Christ in the Old Testament in the Christophanies (pre-incarnate appearances) such as Genesis 14:17–24, Genesis 18, Genesis 32:24–30, Exodus 3, Joshua 5:13–15, and Daniel 3:19–30. None of the five key militancy words are found in these passages and therefore interpreting these incidents as a Christophany does not impact the militancy interpretation and score. Major Christological passages such as Genesis 3:15, Isaiah 7:14, Isaiah 9:1–2, Isaiah 52:13–53:12, Jeremiah 31:15, Hosea 1:1, Micah 5:1–5 also do not contain the key militancy words of this study. These passages also would not directly affect the interpretations of militancy. The expectation of the Messiah coming as a conqueror and king was common among first century Jews and could be interpreted as militant. However, the Christian position that the Messiah was a suffering servant, not a conquering one, at least in earthly terms, would lean toward a less militant interpretation of these messianic passages.[9]

The New Testament covers a much smaller span of time than the Old, less than one century, and tells of the life of Jesus Christ, the early Church, and the end times. Early Christians were considered a subset of the Jews, but their actions differed markedly

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[8] Protestants and Jews accept the traditional thirty-nine books, while Catholics add the apocryphal books of Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Wisdom, Sirach, and Baruch. The Orthodox church includes still more books, but this study used only the books on which all major branches of Christianity would agree.

[9] Christopher J. H. Wright, *Knowing Jesus Through the Old Testament* (Downers Grove IL: IVP Academic, 1992), 137–140. Whether the Messiah would be conquering or suffering has been a significant point of disagreement between Jews and Christians.

from the greater Jewish population, which rebelled against Rome in AD 66.[10] Results for

the Doctrinal Militancy Index for the New Testament are found in table 18.[11]

Table 18. Analysis results (New Testament)

Key Word (including stemmed words)	Battle (#)	Conquer (#)	Fight (#)	Sword (#)	War (#)	Total (#)
Total Appearances	5	2	15	37	22	79
Non-count (OW, ITCN)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-Physical or Non-Human	4	2	11	11	15	41
Physical/Human	1	0	4	26	7	38
Non-violent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violent	1	0	4	26	7	38
Prohibits violence (1)	0	0	1	0	0	1
Discourages violence (2)	0	0	1	17	0	18
Neutral, nothing (3)	1	0	2	8	7	18
Encourages violence (4)	0	0	0	1	0	1
Commands violence (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DMI	*3.00*	*–*	*2.25*	*2.38*	*3.00*	*2.50*

The New Testament has much less to say about physical violence than the Old

Testament does. When it speaks of physical violence, the New Testament

overwhelmingly discourages it. Unsurprisingly, the Doctrinal Militancy Index of the New

Testament is lower than for the Old Testament.

The only exceptions to this overall theme of discouraging violence are found in

Luke 22 where Jesus commands His followers to buy a sword and in Romans 13 where

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[10] Christians in Israel died during the Jewish revolt, but by and large the young church differentiated itself from the Jews and from their rebellion.

[11] Holy Books, "The King James Version of the *Holy Bible*," accessed December 20, 2019, https://www.holybooks.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/The-Holy-Bible-King-James-Version.pdf.

Paul speaks of the magistrate wielding the sword to punish wrongdoers. In the first instance, Jesus did not clarify why He commanded buying a sword. John MacArthur argues that He was referring to literal swords, common in that culture and useful for many things including self-defense.[12] Leon Morris finds this command figurative, something along the lines of "be prepared for trouble."[13] The first instance in Luke 22:36 was coded "encourages," while the second instance in Luke 22:38 was coded "neutral" due to the uncertainty.

In the Romans passage. Paul refers to the government's responsibility to uphold order, and this instance was coded as "neutral."[14] At the time Paul writes, Christians were a tiny, persecuted minority in Rome who were concerned about survival, centuries away from political power. Had Christians been in power at the time, it could have been coded as "encourages" or "commands," since whoever is the magistrate must wield violent force at times. Context made the difference.

Of the seventy-nine total appearances of one of the five key militancy related words in the New Testament, twenty-six are found in the Revelation. The apocalyptic nature of the book prevents certainty about the whether the text is referring to physical or spiritual phenomena. The two uses of "battle" in Revelation 9 refer to locusts with human faces, which do not exist in the natural world. Morris suggests that they are most likely demons.[15] Consequently, these appearances of the word "battle" have been coded as "non-physical non-human" in this study. Eleven references to "sword" exist in Revelation, of which five talk of a sword proceeding out of the mouth, and four refer to a

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[12] John MacArthur, *Luke*, *The MacArthur New Testament Commentary* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2007), 237.

[13] Leon Morris, *Luke,* The Tyndale New Testament Bible Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1988), 338–39.

[14] F. F. Bruce, *Romans,* The Tyndale New Testament Bible Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1987), 221.

[15] Leon Morris, *Revelation,* The Tyndale New Testament Bible Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 1987), 127.

heavenly or hellish being having a large sword. These are graded "non-physical non-human." Only Revelation 13 deals directly with earthly life, and readers are discouraged from killing with the sword.[16] Of the eight references to "war" in Revelation, all were "non-physical non-human," as were the references to "conquer" and "fight."

Table 19. Doctrinal militancy index (DMI) score–Christianity

Religion	Source of Authority	Score (1–5)
Christianity	Old Testament	2.95
	New Testament	2.50
	Average (DMI score)	2.72

Each book is weighted equally and so the overall DMI is a simple average of the two testaments. The DMI score of 2.72 reveals that the Christian Scriptures evaluated, the King James Version of the Holy Bible, discourage violence.

**Discussion of the Doctrinal Militancy of
Christianity–Scriptures and Founder**

The Bible, which includes the Old and New Testaments, comprises the authoritative Scriptures of the Christian faith. The Old Testament (OT), referred to as the *Tanakh* in Judaism, has a great deal to say about Jewish and Christian religious militancy and physical violence. A major difference between how Jews and Christians interpret the *Tanakh*/OT is that the Jews used the *Tanakh* for religious and political guidance (establishing and running a nation), while early Christians, not confined to a single political entity, used the OT for religious guidance alone.

Consistent with the DMI findings noted above, followers of Jesus Christ in the first century generally interpreted their Scriptures, both those from the Jewish tradition

[16] Morris, *Revelation,* 165.

and from the apostolic letters, as discouraging religious militancy and the physical violence that is often the outgrowth.[17] Christian pacifism was based primarily on the example of Jesus, who was unequivocal in His rejection of physical violence in his own life. In the Beatitudes in Matthew 5, Jesus said,

> Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

Such teachings advocating non-violence are not found so forcefully, so explicitly, and so conclusively in any other text analyzed in this study. Jesus insists that His servants do not fight because His kingdom was "not of this world" (John 18:36). When Peter cuts off the ear of the servant of the high priest, Jesus rebukes Peter and heals the servant, stating "those who live by the sword will die by the sword" (Matt 26:52). Jesus was not to be defended; He would go to the cross willingly.

Paul writes that Christians "wrestle not against flesh and blood" (Eph 6:12). The New Testament contains no instructions for kings and princes other than those given to all believers.[18] The New Testament discusses how the Christian church, but not how the nation, should be organized. Old Testament political instructions applied to the Hebrew nation, not to the Gentiles. Finally, Gregory M. Reichberg notes as a source of early Christian pacifism, "a belief that the end of the world was near, such that

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[17] Copious evidence for this statement exists later in this chapter.

[18] All believers, regardless of rank or position, are to obey higher secular authorities than themselves and are to administer righteously in their sphere of influence (government, family, school, local church, business, other organization, etc.). Romans 12 is a pertinent text.

participation in worldly practices (soldiering, lawsuits, etc.) was deemed inappropriate for Christians intent on achieving salvation in the next world."[19]

Jesus' example was not unequivocal, however, regarding the use of violence in the lives of others. Jesus marvels at the faith of the centurion (Matt 8:5–13), and Christians have no record of Him telling this Roman soldier to change his line of work. God sent Peter to the house of Cornelius, a centurion in Joppa, and Cornelius and his whole household were saved (Acts 10). Peter speaks no recorded words against his career. Paul also addresses several Roman military members and kings and never inveighs against the Roman occupation of Israel, much less the existence of the Roman Empire (Acts 22–26). Jesus' admonition to His disciples to "buy a sword" (Luke 22:35–38) suggests that His teachings on militancy are more complex than absolute pacifism.

All the religions in this study have some concept of just war; conditions under which physical violence is permissible among its adherents. As Christianity grew in numbers and Christians found themselves in positions of political power, simple pacifism would not meet the needs of the people. The conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine and his Edict of Milan (313) guaranteed religious freedom for Romans,

> When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I, Licinius Augustus, fortunately met near Mediolanurn (Milan), and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought, among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; [20]

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[19] Gregory M. Reichberg, "Norms of War in Roman Catholic Christrianity," in *World Religions and Norms of War*, ed. Vesslin Popovski, Gregory Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner (New York: United Nations University Press, 2009), 143. Christian eschatology, like that of Islam and Judaism, foresees a great final battle between good and evil. God, however, not man, ensures the victory.

[20] Constantine, "Edict of Milan (313 A. D.)," in Internet Medieval Sourcebook, Fordham University, last modified 1996, https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/edict-milan.asp.

It also effectively ended state-sponsored persecution of Christians.[21] Sadly, persecution within the Christian polity continued, especially regarding doctrinal differences in the East. Theological debates among Arians, Athanasians, Nestorians, Monophysites, and others escalated into violence, as opponents shed tears and spilled blood in the Empire.[22]

Ambrose of Milan (339 to 397) and Augustine of Hippo (354 to 430) reexamined classic Christian teachings on war to adjust to the contemporary circumstances, based on Romans 13:3–4. Augustine writes:

> Peace should be the object of your desire; war should be waged only as a necessity, and waged only that God may by it deliver men from the necessity and preserve them in peace. For peace is not sought in order to the kindling of war, but war is waged in order that peace may be obtained. Therefore, even in waging war, cherish the spirit of a peacemaker, that, by conquering those whom you attack, you may lead them back to the advantages of peace;[23]

Over the centuries, thinkers like Ambrose, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas (1225 to 1274) tried to interpret the Greco-Roman Just War tradition in a Christian context. They identified seven major principles, as summarized by Arthur F. Holmes:[24]

1. Just Cause: Just causes include self-defense, protecting the innocent (e.g., preventing genocide), restoring human rights wrongly denied, and assisting an ally in their self-defense.

2. Just Intention: Restoring peace is a valid reason to go to war. Revenge is not.

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[21] Ted Byfield, ed., *The Christians, their First Two Thousand Years* (Edmonton: Christian History Project, 2003), 3:151. Emperor Julian the Apostate (331–363) restarted anti-Christian persecution during his two-year reign, which ended at his death in battle against the Persians. Julian's successor Jovian restored official toleration and even encouragement of Christianity.

[22] Intra-religious persecution based on doctrinal differences is not unique to Christianity. The Imam al-Bukhari himself faced persecution due to a theological conflict with the Muslim religious establishment and governor of Persia. Shakyh Omar Subedar, *Commentary on Sahih al Bukhari, Vol 1, Beginning of Revelation and Belief* (Karachi, Pakistan: Bukhari Publications, 2001) 28-29.

[23] Augustine, "Letter to Boniface, Letter 189," New Advent, accessed September 29, 2020, https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102189.htm.

[24] Arthur F. Holmes, "The Just War," in *War: Four Christian Views*, ed. Robert G. Clouse, (Winona Lake, IN: BMH Books, 2016), 120–21.

3. Last Resort: All sides to a disagreement must exhaust all other options for resolving their conflict. Only if this fails can a war between them be considered just.

4. Right Authority: The proper governing authority must authorize the war.

5. Proportionality: For a war to be just, the war must prevent greater evil than it is expected to cause.

6. Limited objectives: First, the war should only go on long enough to attain the peace. Unconditional surrender is not warranted. Second, a group which has no reasonable chance of success in fighting a war should not fight. A futile war is not just.

7. Noncombatant immunity: Those not involved in the war must be protected as much as possible from harm during the war.

If these tenets look similar to the requirements for a Just War in Islam and Judaism, and if certain sections resemble the "Noble Eightfold Path" in Buddhism, they are.[25] The knowledge of God in each man (Rom. 1:18–23) seems to have fostered moral similarity across time and space. Major subsets of the Christian just war position include perpetual peace and regular war. "Perpetual peace" is a Christian approach to war in which Papal arbitration can solve all disputes between princes, making just war unnecessary. "Regular war" is a variation of Just War recognizing that "just cause" is entirely in the eye of the beholder.

Reichberg contrasts early and later thinkers' reasons for a just war, noting "mainstream traditions had set aside as inappropriate grounds for war: refusal to accept the 'true', i.e., Christian religion, offense given to God by idolatrous practices, the alleged incapacity of non-believers to exercise dominion (self-government or ownership of property), and the alleged universal jurisdiction of the pope or the Christian emperor."[26] Acceptable reasons for war, however, might include the refusal of a prince to allow his subjects to accept Christianity, or persecution of Christians by a prince. These two later justifications were used in the Crusades.

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[25] Interestingly, while Hinduism has a concept of Just War, its most important ancient book on statecraft, the *Arthashastra*, does not include it.

[26] Reichberg, "Norms of War in Roman Catholic Christianity," 157.

Hoyt, Augsburger, Holmes, Brown, and Clause describe traditional views of war held by many Christians. Hoyt writes on the first view, nonresistance, which teaches that Christians must not use physical violence to resist evil in the world, but can use spiritual means, such as prayer and the other spiritual disciplines, to resist physical evil.[27] Believers in non-resistance can use other means as well, such as words, to oppose physical violence. Only physical violence is off the table. Adherents to non-resistance cannot join "the World" in its use of physical violence, proponents of this view insisting that occupations involving physical violence are off limits to believers.[28] Christians may serve as noncombatants.

The second common view of war, described by Myron S. Augsburger, is Christian pacifism or non-violence. It rejects all violence as the nonresistance view does but expands on the ramifications of nonviolence since Christians are part of the kingdom of God on earth. Augsburger cites Martin Luther King Jr. in describing its philosophy. First, nonviolent responses require more courage than violent responses do. Second, nonviolence "does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent but to win friendship and understanding."[29] Third, attacks from Christian pacifists are directed not against individuals but against forces of spiritual evil. Fourth, people using nonviolent resistance will accept suffering without retaliation. Fifth, Christian pacifism avoids not only external physical force but also internal violence of Spirit. Christians may have no role in war or violence of any kind.

Arthur F. Holmes pens the third common Christian view of war, just war, which has been covered above. The fourth common view of war is preventive war. In this theory, Christians are not only allowed to participate in defensive war, but to fight to stop

[27] Herman A. Hoyt, "Nonresistance," in Clouse, *War: Four Christian Views*, 32.

[28] Hoyt, "Nonresistance," 56.

[29] Myron S. Augsburger, "Christian Pacifism," in Clouse *War: Four Christian Views*, 91.

attacks or correct injustice. These wars occur to prevent a war of aggression, not only to respond to it. Similarly, preventive wars can also be waged for reconquest, such as the Crusades.[30]

Militancy sometimes leads to war, and changing technologies and events have prompted Christian leaders to reevaluate the Christian attitudes to war in order to cope with new realities. The bloodbath of war in the twentieth century prompted Pope Pius XII (1876 to 1958) to call for a system of governance for the international society of states, a "breaking down of needless barriers and a uniting of nations."[31] The spread of nuclear arms accelerated the urgency for arbitration and other means to avoid war. Christianity does not establish secular government, but growing out of a Jewish cultural milieu, Christian rulers such as Constantine use the Old Testament to inform their governmental and military practices, such as mandating one day of worship and rest per week.[32]

The Lived Militancy of Christianity

While the doctrinal militancy of Christianity is low (DMI = 2.72), such is only part of the total militancy of Christianity. The historical example, known here as the lived militancy, reveals how Christians in the past have understood the militancy of their religion and how they have acted in response.[33]

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[30] Harold O. J. Brown, "The Crusade or Preventive War," in Clouse, *War: Four Christian Views*, 155.

[31] Raymond F. Cour, "The Political Teaching of Pope Pius XII," *The Review of Politics* 22, no. 4 (1960): 483, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1405792.

[32] Elisabeth Achelis, "Constantine and the Week," *Journal of Calendar Reform*, June 1954, http://myweb.ecu.edu/mccartyr/constantine.html.

[33] As noted in preceding chapters, Doctrinal militancy is defined as the militancy encouraged by the religious texts, irrespective of later history and current social factors such as poverty, literacy, and political freedom. Lived militancy is defined as the militancy exhibited by followers of these religions in the past and present.

Examples of the Early Leaders
of Christianity

Jesus (c. 4 BC to c. AD 30) had twelve primary disciples and one hundred twenty others who followed Him at the time of His death and resurrection (Acts 1:15). Jesus' twelve disciples were Peter (c. AD 1 to 68), James (c. AD 3 to 44), John (AD 6 to 100), Andrew (c. AD 5 to 60), Bartholomew or Nathanael (first century AD), James the Lesser or Younger (first century AD), Judas Iscariot (first century AD), Jude or Thaddeus (first century AD), Matthew or Levi (first century AD), Philip (AD 5 to 80), Simon the Zealot (first century AD), and Thomas (first century AD).[34] Judas Iscariot was involved in the violent death of Jesus. Simon the Zealot may have physically fought against Rome during his lifetime, especially in the Jewish-Roman War (66 to 70 AD). Aside from these two traditions, there is no evidence that any of Jesus' disciples engaged in physical violence.

For the first three hundred years of Christianity, military service was discouraged but not forbidden. Tertullian (160 to 240) writes in his defense of Christians, "So we (Christians) sojourn with you in the world, abjuring neither forum, nor shambles, nor bath, nor booth, nor workshop, nor inn, nor weekly market, nor any other places of commerce. We sail with you, and fight with you, and till the ground with you; and in like manner we unite with you in your traffickings.[35]" Simultaneously, he notes that critics attacked Christians. "'You do not worship the gods,' you say; 'and you do not offer sacrifices for the emperors.' Well, we do not offer sacrifice for others, for the same reason that we do not for ourselves, --namely, that your gods are not at all the objects of our

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[34] As indicated by the names, dates, and known history of violence, Jesus' disciples lived throughout the first century and reflected diverse backgrounds and points of view.

[35] Tertullian, *Apology*, trans, S. Thelwalll, chapter 42, Early Christian Writings, accessed May 2, 2021, http://earlychristianwritings.com/text/tertullian01.html.

worship."[36] Emperor worship was Tertullian's primary reason for discouraging Christians from joining the army.

Origin (182 to 254) writes that Christians can provide better service to the Roman Empire through praying than they can through fighting,

> Celsus urges us to help the king with all our might, and to labour with him in the maintenance of justice, to fight for him; and if he requires it, to fight under him, or lead an army along with him." To this our answer is, that we do, when occasion requires, give help to kings, and that, so to say, a divine help, "putting on the whole armour of God." And this we do in obedience to the injunction of the apostle, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority;" and the more any one excels in piety, the more effective help does he render to kings, even more than is given by soldiers, who go forth to fight and slay as many of the enemy as they can."[37]

Hippolytus (170 to 235) teaches that no Christian who joins the military can remain in the Church. He notes,

> A soldier of the civil authority must be taught not to kill men and to refuse to do so if he is commanded, and to refuse to take an oath; if he is unwilling to comply, he must be rejected. A military commander or civic magistrate that wears the purple must resign or be rejected. If a catechumen or a believer seeks to become a soldier, they must be rejected, for they have despised God.[38]

Cyprian (200 to 258) writes that iron is to be used for plowing, not killing.[39]

Other writers such as Minucius (d. 250) and Arnobius (d. 330) are critical of the Roman military and its idolatry.[40]

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[36] Tertullian, *Apology*, chapter 10.

[37] Origen, *Contra Celsus*, accessed April 28, 2021, http://www.documenta-catholica.eu/d_0185-0254-%20Origene%20-%20Contra%20Celsus%20-%20EN.pdf.

[38] Hippolytus, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus of Rome*, trans. Scott Burton Easton (1934; repr., Ann Arbor, MI: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 42.

[39] Cyprian, *Treatise 2: On the Dress of Virgins*, trans. Robert Ernest Wallis, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldon and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886), New Advent, accessed April 28, 2021, https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/050702.htm.

[40] John Helgeland, "Christians and the Roman Army AD 173–337," *Church History* 43, no. 2 (June 1974): 155. Among the Christians in the Roman Empire, early leaders seemed to discourage military service more than later leaders did. Perhaps this is related to the growing numbers of Christians and their increasing political power and responsibility.

By contrast, Clement of Alexandria (150 to 215) sees the military as just another occupation and therefore open to Christians.[41] Lactantius (250 to 325) and Eusebius (263 to 339) supported believers' work in the military, though the former wrote that the Emperor might "exclude persons of that religion from the court and the army."[42] The Emperor Diocletian (244 to 311) purged the army of those who would not sacrifice to the Roman gods, starting with his proclamation at the Festival of Terminalia (February 23, 303). The Apocryphal Gospels portrayed Jesus as quite violent. A trend is notable. Early writers were more negative towards followers of Christ serving in the military than later writers.

There is no explicit reference to Christians in the military from the centurions of the New Testament to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (121 to 180, reigned 161-180). The *Thundering Legion (Legio XII Fulminata)*, a unit with a large percentage of Christians, prayed for rain to refresh the Emperor's army and it came.[43] The first martyred Christian soldier was Marinus, and only known Christian draftee to be martyred was Maximillian.[44] After Diocletian and Maximian claimed divinity, the centurion Marcellus quit the Roman Army and was beheaded for his action.[45] Two of the most famous veteran martyrs were Tipasius and Julius. Tombstones of Roman soldiers sometimes indicate that the deceased followed Christ.

Comparing the growth in the numbers of Christians in the Roman Empire with the increase in militancy, especially after the third century, is illustrative. Luke states in

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[41] Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Heathen*, trans. William Wilson, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, New Advent, accessed April 28, 2021 https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/020810.htm.

[42] Lactantius, "The Manner in which Persecutors Died," in *The Works of Lactantius,* Vol 2, eds., Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Edingurgh: T & T Clark, 1949), Chapter 6, https://archive.org/stream/theworksoflactan00lactuoft/theworksoflactan00lactuoft_djvu.txt.

[43] Livius, "Cassius Dio on the Rain Miracle," last modified July 15, 2020, https://www.livius.org/sources/content/cassius-dio/dio-on-the-rain-miracle/.

[44] Helgeland, "Christians and the Roman Army." 158.

[45] Helgeland, "Christians and the Roman Army." 158-159.

Acts 1 that just before Pentecost, fifty days after the Crucifixion, there were one hundred twenty followers of Christ in Jerusalem. Three thousand more joined at Pentecost (Acts 2:41). The best historical estimate of the population of Christians in the Roman Empire at the time of Emperor Constantine I (272 to 337) is six million.[46] If one excludes the testimony in Acts 2, the Christian population growth from one hundred twenty around AD 30 to six million around AD 300 and thirty-two million around AD 350 would have required a constant growth rate of 3.4 percent per year; counting conversions and births minus deconversions and deaths. Such a growth rate is consistent with modern examples of the growth of religious movements such as Mormonism, even without the supernatural elements mentioned in Acts.[47]

Starting at one hundred twenty persons, if Christianity grew around 3.4 percent per year, there would have been forty thousand Christians in the Roman Empire by AD 150, less than 0.1 percent of the population.[48] The Christian population in AD 250 would have been 1.1 million, only two percent of the population. By the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312), when Constantine fought under the cross of Christ, there would have been nine million Christians; fifteen percent of the people in the Empire.[49] By AD 350, only thirteen years after Constantine's death, the Roman Empire would have had thirty-two million Christians, fifty-three percent of the population. Whether or not Constantine's Christianity was genuine, as a shrewd political operator, he hitched his cart to the right horse at the right time. By the time the Emperor Theodosius made Christianity the state religion of Rome (380), a large majority of all Romans would have considered

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[46] Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3, https://www.humanscience.org/docs/Stark%20(1996)%20Rise%20of%20Christianity%201-2.pdf.

[47] Stark, *The Rise of Christianity.* 3.

[48] Rodney Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity: How the Jesus Movement Became the World's Largest Religion* (New York: Harper One, 2011), 157.

[49] Stark, *The Triumph of Christianity*. 157.

themselves Christians. The Church may or may not have benefitted from the decisions of Constantine and Theodosius, but both rulers made decisions they felt were in the best interests of themselves, the Church, and their empire.

Summarizing, the leaders in the first three hundred years of Christianity, except for those at the very end, such as Constantine, were a non-violent bunch. Reports of Christians at war were rare, and many believers eschewed physical violence altogether. Only when Christianity became the religion of the majority of the population in the Roman Empire and Christians therefore were required to take positions of secular responsibility did Christian militancy dramatically and quickly increase.

**Examples of the Later Leaders
of Christianity**

The early leaders of Christianity, starting with Jesus Himself, largely eschewed militancy, with its frequent results of violence and war. Facing different circumstances, later Christians and their leaders often did not follow this example.

Leaders in the Early Middle Ages. In the Edict of Thessalonica, Theodosius I (347 to 395) made Christianity the official religion in the Roman Empire. Nicene Christianity was the state religion and all other religions, and versions of Christianity, could be persecuted.[50] Persecution based on doctrine occurred in the East more commonly than in the West as Constantinople, not Rome, housed the imperial government. Simultaneously, Rome found itself fighting Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Quadi, Sarmatians, Huns, Persians, and internal foes. Within a century, the Latin-speaking Western Empire ceased to exist. The Greek-speaking Eastern Empire carried the

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[50] Gic Serry, "The Edict of Thessalonica," *Faith and Heritage*, July 17, 2017, http://faithand heritage.com/2017/07/the-edict-of-thessalonica/.

banner of Rome, and of Christendom, as revealed by the fact that in the fifth century, Constantinople had no pagan temples but many Christian churches.[51]

The barbarians of Europe had mixed with Roman Christians for centuries and converted to Christianity. The Goths largely followed Christ from the third to the fifth centuries, as did the Franks. The Frankish King Clovis I (466 to 511) was baptized in 508. The Emperor Charlemagne (748 to 814) united all Western Europe, but he forced enemies (such as the Saxons) to convert to Christianity on pain of death.[52] The Massacre of Verden (October 782), in which Charlemagne's forces killed forty-five hundred pagan Saxons, is a sad tale in a kingdom which is "not of this world."[53] Simultaneously, the Byzantine Empire in the east fought against the Persians, Bulgars, Slavs, and the Avars. By the sixth century, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (482 to 565) had reconquered North Africa from the Vandals and invaded Italy to try to restore the ancient Roman Empire.

The example of later leaders espousing Christianity from the fourth to the late sixth century tells a different story of militancy than the early Christian leaders from the first to early fourth century. With their increased numbers, Christians gained political power and began looking to the Old Testament for guidance on running a nation since the New Testament contains few explicit instructions for rulers.[54] As this study has demonstrated, Old Testament language is more militant than New Testament language.

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[51] Tim Cornell and John Matthews, *Atlas of the Roman World*, (New York: Facts on File, 1982), 204.

[52] Readers will recall that Islam charges the *jizya* (tax) for all non-Muslims (*dhimmi*) under Muslim political control. *Jizya* can be a huge source of revenue for the state, and therefore Muslim rulers have a powerful incentive to maintain large populations of non-Muslims in their realms. Christian theology makes no such distinction between people based on their religion, and therefore has no equivalent to *jizya*. Christian rulers have no comparable financial incentive to have many non-Christians in their lands.

[53] World Heritage Encyclopedia, "Massacre of Verden," Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press, accessed April 14, 2020, http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/Massacre_of_Verden. Verden is a lesser-known example of spreading Christianity by the sword.

[54] Jeremy Punt, "The New Testament as Political Documents," *Scriptura: Journal for*

Muhammad entered history, and Islamic armies toppled Christendom in its

birthplace: North Africa and the Middle East. The Byzantine persecution of Christian

heretics moved many away from the Lord and the Empire, but large native populations

remained Christian for decades after falling under the Muslim sway. After the Treaty of

Hudaybiyyah between Medina and Mecca (628), Muhammad sent letters to Emperor

Heraclius of Byzantium, Emperor Chosroes II of Sassanid Persia, the Negus (King) of

Abyssinia, Muqawqis the ruler of Egypt, Harith Gassani the governor of Syria, and to

Munir ibn Sawa, the Persian governor of Bahrain.[55] These letters called their recipients to

submit to Allah and His Prophet Muhammad or die. Within thirty years, Palestine, Syria,

and Egypt had been taken from the Christian Byzantines, and the Zoroastrian Persian

Empire was destroyed, at the hands of Arab Muslim armies. Muhammad's followers

made good on his threats; Byzantium fell eight hundred years later. Only Ethiopia

entirely avoided Muslim control.[56]

The Eastern Roman Empire had been the center of Christianity since Jesus

walked the earth and the east had always been more Christianized than the west. Palestine

was a core Christian territory, and greater Syria and Egypt had been the lands of the

Patriarchs and the Apostles. Ethiopia was Christian, and Yemen had a large Christian

population.[57] The Visigoths who controlled Spain after the fall of the Western Roman

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Contextual Hermeneutics in Southern Africa 116, no 1 (2017): 1. Punt would likely disagree. He sees the Old Testament as overtly political in many areas, but the New Testament as inherently political and even revolutionary throughout.

[55] Islam House, "The Letters of the Prophet Muhammad," accessed April 17, 2020, https://d1.islamhouse. com/data/en/ih_books/single2/en_The_letters_of_the_Prophet_Muhammad to_the_Kings_beyond_ Arabia.pdf.

[56] No Christian thinker can help but wonder how the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:25–40) changed his nation and changed history. Had Ethiopia retained its ancient tribal religions instead of turning to Christ, it would likely have converted to Islam as Persia, the Berbers, the Turks, and many other peoples did. The nation that blocked Islamic expansion in northeast Africa for centuries would have participated in Islamic expansion. All of Africa could today be Islamic.

[57] Given the lack of polling in antiquity, it is impossible to say exactly what percentage of each population claimed Christianity. Sources use words like "many," "largely," or "mostly" in their descriptions of the degree of Christianization in a people group or area.

Empire were largely Christian. Cornell and Matthews note that the importance of Christians in North Africa was well attested by the prominence of African Church leaders such as Augustine of Hippo (354 to 430), and by Romanized Africa's advanced episcopal structure.[58] Many Arab tribes were Christian. The main non-Christian groups in the pre-Islamic Middle East were Jewish communities, Arab pagans, and the Zoroastrian Persians in eastern Mesopotamia and Iran.

Early fights between Christian and Muslim powers slanted heavily towards Islamic victory. The Battle of Yarmuk (636) ended Byzantine rule over Palestine and Syria, and the Battle of Alexandria (641) lost Egypt to the Arabs. Muslim armies subdued the rest of North Africa by 709 and conquered most of the Iberian Peninsula after the Battle of Guadalete (711). Constantinople itself was besieged multiple times by Arab Muslim armies (674 to 678, 717 to 718) and later the Ottomans.[59] Odo of Aquitaine's Christian victory over the Umayyads at Toulouse (721), and Frankish king Charles Martel's (686 to 741) rout of the Moors in the Battle of Tours (732) saved Western Europe from Muslim domination. In the first two centuries after Muhammad, Christian-professing tribes and nations fell again and again to the Islamic juggernaut. The Battle of Sufetula exemplifies Arab tactics, Arab fanaticism, and Arab victory common to that period.

> On a sudden the charge was sounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky.[60]

During this period, militancy among Christians was largely defensive. Such defensive warfare was consistent with the Old Testament example and with just war

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[58] Cornell and Matthews, *Atlas of the Roman World*, 118.

[59] Chapter 5 covers Islam and contains more information on these topics.

[60] Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (London: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 2:277.

considerations. The fact that Christian soldiers obeyed the Byzantine Emperor in his command to fight was consistent with the Apostle Paul's instructions in Romans 12.

By the end of the Umayyad period (750), the frontiers between Muslim and Christian powers had stabilized. Muslim forces under Harun al Rashid (763 to 809) and his successors invaded Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, but Arab gains were reversed by Byzantine and local forces. Sicily, another formerly core Christian territory, was ruled by Muslim powers from 827 to 1091. The period from 863 to the late eleventh century found a resurgence of the Byzantines and other Christians against the Muslims, but both faced many threats besides the followers of the Prophet.

While Charlemagne united Western Europe under his banner and the banner of the cross, pagan Vikings from Scandinavia swept south in their longboats to ravage Northern Europe and the British Isles.[61] Their attack on the monastery of Lindisfarne on the east coast of England (763) inaugurated three hundred years of raids and conquests in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the rivers feeding them. Monasteries and churches were inviting targets, centers of costly relics, skilled monks who became useful slaves, and ample supplies. Monasteries and churches were populated with people who would not or could not fight.[62] In 865, Vikings invaded Christian England and settled in the region around York. In 911, Vikings invaded Northern France and settled in the region called Normandy, a derivation of "Norsemen" or "north men." Many descendants of

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[61] Simon Coupland, "The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42, no. 4 (1991): 535–54. The Viking attacks clearly indicate pagan Norse militancy, but such is not covered in this work. It is also counted as Christian militancy, as described in earlier chapters. Christians responded militarily and sometimes offensively to the Norse threats. Furthermore, this study does not speculate on the morality of each instance of militant behavior. It simply records that militant behavior happened.

[62] Natmus, "Viking robbery of churches and monasteries," accessed July 30, 2020, https://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-viking-age/expeditions-and-raids/robbery-of-churches-and-monasteries/. Monastery walls sometimes had arrow ports which indicates that the occupants planned to defend their monastery. However, there is no strong tradition of warrior-monks in Christianity as there is in Buddhism. The Knights Templar and Hospitaller were military orders, not monks in monastic communities.

these settlers became the army with which William the Conqueror conquered England in 1066.

The Viking longships, able to handle open ocean and river inlets with equal ease, allowed the Vikings to strike at will. They sailed down the Seine to attack Paris (845) and down the Dnieper River to conquer Kiev (882). They passed through the Straits of Gibraltar to conquer southern Italy (eleventh century). The Normans fought with Byzantines, Muslims, Catholics, and pagans with equal ferocity and success. The Christianization of the Vikings (Norsemen) began in the ninth century and was largely complete by the twelfth century. The raids stopped.

Threats to Byzantium came from Islam to the south and east, and from pagan Vikings to the north and west. However, many Central Asian peoples from the northeast also challenged the Romans. The Goths besieged Constantinople in 378, the Avars and Slavs, along with the Sassanid Persians, in 626. The Bulgars besieged the city in 813 and the Rus peoples in 860, 907, and 941. Between the sieges were the siege of Thessalonica (Slavs 586), the Battles of Viminacium (Avars, 599), the naval battle against the Rus (941), and the Battle of Kleidion (Bulgars 1014). Early on, many of these nations were pagan. The Bulgar Prince Bogoris was baptized in 863, the Magyar Prince Voik (Stephanus) followed Christ in 994, and the Rus Grand Duke Vladimir made Christianity the official religion of his domains after his baptism in 988.[63] Within a century, each people had a significant proportion of Christians.

Leaders in the Crusades. The Crusades marked a watershed in Christian-Muslim conflicts. Byzantium had been fighting largely alone to stem the tide of Islam, but with the rise of the Turks and after the disaster at Manzikert (1071), the Eastern Roman Empire faltered. Pope Urban II (1035 to 1099) called for the West to respond to

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[63] Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church: Medieval Christianity, 590-1073*, 8 vols., (1885; repr., Peabody MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006), 4:134-140.

the Muslim threat in his famous oration at Clermont in November 1095. After admonishing the church leaders, knights, and princes in attendance to act consistently with the teachings of Scripture, the Pope concluded (as recorded by Fulcher of Chartres):

> For you must carry succor to your brethren dwelling in the East, and needing your aid, which they have so often demanded. For the Turks, a Persian people, have attacked them, as many of you know, and have advanced into the territory of Romania as far as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George; and occupying more and more the lands of those Christians, have already seven times conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the kingdom of God. If you permit them to remain for a time unmolested, they will extend their sway more widely over many faithful servants of the Lord. Wherefore, I pray and exhort, nay not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you, as heralds of Christ, by frequent exhortation, to urge men of all ranks, knights and foot-soldiers, rich and poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren, and to bear timely aid to the worshippers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I proclaim it to the absent, but Christ commands. Moreover, the sins of those who set out thither, if they lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant to all who go, through the power of God vested in me.[64]

Pope Urban II uses Just War criteria to support his call to the Crusades:

1. Just Cause: Local Christians were being persecuted and pilgrims molested, Christian lands had been taken, and rampant injustice was being done.

2. Proportionality: The attacks of the Muhammadans had gone on for so long that the trials of war were far outweighed by need to fight. Even those who paid the ultimate sacrifice would receive eternal glory.

3. Right Intention: The purpose of Urban's call was to right wrongs and protect the innocent.

4. Right Authority: God, speaking through His earthly vicar, was commanding it.

5. Limited objectives, including a reasonable chance of success: God would give the victory.

6. Last Resort: If the West did not act immediately, the enemies would advance and enslave more believers. There was no other choice.

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[64] Pope Urban II, "Speech of Urban II at the Council of Clermont," recorded by Fulcher of Chartres, in Dana Carleton Munro, ed., *Translations and Reprints: from the Original Sources of European History* 1, no. 2 (1901): 4, (Philadelphia: The Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1901), https://ia600300.us.archive.org/4/items/UrbanAndTheCrusaders/UrbanAndTheCrusaders.pdf.

It is notable that the Pope's call to arms did not include a call for non-combatant immunity, at least for heathen non-combatants. Instead, the Pope told his listeners "to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren," as was cited above.

Christian rulers, or those who led majority Christian lands and claimed to be Christian, have repeatedly followed Urban's example in citing just war criteria to justify war. America's Declaration of Independence lays out the offenses of the British King George III, and US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) listed Japan's sins in his "Day of Infamy" speech in 1941. The President continued, "the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory."[65]

In a speech about terrorism and the Islamic State (ISIS), President Barack Obama replied, "Lest we get on our high horse and think this is unique to some other place, remember that during the Crusades and the Inquisition, people committed terrible deeds in the name of Christ."[66] This view implies that the Crusades were morally equivalent to ISIS actions. Stark argues that the Crusades were a long overdue counterattack against Muslim aggression in the Holy Lands and Egypt, Christianity's traditional core territories.[67] At Damascus and Yarmuk, the Muslim Arabs attacked the Christian Byzantines. For several centuries following, it was the armies of the Prophet who attacked the "infidel" in Anatolia, Egypt, Spain, India, and elsewhere, not the other way around.[69]

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[65] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Transcript of Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Japan (1941)," Our Documents, accessed March 5, 2021, htttps://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=73&page=transcript.

[66] James Taranto, *"Obama's Crusades,"* Wall Street Journal, February 6, 2015, https://www.wsj.com/articles/obamas-crusades-1423256805.

[67] Rodney Stark, *God's Battalions: The Case for the Crusades* (New York: Harper One, 2009), 9. It bears remembering that the Middle East was Christian for at least five hundred years before it was Muslim.

[69] Calling the Crusades "imperialist" is incorrect as it mischaracterizes imperialism. By its nature, imperialism is state sponsored, whether that state is European, Asian, American, or African. For example, the British Empire conquered and colonized India, remaining there for three centuries, a situation

Following Urban's call, the First Crusade was launched. Knights and footmen from France and elsewhere in Western Europe marched overland through Anatolia and into Palestine, conquering Antioch, Edessa, and finally, Jerusalem (1099). Jonathan Riley-Smith notes, "Crusading was so unpleasant, dangerous, and expensive that the more one considers crusaders, the more astonishing their motivation becomes."[70] The fighting was terrible and the issue often in doubt. This reality contributed to a massacre once the Holy City finally fell. Frankish chronicler Raymond D'Aguilers wrote:

> Wonderful sights were to be seen. Some of our men (and this was more merciful) cut off the heads of their enemies; others shot them with arrows, so that they fell from the towers; others tortured them longer by casting them into the flames. Piles of heads, hands and feet were to be seen in the streets of the city. It was necessary to pick one's way over the bodies of men and horses. But these were small matters compared to what happened at the Temple of Solomon, a place where religious services are normally chanted ... in the temple and the porch of Solomon, men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins. Indeed it was a just and splendid judgement of God that this place should be filled with the blood of unbelievers since it had suffered so long from their blasphemies.[71]

The Jerusalem narrative compares with the massacre of Christians when Baibars and the Mamelukes retook Antioch in 1268:

> Death came among the besieged from all sides and by all roads: we killed all that thou hadst appointed to guard the city or defend its approaches. If thou hadst seen thy knights trampled under the feet of the horses, thy provinces given up to pillage, thy riches distributed by measures full, the wives of thy subjects put to public sale; if thou hadst seen the pulpits and crosses overturned, the leaves of the Gospel torn and cast to the winds, and the sepulchres of thy patriarchs profaned; if thou hadst seen thy enemies, the Mussulmans trampling upon the tabernacle, and immolating in the sanctuary, monk, priest and deacon; in short, if thou hadst seen thy palaces given up to the flames, the dead devoured by the fire of this world, the Church of St Paul and that of St Peter completely and entirely destroyed, certes, thou wouldst have cried out *"Would to Heaven that I were become dust!"* '… Bibars distributed the booty among his soldiers the Mamelukes reserving as their portion the women,

which was guaranteed by the power of Britain. The Crusades were a popular movement which had no single state sponsor. When things went poorly, the Crusader States could hope for another crusade, which was not guaranteed, save themselves, or perish. The Latins in the Levant had no Prestor John or Queen Elizabeth to help them.

[70] Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 75.

[71] Raymond D'Aguilers, eyewitness and chronicler, quoted in August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), 261.

girls, and children [...] A little boy was worth twelve dirhems, a little girl five dirhems. In a single day the city of Antioch lost all its inhabitants and a conflagration lighted by order of Bibars completed the work of the barbarians. Most historians agree in saying that fourteen thousand Christians were slaughtered and a hundred thousand dragged away into slavery.[72]

There is no doubt that accounts of Muslim and Christian atrocities reflect the truth and yet must be taken with a grain of salt. Ancient and Medieval chroniclers are notorious for their hyperbole. Raymond D'Aguilers may have tailored his account to fit the prophecy in Revelation 14:20, which predicts that in the judgment, an angel of God will strike men down and the blood will be to the horses' bridles. Considering the cost, hardship, and likelihood of death involved in crusading, Jonathan Riley-Smith asks why anyone would go. His answer was that crusading was a penitential, devotional act.[73] The Crusades truly reflected Christian militancy.

The Second Crusade (1147) failed to conquer Damascus. The Kurdish general Salah-al-Din-Ayubbi (Saladin) decimated the Crusader army at the Battle of Hattin on the outskirts of Tiberias (1187) and retook Jerusalem. The Third Crusade pitted Richard the Lionhearted of England against Saladin. Richard's forces conquered Acre and Jaffa but could not recapture Jerusalem. In the Fourth Crusade, Latin Christians became involved in a Byzantine power struggle and ended up conquering and sacking Constantinople. Unable and unwilling to traverse Anatolia and Lebanon, the Fifth (1218 to 1221) Crusade targeted Islamic forces in Egypt. It failed. In the Sixth Crusade (1228 to 1229), Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II negotiated crusader control over Jerusalem, Nazareth, Sidon, Jaffa, and Bethlehem. With the fall of Acre in 1291, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ceased to exist.

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[72] Bibars "Letter to the Count of Tripoli," quoted in Joseph Francois Michaud, *The History of the Crusades,* trans. W. Robson (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1881), Book 15, Kindle.

[73] Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, 75–77. Few men will endure the privations that faced the Crusaders for uncertain material gains. A transcendent purpose, such as a promise of paradise after death, is required.

European colonial nations used the Crusades to inspire their colonial efforts in the nineteenth century. When Napoleon III sent his troops into Lebanon in 1860, he exhorted them to be "the worthy children of those heroes who gloriously carried Christ's banner into those countries."[74] European nations also saw the Crusades as moral instruments to advance civilization.

After eight hundred years of continuous Muslim rule, the British conquered Jerusalem in December of 1917, near the end of World War I. The British commander, General Edmund Allenby said, "the Crusades are finally over."[75] The British *Punch* magazine published a drawing entitled *The Last Crusade* depicting Richard the Lionhearted, leader of the Third Crusade, looking over Jerusalem and saying, "my dream comes true."[76] In the century since, Muslims have not had political domination over Jerusalem, or most of Palestine.

If the military purpose of the Crusades was to conquer and hold the Holy Land in perpetuity against the Muslim enemies, they were a failure. The crusades certainly are a modern public relations disaster. In 1999 many Protestants had a "reconciliation walk" from Germany to Palestine, apologizing on the nine-hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem in the First Crusade.[77] On the other hand, the Crusades contributed mightily to the birth of the Renaissance. Science and philosophy from east and west mixed in ways hitherto unknown. Trade mushroomed.

After the conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem in 1099, the Crusader army did not attempt to take more territory. Muslims did not launch a major counterattack for

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[74] John Tolan, "Time to Forget the Crusades," Al Jazeera, February 4, 2008, https://www. aljazeera.com/ news/2008/02/04/time-to-forget-the-crusades/.

[75] Hatem Bazian, "Revisiting the British Conquest of Jerusalem," *Al Jazeera*, Dec 14, 2014, https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2014/12/14/revisiting-the-british-conquest-of-jerusalem/.

[76] Bazian, "Revisiting the British Conquest of Jerusalem."

[77] Stark, *God's Battalions*, 9.

eighty years, suggesting that they did not see the Crusaders as a major threat. By contrast, starting in the mid-thirteenth century, the Mongols ravaged Mesopotamia and the eastern Ottomans, challenged much of political Islam, and utterly destroyed the capital, Baghdad, in 1258. The Mongol threat was existential to Islamic society while the Crusader threat was not. The Muslims knew it.

Modern Muslims, by contrast, have used the Crusades as a *cause célèbre* and even a *casus belli*. As the power of Islamic states began to wane in the seventeenth century, and as European nations began to acquire colonies and gain worldwide hegemony, Muslims began to see the Crusades as the first example of European imperialism.[78] When such imperialism was discredited after two world wars, the Crusades faced increasing censure.

The Crusades came at a time when Muslim Turks were destroying most Europeans who resisted them. If anyone was imperialistic in the eleventh century it was the Muslim empires, not the Christian ones. From the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, Byzantium was weakening, and India had fallen to the Muslims. Only in Iberia was Islam being pushed back, for example, at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212. Nonetheless the theme of "Crusaders as Imperialists" suits political purposes from Marrakesh to Jakarta and from New York to San Francisco.[79]

What do the Crusades say about Christian militancy? First, Christian majority nations had become far more militant than the earliest Christians, and probably for the reasons noted above. Second, the expense, sacrifices, danger, and low likelihood of success of the Crusades suggest that religion truly constituted the primary European

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[78] Thomas Madden, "Inventing the Crusades," First Things, last modified June 2009, https://www.first things.com/article/2009/06/inventing-the-crusades#:~:text=Europeans%2C%20who%20 had%20bound%20the%20 Crusades%20to%20imperialism%2C,to%20bring%20civilization%20to% 20the%20backward%20Muslim%20East..

[79] Jason T. Roche, "How ISIS Is Appropriating the Crusades: A Medieval Historian's Take," *Newsweek*, August 17, 2017, https://www.newsweek.com/isis-and-appropriation-crusades-medieval-historians-take-647186. This is another example of how partisans exploit history for political purposes.

motivation. Third, the Crusaders felt justified in their actions under the theory that the Crusades were just. The idea of the Crusades as a counterattack against centuries of Islamic oppression resembles that of Hebrews throwing off foreign yokes in Judges, and Jewish kings attempts to reconquer lands from the Syrians, the Ammonites, and other enemies. The Crusades do not fit as well into the New Testament paradigm.

European Christian Leaders against the Ottoman Empire. In the thirteenth century, Byzantium faltered, the Crusades petered out, and the Seljuk Turks split into a patchwork of feuding kingdoms in Anatolia. Into this regional power vacuum came a stronger Turkish tribe, the Ottomans. Within two centuries, the Ottomans had crushed Serbian forces at Kosovo (1389) and western Christian armies at Nicopolis (1396). Mongols under Tamerlane gave the European Christian nations a short reprieve by destroying Ottoman armies at the Battle of Ankara (1402). But the Ottomans were expanding again into Europe by the 1430s. European nations tried to save the tottering Byzantine Empire, reduced to only the city of Constantinople and its environs, but lost at Varna (1444) and Kosovo (1448). The Eastern Roman Empire finally collapsed after the successful siege of Mehmet II the Conqueror (1432 to 1481). The greatest city in Europe, Constantinople, fell in 1453. Mehmet's successors fought Venice, conquered Albania, and invaded Italy. The "soldiers of the Cross" remained on the defensive.

The mightiest Ottoman ruler, Suleiman the Magnificent (1494 to 1566), became supreme in the *Sublime Porte* in 1520.[80] In 1521 his forces conquered Belgrade. He broke the power of Hungary at the Battle of Mohacs (1526) and barely failed to conquer Vienna (1529). Suleiman turned his attention east, winning partial victories against the Persians (1532 to 1555) and sparring with Portuguese fleets in the Indian Ocean (1538 to 1564). He fought his primary Christian foe, Habsburg Emperor Charles V

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[80] The Sublime Porte is the historical title for the Ottoman government.

(1500 to 1558), in eastern Europe and North Africa. At its height in 1566, the Ottoman Empire extended from the Ethiopian coast to Budapest and from the Persian Gulf to Morocco.

Significant Ottoman wealth came from trade, and manpower from the *Devshirme* system. In the *Devshirme* system, children from Christian parents in Anatolia, Armenia, and the Balkans were taken from their families, forced to convert to Islam, and placed in positions in the service of the Empire.[81] Many Janissaries, the elite infantry of the Ottomans, as well as civil servants, had been Christian. Christian parents generally opposed the system by buying substitutes, bribing Ottoman officers, and even rebelling. Christian youths often tried to escape.[82] Occasionally, Muslim children were taken, exemplified by the "poturoğulları (Bosnian Muslim boys conscripted for the janissary army)."[83]

The Ottoman-European conflict was the major Muslim-Christian conflict in the early Renaissance (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries), but Christian majority and Christian led nations fought many other wars during this period. Internecine struggles occurred between the Holy Roman Empire and France, the Hundred Years War, the Thirty Years War, and the beginnings of the Wars of Colonization in India and East Asia.

Columbus found a reliable route for Europeans to travel to the Americas and return to Europe, thus opening the New World to trade, settlement, and conquest. The Spanish and Portuguese led the way, and by 1700, the great native American empires of

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[81] Speros Vryonis, "Seljuk Gulams and Ottoman Devshirmes," *Der Islam* 41, no. 1 (1965):224–25.

[82] Vryonis, "Seljuk Gulams and Ottoman Devshirmes." The Devshirme system has been a topic of historical revisionism by defenders of the Ottomans. The typical argument is that Christian parents, impoverished and soured on their leaders, freely gave their children, boys to the army and civil service and girls (occasionally) to the harem, to the wise and munificent Ottomans. Historical sources do not paint such a picture.

[83] Gulay Yilmaz, "The Devshirme System and the Levied Children of Bursa in 1603-4," *Belleten* 79 (2015): 901-30. https://www.academia.edu/21492061/The_Devshirme_System_and_the_Levied_Children_of_Bursa_in_1603_4.

the Aztecs (1521), Incas (1533), and Mayas (1697) were gone. The coming of the Iberians, followed by the French, Dutch, and English, unleashed a clash of civilizations in the Americas that involved the best of man, peaceful coexistence and cooperation, and the worst of man, war, cruelty, racial conflict, and oppression. Columbus' diary speaks of evangelizing the natives, but it also records that he could "conquer the whole island with fifty men and govern them as I pleased."[84] A Spanish priest who accompanied Columbus, Bartolomé de las Casas, records a litany of atrocities by the Spanish against their Indian hosts.[85] Rape, murder, and slavery were just the beginning.

Nonetheless, the natives were destroyed more by disease than by human malice, Christian or otherwise. Estimates of the native American population in pre-Columbian times range from 1.1 million to twelve million. By the late nineteenth century, Lewy reports that population had fallen to 250,000.[86] This mass fatality resulted almost entirely from infectious diseases such as smallpox, measles, and influenza, not the machinations of men. Germ theory was not understood until the late nineteenth century, so attributing the spread of these diseases to intentional biological warfare on the part of the Europeans is foolish. Smallpox variolation was discovered in 1796, and in 1832, the US began vaccinating native Americans.[87] The most famous exception to America's efforts to control disease among the Indians involves the efforts of British General Jeffrey

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[84] Christopher Columbus, "Extracts from the Journal of Columbus," American History: From Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, accessed July 30, 2020, http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/before-1600/extracts-from-the-journal-of-columbus.php.

[85] Bartolome de las Casasa, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (USA: 2014), 42–44. Priests often spoke out against and physically opposed the mistreatment of natives. Such actions suggest a strain of anti-militancy in Christianity.

[86] Guenter Lewy, "Were American Indians the Victims of Genocide?" *Commentary*, September 2004, https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/guenter-lewy/were-american-indians-the-victims-of-genocide/. A major problem with the assumption that Amherst's actions caused the genocide of the Native Americans is that the massive die-off happened almost two hundred years earlier. By the time Amherst lived, many Indians were immune to smallpox.

[87] Native Voices, "1832: U.S. Vaccinates Native Peoples on the Frontier Against Smallpox," accessed July 30, 2020, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/nativevoices/timeline/282.html. The US government tried to meet the health needs of Indians against a dread disease.

Amherst (1717 to 1797) to spread smallpox among the Indians by providing them with blankets from smallpox patients.[88] This effort could be attributed to Christian militancy just like the Tartar catapulting of Black Death victims into the Genoese city of Caffa in the Crimea could be attributed to Muslim militancy (1346).[89] The Japanese Army's infamous Unit 731, which practiced biological warfare on Chinese civilians in World War II, would then reveal Buddhist militancy.[90]

Leaders in the Modern Era. The Ottoman Empire plateaued in the late sixteenth century, and then began a long, slow decline. While the Turks won at Famagusta (1570) and Crete (1669), they were crushed at Lepanto (1571), Vienna (1683) and Poltava (1749). Europe ascended, as well as Russia. The Ottoman Empire died following their disastrous defeat in World War I (1914 to 1918). No Muslim superpower arose to take its place, nor did a Jewish, Buddhist, or Hindu superpower.

In what Marshall Hodgson called the Great Western Transmutation, Europe sped past everyone else in the world in knowledge, wealth, and power.[91] At the Battle of the Pyramids (July 21, 1798), French forces destroyed a larger Egyptian Army and conquered Egypt, doing in one day what French crusaders had been unable to do in two hundred years. Great Britain, a small island off the northwestern coast of Europe with a population of forty-seven million in the early 1900s, ruled an empire covering twenty-

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[88] Peter d'Errico, "Jeffery Amherst and Smallpox Blankets," University Massachusetts, accessed July 30, 2020, https://people.umass.edu/derrico/amherst/lord_jeff.html.

[89] R. S. Bray, *Armies of Pestilence: The Impact of Disease on History* (New York: Barnes and Noble Publishing, 1996), 55. The siege of Caffa preceded, but probably did not precipitate, the Black Death.

[90] Sheldon H. Harris, *Factories of Death: Japanese Biological Warfare, 1932–1945, and the American Cover Up* (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), xxvii–xxx. The Japanese biological warfare program in World War II killed thousands of Chinese and others. Coming in the modern era, long after medicine discovered that infectious diseases were caused by microorganisms, it was more effective than earlier attempts at killing with disease.

[91] Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 3:176.

five percent of the earth's land area and twenty-three percent of its people.[92] No emperor in history, from Augustus Caesar to Tang Taizong (599 to 649, Tang Dynasty), has ever ruled so much.

This rise in power corresponded to a growing skepticism in Europe about the validity of religion. The French Revolution attempted to exorcise religion from French consciousness. Voltaire and Thomas Paine hammered Christianity. Simultaneously, Rudyard Kipling's "white man's burden" to save the heathen from poverty and death gave rise to the "three Cs of colonialism," Christianity, commerce, and civilization.[93] The idea was that Christianity as the true religion, commerce as the result of efficient production and trade, and civilization which subdued barbaric influences would provide wealth, security, and peace to the whole world. Proponents like Kipling felt that the three Cs would especially help the non-white majority nations, whose situation he felt was far below that of white majority nations.

Modern militancy of Christian-led and Christian-majority nations thus acquired a profound complexity. Many imperialists, like King Leopold of Belgium, who controlled the African Congo, thoroughly exploited their subject nations.[95] Conversely, men like Henry Livingston gave their lives to map central Africa and minister to the people there. Indian writer Rammohan Roy (1772 to 1833) lauded the British for breaking the Mughal yoke over his country.[96] Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817 to 1898)

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[92] *The Week,* "How Big Was the British Empire and Why Did it Collapse?" November 26, 2019, https://www.theweek.co.uk/history/93820/british-empire-how-big-was-it-and-why-did-it-collapse. The British Empire was not only huge, but compared to others, was relatively benevolent, as some of these authors indicate.

[93] Violence in Twentieth Century Africa, "The Philosophy of Colonialism: Civilization, Christianity, and Commerce," accessed April 15, 2020, https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/violenceinafrica/sample-page/the-philosophy-of-colonialism-civilization-christianity-and-commerce/.

[95] Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*, (New York: Avon Books, 1991), 585–58. Leopold largely self-funded much of the work in the Congo, making it more a private colony than a Belgian colony. Untold suffering followed.

[96] Rammohan Roy, "How the British Took Control of India," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions,* 73.

found Western education indispensable to Indian development and believed that Hindus and Muslims could not peacefully coexist in India without British rule.[97] The 1947 Partition and subsequent bitter conflicts between India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, suggest that he was right.

Before 1600 the military, diplomatic, and economic power of European (Christian) nations could be balanced by the Muslim Ottomans, Buddhist-Confucian-Daoist China, or Hindu India. After 1700, the only checks to action for European (Christian) nations were other European (Christian) nations. Napoleon's siege of Acre in 1799, for example, failed partially due to the Arab resistance under Jezzar Pasha (1720s to 1804) but even more because the British fleet under Commodore Sidney Smith captured French siege artillery being brought north from Egypt. Russia's defeat at Sebastopol in the Crimean War was more a victory of British and French than the Ottomans. When the Russians faced the Turks alone, such as at the Battle of Sinop (1853), Russia prevailed.

Wars fought by Christian nations after the Great Transmutation, therefore, took on two different characters. First were the colonial wars, such as those fought in Africa, India, and East Asia against non-Christian and non-European foes. With a few setbacks such as the Battle of Isandlwana (1879), Europeans almost always beat native armies and dominated native nations.

Practices such as the Hindu *sati*, in which widows were burned alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, and the plight of Indian women in general, convinced many in European nations that non-Christians and non-Europeans needing saving, physically and spiritually, for their own good.[98] Colonialist thinking justified wars for

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[97] Sayyid Ahmad Khan, "The Importance of Modern Western Education," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 150–152. Khan supported Western education, but even those who did not grudgingly acknowledged its importance.

[98] Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati, "The Plight of Indian Women," in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 166–69.

trading rights in China, wars of retaliation in Sudan, and other wars, big and small, throughout the world. Such sentiments were used to justify many good results, and many bad, in nations targeted for such colonial, and patriarchal, goodwill. Benefactors and exploiters alike conjured convincing reasons for their actions. History demonstrates that Christians, at the height of their power, used their religion to benefit other nations, as well as to enrich themselves. Khadduri argues that Muslim conquests in Islam's days of supremacy were often justified because they brought the benefits of Islamic civilization to the heathen nations.[99] Such sentiments appear less prominently in Hindu or Buddhist literature and history, although as noted in chapter 3, Buddhists have justified killing their enemies by arguing that killing an evil person prevents him from acquiring more bad karma and becoming more evil. No religion has a monopoly on this kind of thinking.

Bible students look in vain to find examples of the Hebrews conquering other nations to provide those nations the benefit of Hebrew knowledge, religion, and culture. The conquest of Canaan was certainly not intended to raise the moral status or living standards of the Canaanites. Jews could share their religion with Gentile God-fearers and proselytes but could not use armies to raise up worshippers to YHWH. As biological children of Abraham, Jews could only share their identity by intermarriage with Gentiles, something strictly forbidden in the Law. The New Testament commands evangelism to glorify God and secondarily to bring the benefits of Christianity to non-believers, but it never commands or even sanctions war.

The second major type of warfare fought by Christian nations since the Transmutation is the interstate war for supremacy. The World Wars are obvious and recent examples, but the Franco-Prussian War, the Napoleonic Wars, and the Seven Years' War are also illustrative. Sometimes colonial wars merged with interstate wars for

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[99] Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Conception of Justice* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 161–73.

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supremacy, as when Britain fought France in India and fought Spain in the Caribbean. Christians have fought in other types of wars, such as the American Civil War, and rebellions such as the overthrow of despotic governments in Latin America, but colonial wars and interstate supremacy wars were the most prominent. Hebrews fought for supremacy in their own land, such as the civil war between David and Ishbosheth, but not with other nations.

With the fall of colonialism in the wake of the Second World War, Christian nations, Buddhist majority Japan, and Buddhist-Confucian-Daoist-Communist China rank near the top of the world in military and economic power. Hindu-majority India is rising. Jewish-majority Israel is a player in the Middle East. As of yet, no Muslim nation is comparable to the leading Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, or Jewish majority nations in military and economic strength.[100]

Discussion on the Lived Militancy of Christianity–Current Situation

Overviewing the military history of Christianity provides a vital framework to understand the lived militancy of Christianity, and challenges preconceived notions. For example, a devoted communist convinced that Christianity is uniformly warlike may be surprised to discover its pacifistic doctrines and that Christianity has stopped violence and war many times in the past.

The history of the relations between Christianity and Judaism is a sad one. Even though the Nazis were far from Christian, Germany during World War II was a Christian-majority nation, so the Germans cannot escape blame for the Holocaust. In the modern day, however, the leading Christian-majority nation in the world, the United States, is solidly behind the only Jewish-majority nation, Israel. Anti-Semitism still

[100] *US News and World Report*, "Power."

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plagues world relations, but the Western nations with a Christian heritage generally support Israel and the diaspora Jews, as discussed in chapter 2.

The last major conflict between a Buddhist nation and a Christian nation was the Vietnam War (1965 to 1975). Between May and November 1963, Buddhist monks revolted against government persecution. On June 11, Thich Quang Duc, a Buddhist monk, immolated himself at a major Saigon intersection.[101] From March to June 1966, Buddhist monks rebelled against South Vietnamese forces under their Catholic Premier Nguyen Cao Ky (1930 to 2011). The United States was not directly, militarily, involved. When the US began direct combat actions, some Buddhist soldier-monks traveled to Vietnam to fight against the Americans.[102]

Today the major conflict between Buddhist nations and Christian ones is in the South China Sea, with Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian-Communist-majority China opposing Christian-majority nations (USA and the Philippines), the Buddhist-majority (or plurality) nations (Taiwan and Vietnam), and Muslim-majority nations (Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei). It is mostly a cold war, with naval maneuvering and saber-rattling while the Chinese occupy key islands and build fortresses with air strips on them, but temperatures are rising.

There are no major conflicts between Christian-majority and Hindu-majority nations in the world today. The last major Hindu-Christian conflict was on the occasion of the independence and partition of India in 1948. Even then, the Christian-majority British just wanted to get out of India. For Christians, "persecution in India has increased

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[101] Thich Quang Duc, "Vietnam War," *Brittanica*, accessed April 17, 2020, https://www. britannica.com/biography/Thich-Quang-Duc.

[102] Michael Jerryson, "Militarizing Buddhism: Violence in Southern Thailand," in *Buddhist Warfare*, ed. Michael K. Jerryson and Mark Juergensmeyer (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), 199. Attracting soldiers of the same religion from other nations is not unique to Buddhists. Foreign Muslims traveled to Afghanistan to fight the USSR and later the US. These men did not get rich, and often died. As with the Crusades, these examples suggest that religion is a bigger influence than some might admit.

significantly over the past five years." [103] Part of the reason for persecution of Christians in India is that Christianity is a missionary religion. The time-honored path of "live and let live," having your beliefs but not trying to spread them to others, is not an option for devoted Christians. Even if evangelism is only spoken or written and only in the most winsome terms, without a hint of compulsion, it is still evangelism. Even if Christian social programs were administered perfectly and met the exact needs of the people, they would still be Christian. Neither Buddhism nor Hinduism contains a mandate to convert the rest of world to their belief system as Christianity does, or gain global political dominance as Islam does.[104]

The United States is the leading nation on earth, considering economic and military factors. The US has a majority Christian population, a Christian president, and majority Christian legislatures and executive personnel at the federal, state, and local levels. Therefore, the US meets the criteria in this study for a Christian nation.[105] The Council of Foreign Relations (CFR) is a US think-tank which lists and evaluates twenty-six conflicts that impact America.[106] Of the listed conflicts, all except the South and East China Sea, North Korea, Venezuela, Mexico, South Sudan, and the Ukraine involve Muslim majority or plurality states. Of the remaining seven, three involve conflicts with majority or plurality Buddhist states. Other Christian states which are major powers are involved in these conflicts as well. For example, French troops have been engaged in

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[103] Open Doors, "India," accessed April 15, 2020, https://www.opendoorsusa.org/christian-persecution/world-watch-list/india/.

[104] Christianity has a clear mandate to make disciples of all the world (Matt 28:18–20). Apologists for Islam may argue that Islam has no requirement to dominate the rest of the world. This is false. The peace promised by Islam is the peace that occurs after all the world is Islamic, that is, submitted to Allah. Such a world may still have *dhimmi*, at least for a while, but will be under of the global suzerainty of Islam (Quran 8:39, 9:33, 61:9). Bernard Lewis discusses this global dominance of Islam in his 1990 Atlantic article, *The Roots of Muslim Rage*.

[105] The criteria to categorize a nation or people group under a certain religion are found in chapter 1.

[106] Council on Foreign Relations, "Global Conflict Tracker," accessed April 17, 2020, https://www.cfr. org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/?category=us.

Afghanistan, Nigeria, Libya, Mali, Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Somalia.[107] Soldiers from other European nations, such as Britain, serve in many of these struggles. Regardless of whether America and these other nations see the conflicts as Christian against Muslim, many Muslims do, and this transforms the perception of the fight. While the West might prefer these struggles to be conflicts with no religious involvement and limited political goals, many see these struggles as wars pitting good against evil, what Mark Juergensmeyer calls a "cosmic war."[108]

Conclusion–The Doctrinal Militancy of Christianity

Christianity is one of the world's great religions, with over 2.3 billion adherents. It is the majority religion for more than half the nations on earth. According to its DMI of 2.72, the doctrinal militancy of Christianity is slightly more than that of Buddhism but less than that of Judaism, Hinduism, and Islam. The lived militancy examples, however, suggest that Christians have fought no less than other religionists. Early Christians engaged in little physical violence, indicating that they understood Christianity as non-militant religion. Once the Christian population exploded and Rome adopted the religion of Christ as its state faith, Christians became far more pugnacious. Perhaps this consequence was inevitable; political power confers political responsibilities, and defense is the first task of any government. Lived militancy increases for every religion in this study when the believers become the magistrates.

Christians have used their faith to scare non-Christians. The Spanish pilot's report to Regent Hideyoshi that missionaries were the vanguard of Spain's plan to conquer Japan contributed to the Shimabara Rebellion. The success of Christian nations

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[107] Foreign Legion, "Foreign Legion: Overseas Deployments 2018," last modified March 29, 2018, http://foreignlegion.info/2018/03/29/foreign-legion-overseas-deployments-2018/.

[108] Mark Juergensmeyer, *God at War: A Meditation on Religion and Warfare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 76.

has complicated the problem. Hodgson's "Transmutation," and the consequent explosion of military and economic power, began in Christian-majority nations, not Jewish, Buddhist, Hindu, or Muslim nations. Bernard Lewis touched on these problems in his landmark article, *The Roots of Muslim Rage*.[109]

Christian nonviolence may induce aggressors to attack. The wealth of the monastery at Lindisfarne induced the Vikings to attack (793) and inaugurated over two hundred years of attacks by the Norsemen on property of the Church throughout the British Isles and Europe.[110] Church and monastery attacks by disparate assailants occurred elsewhere in the Christian world, and they still do.

According to Pew researchers Michael Lipka and Conrad Hackett, "Muslims will grow more than twice as fast as the overall world population between 2015 and 2060 and, in the second half of this century, will likely surpass Christians as the world's largest religious group."[111] Lipka and Hackett continue,

> The main reasons for Islam's growth ultimately involve simple demographics. To begin with, Muslims have more children than members of the seven other major religious groups analyzed in the study. Muslim women have an average of 2.9 children, significantly above the next-highest group (Christians at 2.6) and the average of all non-Muslims (2.2). In all major regions where there is a sizable Muslim population, Muslim fertility exceeds non-Muslim fertility.[112]

Non-Muslim fertility rates in North America, Asia, and Europe usually do not even reach replacement levels (2.1), so those populations will shrink unless sustained by

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[109] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why their Bitterness Will Not Easily be Mollified," *The Atlantic*, September 1990, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/.

[110] Robin Fleming, "Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Ages," *The English Historical Review* 100, no. 395 (April 1985): 247–65.

[111] Michael Lipka and Conrad Hackett, "Why Muslims are the World's Fastest-growing Religious Group," Pew Research Center: Fact Tank: News in the Numbers, last modified April 6, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/06/why-muslims-are-the-worlds-fastest-growing-religious-group/.

[112] Lipka and Hackett, "Why Muslims are the World's Fastest-growing Religious Group."

immigration.[113] The Quran encourages marriage and the bearing of children (Quran 7:189, 3:38) so Muslim fecundity has a religious basis.[114] Demographic factors will drastically impact these conflict areas.

Today, Christianity remains the largest religion on earth. Of the top ten nations on the Global Firepower Index, five are majority Christian, two Buddhist, one Buddhist-Daoist-Confucian-Communist, one Hindu, and one Muslim.[115] Most of the conflicts noted above show no sign of abating, and the United States, along with its Christian European allies, will be called on to address these conflicts. The religion founded by Jesus Christ inherently minimizes militancy, but for various reasons, His followers have engaged in more violence than one might expect. It remains for Christians as individuals and groups to use the framework of Christianity to address the vexing issues facing the world today.

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[113] A fertility rate is the number of children birthed by each woman over her reproductive lifetime.

[114] Sangeeta Dhami and Aziz Sheikh, "The Muslim Family: Predicament and Promise," Western Journal of Medicine 173 no. 5, (November 2000): 352–56, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1071164/, doi:10.1136/ewjm.173.5.352.

[115] Global Firepower, "2020 Military Strength Ranking," accessed July 30, 2020, https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has traversed many miles and many centuries in the discussion of religion and war and has answered many questions. Does religion cause war? Yes, but religion is usually a lesser cause than political and economic factors. Is religion the cause of more bloodshed than anything else? No, people acting in the name of a specific religion have killed many fewer people than those killed by communist, socialist, and other totalitarian governments. What is militancy? Militancy is "the use of confrontational or violent methods in support of a political or social cause."[1] What is religious militancy? Religious militancy includes doctrinal militancy, determined by the religion's scriptures and the founder, and lived militancy, which reflects how adherents have lived the militancy of their religion in history. Do the four largest religions on earth, measured by number of adherents, plus Judaism, differ in their doctrinal militancies? Yes. Do these five religions differ in their lived militancies? While this study cannot quantitatively answer that question, this qualitative evaluation suggests that they do not differ significantly in their lived militancies, at least since three hundred years after their founding.

Observations on Militancy

In the past six chapters, I have used key scriptures and key words to examine the doctrinal militancies of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity and have summarized the results in a single number, the Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI). The DMI was calculated on a five-point scale and the results showed the militancy of Judaism (3.03), Buddhism (2.64), Hinduism (3.61), Islam (3.73), and Christianity (2.72).

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[1] English Oxford Living Dictionaries, "Militancy," accessed September 29, 2018, https://en. oxford dictionaries.com/definition/militancy.

Classification of each key word appearance was crosschecked with commentaries as available, articles, and other resources written by experts in each religion to ensure that each key word appearance was coded reasonably. Nonetheless, different reviewers using different criteria, different sources, or different words could reach different conclusions.

The Doctrinal Militancy Index scores and discussion show that the four major religions on earth, plus Judaism, are not equally militant. Employing the measures used in this study, Buddhism and Christianity are the least doctrinally militant while Islam and Hinduism are the most doctrinally militant. Judaism, a historically influential faith, lies between these extremes. The discussions of lived militancy illustrate key characteristics of the militancy of each religion. The lived militancy examples also demonstrate that religions become more militant as they gain political power.

How Does Religious Militancy Affect Violence?

Militancy can lead to violence. Militancy often begins with confrontational words in a sermon, article, book, or broadcast. Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont certainly did so, as did Harriet Tubman's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Religious beliefs of the hearers, based on doctrinal and lived factors, modify their interpretations of such information. These words escalate and, sometimes, violence ensues. This study has shown numerous examples of this phenomenon, from the wars of ancient Israel to the Arab Israeli wars today. World War I is a poignant example of militant words, such as the Zimmerman telegram, leading to violence and global catastrophe.

Motivations for action are always varied, sometimes poorly understood, and change with time and circumstances. Typical human goals, including happiness, personal peace, and affluence, prove elusive and fleeting over the years. Religions claim to address transcendent realities, realities that are neither elusive nor fleeting. As a result, the

influence of a religion grows across a lifespan.[2] Mental seeds planted in childhood and youth grow into forests of worldviews and life practices.

Rather than being the main cause of war, religion shapes the unrecognized assumptions, thoughts, words, and practices of its adherents. Religion asks its adherents to consider how they see life and how they act. With respect to war, religious belief influences the questions of when violence is acceptable, who to be violent against, and how to be violent. For example, the primary causes of Japanese aggression in World War II may have been economic, but the early twentieth century Zen Buddhist-Bushido-Shinto syncretistic mix provided an important justification. Brian Daizen Victoria writes, "To the belief that Zen-sanctioned war was both just and compassionate, benefiting even one's enemies, must now be added the belief that it was being done 'for world peace.'"[3]

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**The Relationship between Secular
Power and Religious Militancy**

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The relationship between religion and government is critical in understanding the militancy of each faith. The lived militancy examples in this study suggest that the more secular responsibilities a religious group has, the more militant that group becomes. The high degrees of doctrinal militancy in Islam and Hinduism are related to the fact that their religious doctrines combine religious and secular authority in a way not seen in Buddhism or Christianity.

In the ancient Hebrew religion, which grew into Judaism today, the faith group is the community. However, religious and secular power have been separated from the very beginning, when God through Israel gave the throne to Judah (Gen 49:8–12) and

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[2] Jeanna Bryner, "Older People Hold Stronger Belief in God," Live Science, last modified April 28, 2012, https://www.livescience.com/19971-belief-god-atheism-age.html.

[3] Brian Daizen Victoria. *Zen at War,* 2nd ed., War and Peace Library (Oxford UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 113.

God through Moses gave the priesthood to Levi (Exod 28:1–3). King Saul (1 Sam 13:11–14) was abandoned and King Uzziah (2 Chr 26:16–21) was stricken with leprosy for assuming priestly prerogatives. For nearly two thousand years, being a member of the Jewish community did not mean being part of a government because the Jews had no state. Now that the Jews have their own state, for Jews in Israel, and insofar as Israeli law reflects the *Tanakh*, the faith group is the national community.

In Buddhism, the community of monks, the Sangha, is distinct from the wider community of lay Buddhists. But the Sangha supports the government, as the Tathagata did with King Bimbisara and King Pasenadi. Lay Buddhists follow a largely individual path to enlightenment, and like Hindus, have no separate organization such as the Church to claim their adherence.

In Hinduism, the faith group is largely defined by the social structure, the caste system. The community is essentially indistinguishable from the government. Indeed, the name of India is simply a derivation of the word "Hindu," which itself reference the Indus River valley. The *brahmins* hold religious power and the *kshatriyas* hold secular power, leading to a theoretical separation of power in Hindu society. However, the examination of lived militancy reveals no meaningful "separation of temple and state" in ancient or modern India. The post-colonial Indian government exercises *de jure* and *de facto* control of Hindu temples and other organizations. Abhinav Chandrachud, an advocate working in the Bombay High Court, opines,

> The wall of separation between temple and state in India was first constructed by a colonial government which wanted to distance itself from religions that it considered heathen and false. That wall was then pulled down by Indian leaders who felt that government entanglement in religious institutions, especially Hindu temples, was essential, even in a secular state.[4]

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[4] Abhinav Chandrachud, "Temple and State," *The Hindu,* June 16, 2018, https://www.the hindu.com/ opinion/op-ed/temple-and-state/article24175670.ece.

In Islam, the faith group, the *Ummah*, is comprised of the community as well as the government. Muslim are expected to be part of a Muslim political entity, or at least to make wherever they live become a Muslim political entity as soon as possible. A Turkish tour guide once told me in Istanbul, "I am a Muslim because I am a Turk, and Turks are Muslims." I have never heard an American say, "I am a Christian because I am an American, and Americans are Christians." This instance illustrates the convergence of faith group and community in Islam, and the lack of convergence in Christianity.

Muslim governments have often controlled their mosques, and with some exceptions, continue to do so. David E. Miller, from the Media Line at the *Jerusalem Post*, notes that in many Muslim countries, at Friday sermons, "The preacher, or khatib, is often a government appointee–subject to censorship or pushed to self-censorship."[5] As detailed in chapter 5, the Caliph combines religious and secular power.

In Christianity, the faith group, the Church, is distinct from the larger community and separate from the government. In His teaching to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's, Jesus specifically separated religious and secular power (Mark 12:17). Early Christians lived independently of any specific political entity, swearing allegiance to the Church, the body of Christ, rather than to the secular authority. Christian practice has also been heavily informed by the separation of religion and state, of Levi and Judah, in ancient Hebrew practice.

Militancy is necessary in the world, and always has been. In chapter 6, I recounted how defenseless monasteries suffered frequent depredation, while strong fortresses did not. In his second inaugural address, President Bill Clinton argued, "America became the world's mightiest industrial power; saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long cold war; and time and again, reached out across the globe

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[5] David E. Miller, "Who's Minding the Mosque?" *The Jerusalem Post*, July 26, 2011, https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Whos-minding-the-mosque.

to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty."[6] Modern leaders differ in their perceptions of the militancy of their religions. Revisiting chapter 4, Mohandas Gandhi and Air Marshal R. K. Nehra looked at the same books to inform their understanding of Hinduism, but the former found these books profoundly pacifist, and the latter profoundly warlike.[7] I do not contend that religious militancy is always evil.

Changing Doctrinal Militancy

Doctrinal militancy is hard to change without adding new scriptures or deleting old ones. The texts say what they say, and while powerful people may insist on one interpretation over another, alternate interpretations cannot be entirely removed. If a Muslim wished to remove parts of the Quran or parts of the *Sahih al Bukhari*, to make them less militant, he would be a *kafir*, because the Quran cannot be modified (Quran Sura 15:9).[8] The *hadith* relate specifically to the extra-Quranic words and actions of Muhammad. Since Muhammad was the lawgiver, the last prophet, and he is dead, and no prophet has arisen after him, the *hadith* are also not subject to change.

If a Christian or a Jew wanted to eliminate the book of Judges and extirpate verses that make God sound harsh, he could not.[9] The Jewish canon for the *Tanakh* and the Christian canon for the Old Testament are closed. The *Babylonian Talmud* cannot be changed. With the passing of the Apostle John in the first century A.D., the New

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[6] Bill Clinton, "Second Inaugural Address" (January 20, 1997, U.S. Inaugural Addresses), https://www.bartleby.com/124/pres65.html.

[7] Raj Kumar Nehra, *Hinduism and its Military Ethos* (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers and Distributors, 2010), 226–29. Justifications for this statement are primarily in chapter 4.

[8] *Kafir* is the Arabic term for infidel, pagan, rejector, denier, disbeliever, unbeliever, or nonbeliever

[9] Such an illustrious personage as Thomas Jefferson cut parts out of his Bible, specifically relating to miracles and unacceptable passages. The resultant *Jefferson Bible* is available for purchase but has no impact on Christian doctrine or practice today.

Testament canon is unalterable.[10] Roman Catholic Christianity allows for the pope to speak *ex cathedra* and recognizes those words to be infallible. However, since the elucidation of this doctrine at Vatican I (1870), Papal infallibility has been tied inextricably to the infallibility of the Church. Thomas A. Caffrey addresses whether a "man occupying the chair of Peter is so empowered, *de jure*, that he may validly impose some ungrounded decree upon the consciences of Christians merely by fulfilling the juridical formalities laid down at Vatican I for infallible pronouncement."[11] He answers, no.

If a Hindu wished to drop sections of the *Vedas* due to their greater encouragement of militancy than the Upanishads or the Gita, he could not, at least not for the general population of Hindus in the world. If a Buddhist wanted to subtract parts of the *Pali Canon* that, given twenty-first century sensibilities, seem militant, they also could not. Even the Dalai Lama, the leader of Tibetan Buddhism and considered to be the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, quotes and teaches from Buddhist scripture rather than promulgating new scriptures.[12]

In summary, for each of these religions, the scriptures, and even important non-scriptural texts, cannot be changed, at least without substantial damage being done to their historical traditions. People who object to parts of a holy book can change religions or invent their own religion. Such actions will not alter the holy books of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity.

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[10] Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, and other groups that would be considered cults by orthodox Christians have added to the biblical canon (Book of Mormon, Pearl of Great Price, Doctrine and Covenants, New World Translation of the Bible, etc.).

[11] Thomas A. Caffrey, "Consensus and Infallibility: The Mind of Vatican I," *The Downside Review* 88, no. 291 (1970): 107–31.

[12] Central Tibetan Administration, "His Holiness the Dalai Lama Gives Heart Sutra Teaching to Taiwanese Devotees," last modified May 1, 2021, https://tibet.net/his-holiness-the-dalai-lama-gives-heart-sutra-teaching-to-taiwanese-devotees/. This session is but one example of the highest Buddhist authority in the world serving as a teacher rather than a religious innovator.

Another way to change doctrinal militancy in a religion is to change interpretations of passages one finds objectionable. As demonstrated in previous chapters, adherents and opponents have used this technique for centuries to add or subtract anything that they do or do not personally like in their religions. Stories of miracles, restrictions on sexual activity, and teachings on violence seem especially prone to reinterpretation, often by allegory.[13] While changing the interpretations of passages that one individual or group considers problematic might change the beliefs of that individual or group, such a modification is not likely to transform the interpretations of all, or even most, adherents.[14] Some people in every religion will persist in their fundamental beliefs while others gravitate towards more popular views. The Salafi movement in Islam exemplifies the persistence of ninth century interpretations of the Muslim scripture despite modern efforts to reinvent their scriptures. Jacob Olidort writes,

> Salafists define Islam as anything that was explicitly condoned by Muhammad and that was upheld by his first three generations of Sunni followers (until the ninth century). This view is based on a hadith, a statement of Muhammad's, in which he allegedly said that "the best of my community is my generation, then those who follow them, then those who follow them." By extension, anything that appeared after that -- and anything Muhammad did not explicitly condone -- is considered un-Islamic, an extremely broad category. Of course, secular political ideologies, nation-states, political parties, and so on are all, by this definition, un-Islamic. In short, whereas the Muslim Brotherhood's Islamism accommodates the trappings of modern political life, the Salafists' does not.[15]

Such a ninth century interpretations of Islamic literature also inform the violent actions of the Islamic State (ISIS), the Taliban, and al Qaeda, with a profound impact on their neighbors and the rest of the world.

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[13] For example, Thomas Jefferson eliminated the miracles in the Bible in his "Jefferson Bible." The church father Origen interpreted the Song of Solomon as a romance between Christ and the Church rather than a Hebrew human love story. Gandhi understood the Bhagavad Gita allegorically and non-violently.

[14] People may look at books that they consider holy to develop beliefs, or they may look at their scriptures to justify beliefs that they already hold.

[15] Jacob Olidort, "What Is Salafism?" The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, last modified November 24, 2015, https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/what-salafism.

Changing Lived Militancy

Like doctrinal militancy, past lived militancy resists change. What happened in the past happened, and religious believers, like everyone else, must deal with history. However, past events can be reinterpreted. Americans might consider the Japanese to have been the aggressors in World War II, Japanese can protest that they were forced into war by various US sponsored raw material embargoes, or an observer can hold a combination of the two positions. Similarly, one person can argue that colonialism brought colonies out of poverty and destitution while another might protest that colonialism slowed what would have been a natural ascent into the modern world. History is vulnerable to interpretations that favor one side over another, and the parties in conflict are not shy about using history to gain power.

Also, the "canon" of history is not closed. Therefore, followers of any religion can change the lived militancy of their religion by choosing to be militant, or not, today. Gandhi's 1930 Salt March dramatized the tactic of walking rather than warring to attain political goals.[16] Gandhi's refusal to be provoked into violent opposition to British rule gave Hinduism a patina of non-violence that exists today.

The outcome of a war between religious rivals can change the lived militancy, but not the doctrinal militancy, of each religion. If members of a religion feel that God has blessed them by giving them victory, those members might expect continued divine blessings, making them more religiously militant. If adherents to a religion believe that God has cursed their military efforts, as evidenced by defeat, they are likely to be less religiously militant. At least two other factors might change the lived militancy of a religion.

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[16] Evan Andrews, "When Gandhi's Salt March Rattled British Colonial Rule," History, last modified October 2, 2019, https://www.history.com/news/gandhi-salt-march-india-british-colonial-rule. The Salt March served as the prototype for protest marches throughout the world. Martin Luther King Jr. for example, used Gandhi's technique in planning his protests.

Some cultures or races have been historically considered more militant than others.[17] The Turks were nomadic so conducting military raids on settled areas was a way of life. Since Turks fought often, they were good at it. Turks were considered to be culturally militant, as indicated by the writings of the Arab chronicler Jabiz, who wrote, "The Chinese excel in the arts, the Greeks in philosophy and science, the Arabs in language and poetry, the Persians in government and statecraft, the Turks in warfare."[18] Europeans such as Martin Luther also commented on the dire military threat of the mighty Turks.[19] The British in India classified some peoples, including Turkish subgroups, as "martial," more suited to war than others, based in part on whether they were sedentary or not.[20] When the Turks adopted Islam, they were still considered martial, remained militarily successful, and their reputation for victory was applied to their newly adopted religion.

Tribes that won wars lived and those that lost wars were killed or enslaved, the latter being ultimately absorbed into the tribes of the victor. It is no surprise, then, that the frequent success of Muslim armies against other Arabs (starting at Badr, 624), Persians, Byzantines, Chinese (Battle of Talas 751), and Indians (Conquest of Sind 710) influenced the Turks to convert to Islam, which they did *en masse* in the eighth and ninth centuries.

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[17] I am not suggesting that one race is more martial or militant than another due to their genetic or biological characteristics. I am suggesting that people have considered certain races or groups to be more militant than others. Such beliefs can turn into self-fulfilling prophecies, with members of the "more militant" group being more militant because of the expectations of themselves and others.

[18] Jabiz, quoted in Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry*, new ed. (Cambridge, MA: Oxford University Press, 1992), 46.

[19] Martin Luther, *Table Talk* (Orlando, FL: Bridge-Logos, 2004), 479.

[20] Gavin Rand, "'Martial Races' and 'Imperial Subjects': Violence and Governance in Colonial India, 1857–1914," *European Review of History* 13, no. 1 (2006): 1–20, doi: 10.1080/13507480600586726.

With more people successfully fighting under the banner of the Prophet, the lived militancy of Islam grew.[21] No major Turkish tribes converted to Hinduism.

People generally engage in actions that they expect to succeed. Likewise, they tend not to engage in actions that they expect to fail. If Islam is associated with military victory, Muslims might be more likely to fight, and non-Muslims who want to fight might be more likely to become Muslim. Everyone likes a winning team, and those best at fighting may join the Muslim "team." If Hinduism seems to be associated with military defeat, Hindus may be less likely to fight. Battle is like the rest of life; people who repeatedly fail in any endeavor are less likely to persist in that endeavor.

Wide divergences in power make nations following a certain religion more or less militant. As discussed earlier, the European transmutation which began in the sixteenth century catapulted Europe past the rest of the world in wealth and weaponry. Such power allowed the Europeans to force their will on billions of people.[22] By 1914, European nations controlled eighty-five percent of the world's surface.[23] Colonial overlords tried to suppress war between local and regional powers as well as between independent nations. The first decade of the Nobel Peace Prize winners provides many examples of Europeans trying to promote peace.[24] European hegemony might have increased lived militancy among Europeans, who were largely Christian. Such hegemony

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[21] If there are 1000 people of the same religion, of whom 30% are at war, then 300 are pursuing militant behavior. If the number grows to 2000 and the percentage stays the same, then 600 are pursing militant behavior. All else being equal, and judging by simple numbers, the militancy of that religion has grown, even if the percentage has not.

[22] The astute reader will note that the global population in 1914 was roughly 1.5 billion. European colonialism can be dated from the Portuguese and Spanish in the early 1500s to the second half of the twentieth century, a period of up to five centuries. Over that time, billions of people fell under European colonial suzerainty.

[23] Library of Congress, "The European Colonial Empires in Asia and Africa," last modified July 12, 2010, https://www.loc.gov/item/webcast-4951/.

[24] The Nobel Peace Prize, "Prize Winners," accessed April 22, 2020, https://www.nobel peaceprize.org/Prize-winners.

might have decreased the lived militancy of religions in the colonized lands, including Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims.

Evaluating the Religious Militancy
Content in a Current Struggle

Islam has the highest DMI and Buddhism the lowest DMI of the religions in this study. While this measurement provides a useful baseline, how does the DMI apply to individual conflicts today? A higher DMI might indicate a higher propensity for militant conduct by individuals and by groups.

Shani Barter and Ian Zatkin-Osburn wrestle with the question of how to evaluate the religiosity of a conflict. They write, "discussions of holy war typically feature three types of evidence: they focus on scripture that outlines what constitutes religious struggles, quote militants' perceptions of their struggles, or quantify religious differences among combatants."[25] The problem with the first type of evidence is that "scripture cannot be used to support empirical claims regarding contemporary events."[26] The problem with the second is that "we cannot rely on their views as evidence regarding the nature of a given conflict."[27] The problem with the third is that it provides static information and is likely to sample imperfectly.

Barter and Zatkin-Osburn identified two factors that are useful in determining the religious nature of a conflict. First, according to what can be called the "Eighty Percent Rule," a conflict can be classified as religious if at least eighty percent of one side is from one faith, while eighty percent of the other side represents a different faith.[28] Second, based on data from Islamic conflicts in Aceh, Patani, and Mindanao, burial

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[25] Shani Barter and Ian Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded: Islam, War, and Holy War in Southeast Asia," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53, no. 1 (2014): 189.

[26] Barter and Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded," 190.

[27] Barter and Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded," 190.

[28] Barter and Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded," 190.

practices indicate whether a conflict is religious or not. In Aceh, fallen soldiers are cleansed and buried like anyone else who dies. In Patani and Mindanao, by contrast, fallen soldiers are left unburied because they are holy warriors, martyrs to be displayed in the villages and not to be disgraced with normal burials.[29] This practice is consistent with Sanafi Islamic Law as recorded,

> It is unlawful to wash the body of a martyr (even if in a state of major ritual impurity or the like) or perform funeral prayer over him. A martyr (shabid) means someone who died in battle with non-Muslims (from fighting them, as opposed to someone who died otherwise, such as a person killed out of oppression when not in battle, or who died from fighting non-polytheists, such as (Muslim) transgressors. It is recommended that war gear be removed from the body (such as the breastplate and the like), and it is best to bury a martyr in the rest of his bloodstained clothes (since it is the effect of worship), though the responsible family member may nevertheless remove the garments and shroud the body before burial. [30]

Surveying participants and others involved, Barter and Zatkin-Osburn write that the conflict in Aceh is largely secular, while those in Patani and in Mindanao are overwhelming religious. Using the Eighty Percent Rule should help onlookers understand whether a struggle is largely religious or not. Looking at burial practices may help in an Islamic context.

What Can Leaders Do, Whether Political, Military, Business, or Religious, to Influence Militancy and Accomplish Goals in the World of Religion?

The world is religious, and as discussed in chapter 1, is becoming more so. I have quantified doctrinal militancy and discovered differences in the doctrinal militancies among the five religions studied. I have surveyed lived militancy and observed that lived militancy is similar in each religion and not necessarily consistent with the doctrinal militancy score of that religion. In light of these findings, what can leaders do to accomplish their organizational goals?

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[29] Barter and Zatkin-Osburn, "Shrouded," 194.

[30] Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveler:A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*, trans., Nuh Ha Mim Keller (Beltsville MD: Amana Publications, 1991), g4.20, 235-36.

Action 1–Know Your Goals

Mohandas Gandhi wanted India to be free of British colonial rule and India to be a nonaligned, non-violent, secular democracy. Air Marshall R. K. Nehra wanted India to be militarily strong and politically assertive. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi (b 1950) is not backing down against Chinese aggression in the Himalayas, and he unilaterally annexed the previously autonomous province of Kashmir, with Pakistan a disputed area, in August 2019.[31] Modi is consistent in his words and actions favoring Hindu nationalism, which might play a role in the fact that Nathuram Godse, the man who assassinated Gandhi, is now seen by some as a hero in India.[32]

Organizations, from governments to business groups, struggle with transforming a broad vision into specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-limited goals. The US government might want peace in the Middle East, but it also wants unrestricted trade, reliable allies, weak enemies, and a non-nuclear Iran. Businesses may want to make money, but they also want good public relations, a content workforce, and long-term growth. Achieving these objectives simultaneously is rarely possible, and even making each into a specific goal is difficult. Organizations intending to use religion as a lever to achieve their goals must first know exactly what they want to do.

Does the organization want to increase or decrease overall religious militancy? Most groups wish to decrease militancy, but not all. Does the organization wish to decrease militancy against one foe and increase it against another? One government-sponsored Iranian internet campaign "ran a false story in 2016 which prompted Pakistan's

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[31] "India Abruptly Ends the Last Special Protection Enjoyed by Kashmir," *The Economist*, August 10, 2019, https://www.economist.com/asia/2019/08/08/india-abruptly-ends-the-last-special-protection-enjoyed-by-kashmir.

[32] Sameer Yasir, "Gandhi's Killer Evokes Admiration as Never Before," *The New York Times,* February 4, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/04/world/asia/india-gandhi-nathuram-godse.html. Hindu nationalists have opposed Gandhi's nonviolence since the beginning, violently so, and their numbers are growing in India. I have not seen an analogous outpouring of support for John Wilkes Booth, Charles Guiteau, Leon Czolgosz, or Lee Harvey Oswald.

defense minister to warn on Twitter he had the weapons to nuke Israel."[33] In this case, Pakistan may want to diminish Iranian militancy. On the contrary, China may wish to increase Pakistani militancy against India, their common foe.

Action 2–Take Religion Seriously

Just before India gained its independence, British negotiator Lord Mountbatten (1900 to 1979) struggled to prevent the country from splitting into a Hindu state, India, and a Muslim state, Pakistan. He failed. Dr. B. R Ambedkar (1891 to 1956) wrote a compelling essay arguing that most of the Muslim League's arguments for partition were at their root religio-nationalistic and were easily answered, but concluded that no matter the arguments, if the Muslims wanted Pakistan, they would get it.[34] Indian nationalism precipitated the end of colonial rule for the entire subcontinent, but according to Ambedkar, it was primarily friction between Hindus and Muslims that caused India to divide into India, Pakistan, and later, Bangladesh. Across the continents, the Soviets lost Poland in part because of the power of the Catholic Church.[35]

As noted in chapter 1, US and European governments are taking religion more seriously as a factor in foreign and even domestic policy, but the secular bias is never far from the surface. Hochberg relates an opinion prevalent as late as 2020, "After all, there was no rational accounting for what religious fanatics many do."[36] In truth, someone who takes religion seriously will understand that the actions of groups like the Islamic

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[33] Jack Stubbs and Christopher Bing, "Special Report: How Iran Spreads Disinformation Around the World," *Reuters*, November 30, 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-cyber-iran-specialreport-idUSKCN1NZ1FT.

[34] B. R. Ambedkar, "Must there be a Pakistan?" in McDermott, *Sources of Indian Traditions*, 528–36.

[35] Filip Mazurczak, "How Saint John Paul II Conquered Communism," *The Catholic World Report,* June 16, 2016, https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2016/06/16/how-saint-john-paul-ii-conquered-communism/.

[36] Michael Hochberg and Leonard Hochberg, "International Business Needs Grand Strategy," *Advances in Competitiveness Research* 28, no. 2 (2020): 83.

State (ISIS), the Taliban, and al Qaeda can be quite rational given their ninth century Islamic assumptions and frame of reference.

American leaders were shocked when the Islamic State (aka ISIS or ISIL) arose from the rubble of Saddam's Iraq and Assad's Syria. President Obama denied that the Islamic State was Islamic, saying, "Now let's make two things clear: ISIL is not 'Islamic.' No religion condones the killing of innocents, and the vast majority of ISIL's victims have been Muslim."[37] Nonetheless, ISIL (ISIS) interpretations of Islam have orthodox religious justifications and Islamic historical precedents.[38] Obama wanted to communicate that America was not fighting all of Islam; a position that is both true and prudent. However, arguing that ISIS' positions are not Islamic was foolish and dangerous. As noted previously, selecting less militant interpretations of key passages can help reduce doctrinal militancy, but not everyone will choose less militant interpretations of a scripture to guide their actions.

Action 3–Take History Seriously

The lived militancy review in this study revealed that Buddhists are most militant when they collaborate with government, and that their lived militancy is higher than their doctrinal militancy might suggest. Hindu militancy is high but is aligned with their scriptures and is embedded in their religio-political caste system. Islamic lived militancy is high, which is consistent both with Islam's doctrinal militancy as revealed by Muslim scriptures and with the examples of the leaders. Christian lived militancy is out of proportion to Christianity's doctrinal militancy, suggesting that Christian groups fight more than would be expected from the teachings in the Bible. These observations are lost on those who do not consider history.

[37] Alastair Crooke, "Obama Is Wrong That ISIS Is 'Not Islamic,'" HuffPost, last modified Sep 18, 2014, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/obama-isis-not-islamic_b_5843830.

[38] Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015, https://www.the atlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/.

Most nations and peoples in the world take history seriously. In 1996, while working in the dermatology clinic at the Madigan Army Medical Center (MAMC), I walked over to an elderly woman sitting in the waiting room. As we talked, she said that she was from southeastern Germany, the area of the country that changed hands between Germany and Czechoslovakia several times in the twentieth century. I asked, "So are you from the Sudetenland?" She replied in amazement "You know the Sudetenland?" as her eyes filled with tears and her voice cracked under the weight of painful memories. She poured out her heart, describing herself fleeing the Red Army as a child in 1945 and telling stories that, by her account, she had never told anyone. History mattered to this woman.

The Heidelberg Military Community was hosting an event at Patrick Henry village in 2002. I was the Chief of Preventive Medicine and Public Health for the US Army in southern Germany, and my staff was setting up a public health display for attendees. A German truck driver asked me where to drop off his delivery. I noticed that his name badge said "Manteuffel," and I asked if he was related to the famous German field marshal of that name. The driver snapped to attention, clicked his heels, and said, "Feldmarshal General von Manteuffel war mein grossvater."[39] History mattered to this truck driver.

I have had similar experiences all over the globe. A Persian Christian friend could instantly name her ancestors five generations back. Serbian guards glared at our flight crew as we disembarked after flying Richard Holbrooke to peace talks in Belgrade in 1994. At that time, and especially after the US attacked Serbia over Kosovo in 1999, many Serbs perceived Americans were on the side of their enemies, despite all the suffering the Serbs had endured at Muslim hands. History mattered to these people.

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[39] Translation: "Field Marshall General von Manteuffel was my grandfather."

People draw different lessons from history, and from different parts of history, to support their political goals. Richard Nixon drew successfully upon history to open China, avoid nuclear war, and accomplish other important goals. David Gergen writes, "To Nixon, history was a handmaiden to leadership. He drew upon it in three ways: to gain a broader perspective on his own times; to impress upon listeners his place in the sun; and to find role models for action."[40]

Religions are born, live, and sometimes die in history. The historical events surrounding Jesus Christ are the cornerstone of Christianity. An historical event, the Exodus, shapes Judaism. The historical conquests of Muhammad's faithful made Islam into a world power. Hinduism and Buddhism have important historical mileposts. Without knowing crucial events, leaders will have little idea why things are the way they are. Working with scholars from one's own and other religions to find common ground and productively interpret important events can help change lived militancy. For example, in negotiating an end to the Nigerian Civil War (1967 to 1970), Quaker mediators emphasized both sides shared responsibility for traumatic events in that conflict. They focused on an overarching goal of ending the suffering and developing a lasting peace rather than each side getting revenge for what the other side had done.[41]

Action 4–Understand the Doctrinal and
Historical (Lived) Differences
Between Religions

Advocates say that Hinduism and Islam are religions of peace. It is true that majorities of Hindus and Muslims, as well as majorities of Buddhists, Christians, and Jews, have been peaceful in the modern world. But Islam and Hinduism are systems of

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[40] David R. Gergen, *Eyewitness to Power: The Essence of Leadership* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 41. Gergen felt that Nixon's sense of and vast knowledge of history were two of his greatest strengths in the presidency. The opening of Red China was just one of the achievements made possible by Nixon's historical perspective.

[41] Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, eds., *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 94–97.

government and rules to govern societies as much as they are religions. Muslim and Hindu scriptures determine the religio-political nature of these faith systems, which contributes to their high doctrinal militancy. When the Jews have their own nation, Judaism is also religio-political, but less so since the religious and political are separated in Aaron and Judah, respectively.[42] The Buddhist Sangha, as well as lay members, often collaborate with their governments at all levels, as was modeled by the Buddha himself. Christianity is different. Neither Muhammad, Siddhartha, Moses, nor Krishna ever said, "my kingdom is not of this world." Jesus did (John 18:36). According to the DMI scores, Islam is the most doctrinally militant major religion on earth. Hinduism is second, Judaism third, Christianity fourth and Buddhism fifth.

The lived militancy of Islam includes battles from the beginning, the ultimate objective of war being often holy more than political.[43] Muslims enjoyed a preponderance of victory in the first thousand years, but now exhibit a sullen resentment rather than active war, as Bernard Lewis notes.[44] Doctrinal persecution is a factor in Islam.

The lived militancy of Hinduism reveals frequent war, defeats when fighting Muslims or Christians, the lack of a "holy war" tradition in the Muslim sense, and a doctrinal flexibility that seems to have avoided the persecution and war based on variant views of scripture that plagued early Eastern Christianity and Islam. Buddhists could have minimized bloodshed based on doctrine, but lived militancy increased when the

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[42] In Gen 49:8–9, God gives magisterial authority to Judah, a son of Jacob. In Exod 32 and Lev 8, God gives religious authority to Levi's descendant Aaron. Levi was another of the patriarch's sons.

[43] In a political war, means and ends are limited. For example, nation A wants a strip of land from nation B and is willing to use all non-nuclear weapons to get it. The duration is also limited. Political war is, as Clausewitz put it, an instrument of policy. In a holy war, means and ends are unlimited. For example, nation A following religion X wants the absolute capitulation if not destruction of nation B and its religion. Nation A will use anything it has to win and will fight "forever" if necessary.

[44] Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage: Why so Many Muslims Deeply Resent the West, and Why Their Bitterness Will Not Easily Be Mollified," *The Atlantic*, September 1990, https://www.theatlantic. com/magazine/archive/1990/09/the-roots-of-muslim-rage/304643/.

Sangha collaborated with government. Jewish lived militancy, at least at the national level, is reduced by their two millennia without a nation-state. The Jewish experience of holy war, in antiquity and today, is limited to the Holy Land. Christian lived militancy was almost absent in the first three centuries. It grew in Rome and, like other faiths and other groups in the world, became offensive or defensive depending upon the strength of its opponents. Modern Christianity has been highly influenced by its lived militancy, especially the militancy related to colonialism in the past four centuries.

Action 5–Engage at All Levels

Governments usually engage other governments, and businesses other businesses, but the most successful organizations interact with other peoples and nations at all levels. Christian missions organizations also engage at many levels. Some organizations, like the Institute for Global Engagement, influence governments to expand religious freedom and individual rights. When successful, this influence helps give missionaries more latitude to do their important work.

The US military includes chaplains of many faith groups. In addition to ministering to American soldiers, chaplains form a vital bridge to religious leaders in countries where US troops operate. Military chaplains with whom I worked in 2003 worked with imams and other religious figures to promote peace and development in Iraq. They worked at all levels, from community to province to nation and with a vast array of partners. Religious understanding fosters relationships that lower lived militancy.

Interactions between governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), between only NGOs, or between individuals, is called Track Two Diplomacy.[45] Governments are limited by the fact that they have coercive power (military and economic) and histories. Lacking the coercive power of governments, NGOs and

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[45] Peter Jones, *Track Two Diplomacy in Theory and Practice* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2015), 10.

individuals can foster trust where it was absent before. Professional diplomats often do not have the right skill sets to engage with religious leaders, academics, businesspeople, medical professionals, or other groups. Meetings between members of specialized groups build bridges that could not be built otherwise. Interacting at all levels can build bridges and promote healing in the future, as the Christian Moral Rearmament Society demonstrated between France and Germany after World War II.[46] Such non-governmental interventions prevented conflicts and lowered lived militancy at the subnational level.

Action 6–Get Past the Past

While taking history seriously, leaders should help their organizations get past the past. China, Korea, and Japan seem stuck on a merry-go-round. Relations are good, then something happens to remind someone of World War II, then China or Korea demand another apology, then Japan refuses to give it, but perhaps does some other penitent action. Time passes, and eventually, relations improve. Japanese leaders have apologized repeatedly, but not in a way that seems to satisfy Korea or China.[47]

To have normal international relations and trade, and to minimize the chance of future conflict, all parties must put the past in the past and move forward.[48] The problem of unforgiveness is blocking peace between the Arabs and the Israelis, the Turks and the Greeks (especially on Cyrus), and multiple ethnic, religious, and other groups. Historically, only when the pain of violence exceeds the gains of war, and especially

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[46] Johnston and Sampson, *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, 37–63.

[47] Robert Dujarric, "Why Are Japan's Apologies Forgotten?" *The Diplomat*, November 25, 2013, https://thediplomat.com/2013/11/why-are-japans-apologies-forgotten/.

[48] One problem with using history is that each side will emphasize whichever historical era best suits its political purposes. The Muslim Ottoman Turks conquered Cyprus from their Christian Greek inhabitants in 1570. The Christian British took over Cyprus in 1878. Each side claims ownership of the land based on these dates, and each side nurses grudges from each period. Such will never lead to peace.

when each side is exhausted, will the opponents come together. The Thirty Years War (1618 to 1648) provides a good example.

Christianity has a powerful tradition of forgiveness (Matt 18:22). Judaism (Psalm 51) and Islam (Quran 39:53) also refer to forgiveness. Hinduism and Buddhism do not speak of forgiveness but recommend forbearance to generate good karma. Evaluating the peace-promoting effects of major religions is a topic for a later study. Nevertheless, emphasizing forgiveness and similar concepts has helped work through old injuries, and will clear the debris to build a better future.

Twenty-First Century Conflicts through the
Window of Religious Militancy

The United States is the most powerful nation on earth and has a unique responsibility to promote peace and justice throughout the world. President Donald Trump, in his 2017 US National Security Strategy, writes,

> No nation can unilaterally alleviate all human suffering, but just because we cannot help everyone does not mean that we should stop trying to help anyone. For much of the world, America's liberties are inspirational, and the United States will always stand with those who seek freedom. We will remain a beacon of liberty and opportunity around the world… And it is part of our culture, as well as in America's interest, to help those in need and those trying to build a better future for their families. We aid others judiciously, aligning our means to our objectives, but with a firm belief that we can improve the lives of others while establishing conditions for a more secure and prosperous world.[49]

The US government has held since World War II that working for the well-being of Americans, and others throughout the world, is a moral imperative.

Of the twenty-six top global conflicts listed by the Council on Foreign Relations, sixteen are in the Middle East and Asia.[50] I have selected three major flashpoints to discuss key strategic and religious factors for leaders to consider as they

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[49] United States National Security Strategy, 2017, accessed February 15, 2021, NSS BookLayout_ FIN_121917.indd (nssarchive.us).

[50] Council on Foreign Relations, "Global Conflict Tracker," accessed April 24, 2020, https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/?category=us.

apply the actions above to shape the environment to accomplish their organizational goals.[51]

Flashpoints 2022–India and Pakistan

While negotiating independence for India, the Muslim League and their leaders, such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876 to 1948), demanded a two-state solution, creating Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), out of the greater India of the British Empire. Akhilesh Pillalamarri writes, "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions."[52] Wounds that formed during the partition and the subsequent wars remain raw today.

Military and economic power. As detailed in Table 20, India has a significant military and economic advantage over Pakistan.[53] These advantages suggest that India would prevail in any significant conflict between the two states. Both nations possess nuclear weapons. India has one foreign military base, located in Tajikistan, just to the north of Pakistan. Staging forces at this base would enable India to attack Pakistan from the north, opening a second front.[54] In summary, India has significant military and

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[51] As noted in chapter 1, I have selected the South and East China Sea conflicts (combined) because they are "critical" to U.S. interests. I chose the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Pakistan-India for their longstanding and interreligious characters, and because they are rated "significant" to US interests. These conflicts cover all the religions in this study.

[52] Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "The Origins of Hindu-Muslim Conflict in South Asia," *The Diplomat*, March 16, 2019, https://thediplomat.com/2019/03/the-origins-of-hindu-muslim-conflict-in-south-asia/.

[53] Christopher Woody, "These Are the 25 Most Powerful Militaries in the World — and There's a Clear Winner," *Insider*, June 18, 2018, https://www.businessinsider.com/most-powerful-militaries-in-the-world-ranked-2018-2.

[54] Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "Geography and Indian Strategy," *The Diplomat*, July 30, 2014, https://thediplomat.com/2014/07/geography-and-indian-strategy/. Such advantages, military, economic, and even geographical, might enhance lived militancy. In fact, given India's outright annexation of Jammu and Kashmir on Aug 5, 2019, such advantages probably have already increased India's lived militancy.

economic advantages over Pakistan. However, China is a Pakistani ally, and a notable threat to India.

Table 20. Military and economic factors in India and Pakistan[55]

	India	Pakistan
Total population	1,266,883,598	201,995,540
Gross domestic product	$2.73 trillion	$312.6 billion
Military personnel	4,207,250	919,000
Total aircraft strength	2,102 (676)	951 (301)
Combat tanks	4,426	2,924
Naval assets	295 (3)	197
Defense budget	$51 billion	$7 billion

Geography. India is a triangular peninsula of land (1.3 million square miles) with its base in the Himalayas and its tip extending over one thousand miles into the Indian Ocean. The country has over four thousand miles of coastline with thirteen major and over two hundred minor ports.[56] The highest mountains in the world separate India's northern frontier from China, Bhutan, and Nepal. Large scale war across this barrier is impractical, even in the twenty-first century, although small scale clashes persist. The eastern land route into India passes through the jungles and highlands of Buddhist Burma

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[55] The parenthetical number under aircraft communicate the number of fighter aircraft. The number under naval assets refers to aircraft carriers. India possesses three and Pakistan has none.

[56] Maps of India, "Seaports in India," accessed April 24, 2020, https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/sea-ports/.

and jungles of Muslim Bangladesh. This frontier is hard to traverse, as the Japanese who attacked India through this land route in 1944 discovered.

India's greatest vulnerability has been through the northwestern portion of the Indo-Gangetic plain and Thar desert. The Aryans, Greeks, Persians, Arabs, Turks, and Mughals all entered India and conquered at least parts of it through this route. Pakistan, created in the Partition of India in 1947, lies in this area. India's seacoasts have been her second greatest vulnerable area, serving as the invasion route for European navies and nations. However, these are only vulnerabilities if India does not have land and maritime supremacy, at least locally.

Pakistan is a roughly rectangular shaped country (340,000 square miles) stretching from the Himalayan borders with Tajikistan (separated by the Wakhan Corridor) and China to the Arabian Sea. Iran and Afghanistan are to the west and India is to the east. Much of the Indus River valley makes up eastern Pakistan, while western and northern Pakistan are mountainous. Pakistan has seven hundred and twelve miles of coastline and three seaports, of which Karachi is the largest. Militarily, Pakistan has been invaded from the east and west.

Government and alliances. Both India and Pakistan are constitutional democracies. Since 1947, India has had fourteen prime ministers and Pakistan eighteen prime ministers. India shuns formal alliances, though Russia is its biggest arms supplier and America would be a useful balance to China's power.[57] Pakistan, on the other hand, is an ally of China, the US, Russia, and several other nations.

Religion. India has 1.3 billion people, of whom eighty percent are Hindu and fourteen percent are Muslim. Hindu militancy has grown under Prime Minister Narendra

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[57] M. R., "Why India Avoids Alliances," *The Economist*, June 1, 2018, https://www.economist. com/the-economist-explains/2018/06/01/why-india-avoids-alliances.

Modi. Pakistan has 233 million people, of whom ninety-six percent are Muslim and three percent are Hindu or Christian. India has recently enacted citizenship and immigration legislation that is widely interpreted as anti-Muslim.[58] While India has a clear strategic advantage over Pakistan in most of the metrics noted here, alienating its two hundred million Muslims could negate these advantages. Using the criteria above, Islam and Hinduism are the two most militant major faiths by Doctrinal Militancy Index (DMI). As a result, one would expect fewer doctrinal hurdles to making war than if the conflict were between nations following religions with lower DMIs.

According to the Eighty Percent Rule noted above, since eighty percent of Indians are Hindus and ninety-seven percent of Pakistanis are Muslims, religion is likely to play a major role in this conflict. Tellingly, Pakistan generally refuses to recover the corpses of its soldiers that fall in disputed territory. When it does, Pakistan buries them in the "Graveyard of Martyrs."[59] These practices strongly suggest that Pakistan sees its conflict with India as religious war. Bhashyam Kasturi writes that, "India is in a perpetual state of war with Pakistan," not merely a political war, but a war of ethnic and religious violence between Muslims and Hindus.[60]

The lived militancy history reveals that most of the fighting was in the western region of India. Examples of atrocities between Muslims and Hindus abound. Based on this history, one would expect most of the fighting to be in the western region of India, and for interreligious atrocities to occur. One would not be wrong. A primary difference

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[58] Helen Regan, Swati Gupta and Omar Khan, "India Passes Controversial Citizenship Bill That Excludes Muslims," *CNN*, last modified December 17, 2019, https://www.cnn.com/2019/12/11/asia/india-citizenship-amendment-bill-intl-hnk/index.html.

[59] Amit Bansal, "Why Pakistan Army Disowns Its Own Killed Soldiers," India.com, last modified August 20, 2019, https://www.india.com/news/india/why-pakistan-army-disowns-its-own-killed-soldiers-opinion-3750792/.

[60] Bhashyam Kasturi, "The State of War with Pakistan," in *A Military History of India and South Asia: From the East India Company to the Nuclear Era*, ed. Daniel Marston and Chandar S. Sundaram, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 139.

between the modern Pakistan-India conflict and those in the past is that Hindu India has largely won against Muslim Pakistan.

Flashpoint 2022–China and Her
Neighbors in the South and
East China Sea

China, the Middle Kingdom, was one of the most powerful nations on earth for centuries. It fell behind the European powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which constitutes what many Chinese refer to as the Century of Humiliation.[61] With her remarkable rise since the death of Mao in 1976, China is determined to be a global power, regaining her former glory. Communist Party General Secretary, Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and President for Life Xi Jinping has been quoted, "China has entered a 'new era,' Xi announced in 2017, and must 'take center stage in the world.'"[62] Part of that plan is to dominate the East and South China Seas, rich sources of raw materials and vital trade routes for all southeast and east Asia. To that end, the People's Republic has seized small islands in the South China Sea such as the Spratlys, the Paracels, and Scarborough Shoal, building airfields, barracks, ports, and other military installations. It is also disputing with Japan for the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea.

Military and economic power. China is on the rise, with annual economic growth ranging from four to fifteen percent in the last forty years. Her economy is second only to the United States economy in GDP, is larger than the US economy in purchasing power parity, and has been growing faster than the US economy. Table 21 details the

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[61] Alice Su, "As Trade War Escalates, Chinese Remember 'National Humiliation'," *Los Angeles Times,* May 13, 2019, https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-china-trade-war-tariffs-colonialism-humiliation-20190513-story.html.

[62] Xi Jinping, quoted in Hal Brands and Jake Sullivan, "China Has Two Paths to Global Domination," *Foreign Policy*, May 22, 2020, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/05/22/china-superpower-two-paths-global-domination-cold-war/.

comparative military and economic strength of China and her regional opponents, Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines.[63]

Japan borders the East China Sea and is endangered by China's aggressive moves. Japan is also tottering on a thin line between growth and decline. She has the third largest economy in the world, but her economic growth has been a paltry zero to two percent. Japan's population is in steep decline, losing more than 430,000 people in 2018 despite record immigration.[64] The decline in population is expected to accelerate through 2030 and beyond.

Vietnam borders the South China Sea, and China captured islands held by Vietnamese troops in 1974 at the Battle of the Paracel Islands.[65] Further fighting gave China control over other islands. Taiwan is another major power in the South and East China Seas. China considers Taiwan a breakaway province, and Taiwanese governments vacillate on the degree to which they want to rejoin the mainland. China has promised to invade Taiwan if Taiwan declares independence.[66] The Philippines and the Sultanate of Brunei also have claims in the South China Sea, but their attempts to defend those claims have been defeated by China, diplomatically or militarily.

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[63] Woody, "These Are the 25 Most Powerful Militaries in the World." The information for Table 21 is drawn from this source.

[64] Robin Harding, "Japan's Population Decline Accelerates Despite Record Immigration," *Financial Times*, April 12, 2019, https://www.ft.com/content/29d594fa-5cf2-11e9-9dde-7aedca0a081a.

[65] Carl O. Shuster, "'Speed Forward, Fight Close and Hit Hard' — How China Won the Battle of the Paracel Islands," *Vietnam War*, March 14, 2019, https://www.navytimes.com/news/your-navy/2019/03/14/speed-forward-fight-close-and-hit-hard-how-china-won-the-battle-of-the-paracel-islands/.

[66] Paul D. Shrinkman, "China Threatens War Over New Taiwan Independence Proposal, State Media," *U.S. News and World Report*, October 7, 2020, https://www.usnews.com/news/world-report/articles/2020-10-07/china-threatens-war-over-new-taiwan-independence-proposal-state-media.

Table 21. Military and economic factors in China, Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines[67]

	China	Japan	Vietnam	Taiwan	Philippines
Total population	1,373,541,278	126,702,133	95,261,021	23,464,787	110,774,857
Gross domestic product	$14 trillion	$5 trillion	$245 billion	$586 billion	$376.8 billion
Military personnel	3,712,500	311,875	5,488,500	1,932,500	220,000
Total aircraft strength	2,955 (1271)	1,594 (288)	278 (76)	850 (286)	211
Combat tanks	6,457	700	1545	2005	Negligible
Naval assets	714 (1)	131 (4)	65	87	81
Defense budget	$161.7 billion	$43.8 billion	$3.4 billion	$10.7 billion	$3.47 billion

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[67] I have not included Malaysia, Indonesia or Brunei in this list of capabilities because they are a great distance from the contested area, they lack significant power projection capabilities, and their claims on the South China Sea are recent and limited. None would likely play a major role in a potential conflict.

China has the edge over this grouping of nations in establishing hegemony in the South and East China Seas. China has nuclear weapons, and Japan could build them quickly if they do not have them already, but none of the other nations do.

Geography. China, Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines have excellent ports, which benefits them economically but makes them vulnerable to air, naval, and guided missile attack. China is physically closer to the East China Sea than to the South China Sea, strengthening its claims to the former and weakening its claims to the latter. However, all these nations are heavily dependent on the South China Sea for trade, as thirty percent of global trade passes through it. Resources necessary to national life pass through the sea, including oil, natural gas, rare earth metals, and fish.[68]

Government and alliances. China is an autocracy, with Xi Jinping holding all practical power in the nation. Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines are democracies. Vietnam remains a communist nation but is working with the US in the face of Chinese aggression. Japan and the Philippines are allied to the United States. Due to Chinese belligerency, Taiwan is not technically a US ally, but America has de facto guaranteed Taiwan's security for decades.

Religion. Conflicts in the South and East China Seas engage Buddhist (China, Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan), Muslim (Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei), and Christian (US, Philippines) majority or plurality nations. China and Vietnam are communist states, and communism specifically disavows religion, but Christianity is growing fast in Vietnam,

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[68] Xander Vagg, "Resources in the South China Sea," American Security Project, last modified December 4, 2012, https://www.americansecurityproject.org/resources-in-the-south-china-sea/.

especially among the Hmong.[69] Christianity is also expanding in China.[70] Japan and Taiwan are secular. As long as the sea lanes remain open, these conflicts, related to trade and resources, should not threaten the prosperity, much less the national existence of any of the nations involved. The US Navy has ensured free trade and peaceful access to resources to the whole world for seven decades, including China, Japan, Vietnam, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Sultanate of Brunei, and there is no indication that America will stop filling this role. Deaths are uncommon at this stage in the struggle for control of the South and East China seas, so burial practices are not illustrative. Furthermore, the Barter and Zatkin-Osburn paradigm works in the Muslim context but it is not clear how well evaluating burial practices to determine the religious nature of a war will work in struggles not involving Muslims.

All the belligerent powers in this conflict are Buddhist, except for the Philippines and the US (Christian), and the more distant Muslim nations. Buddhism and Christianity have the lowest DMI scores in this study. Further, Chinese religion includes a syncretistic mix of Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and Communism. While most Japanese, Taiwanese, Vietnamese are Buddhist, less than fifty percent of China's population is Buddhist. The low DMI and the Eighty Percent Rule suggest that this is not likely to be a significantly religious conflict.[71]

Reviewing lived militancy, China has fought for millennia against her neighbors, and they have fought against her, and each other. In World War II, Japan used Buddhism, which it shared with the majorities in East Asia, as a motivator to fight against

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[69] Seb Rumsby, "Vietnam Wrestles with Christianity," *The Diplomat*, November 13, 2017, https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/vietnam-wrestles-with-christianity/.

[70] Carl Bunderson, "Why is Christianity Growing So Quickly in Mainland China?" *Catholic News Agency*, August 17, 2015, https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/why-is-christianity-growing-so-quickly-in-mainland-china-57545.

[71] Eighty Percent Rule: In any given conflict, if 80% of the population on one side is one religion, and 80% of the population on the other side is a different religion, the conflict is likely to be highly influenced by religion and classified by historians as a religious war.

the Christian West. In the conflicts over the South and East China Seas, only the Philippines and the US could use religion as a motivator since the other states are predominately Buddhists and they would be fighting co-religionists.

Flashpoint 2022–Israel and Her Muslim Neighbors: Arabs, Persians, and Turks

A United Nations mandate established the State of Israel in May 1948. War immediately erupted, and returned in 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and has continued to some degree, since. Israel claims Palestine west of the Jordan River and the Golan Heights as its permanent, God-given territory. The Palestinians, with support from the surrounding Arab countries, claim the same land. Unless someone gives up part of their claim, it is a problem without a solution.

Military and economic power. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Israel is the highest per capita in the region and has grown above three percent annually for the past forty years.[72] Israel has the thirty-second largest economy and the fifteenth most powerful military in the world.[73] She possesses nuclear weapons. Israel holds a military and economic advantage over her immediate neighbors, but faces threats from Iran, Turkey, and other nations farther afield. Table 22 illustrates the relative power of the major nations in this conflict.

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[72] Emma London, "GDP Rankings of the World's Largest Economies, 2019," *CEOWorld Magazine*, December 28, 2018, https://ceoworld.biz/2018/12/28/gdp-rankings-of-the-worlds-largest-economies-2019/.

[73] Woody, "These Are the 25 Most Powerful Militaries in the World."

Table 22. Military and economic factors in Israel, Egypt, Iran and Turkey[74]

	Israel	Egypt	Iran	Turkey
Total population	8,174,527	94,666,993	82,801,633	80,274,604
Gross domestic product	$370 billion	$331 billion	$445 billion	$754 billion
Military personnel	718,250	1,329,250	934,000	743,415
Total aircraft strength	652 (243)	1,132 (337)	477 (137)	1,018 (207)
Combat tanks	2,620	4,110	1,616	2,445
Naval assets	65	319 (2)	398	194
Defense budget	$15.5 billion	$4.4 billion	$6.3 billion	$8.2 billion

Iraq boasts a population of 39 million and a GDP of $232 billion.[75] Syria's population is 20.4 million and its GDP is $24.6 billion. Jordan's population is eleven million and its GDP is $44 billion.

Geography. Israel is bound by the Mediterranean Sea on the West, Lebanon to the north, the Golan Heights, Sea of Galilee, Jordan River, and Dead Sea to the East, and the Sinai Desert and Arabian Gulf to the south. A spine of mountains extends through the middle of the country. The Plain of Sharon in the west and the Jezreel Valley in the north provide prime agricultural land. The Palestinian Authority governs the Gaza Strip and the West Bank Palestinian areas. The West Bank and Gaza are separated from Israel by a tall concrete wall. This barrier has been effective in decreasing terror attacks.

Government and alliances. Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel, the Camp David Accords, in 1978. This treaty has kept the peace, and led to an Israel-Jordan

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[74] As noted on the previous table, the number in parentheses under "Total Aircraft Strength" is the number of fighters. The number in parenthesis under "naval assets" is the number of aircraft carriers.

[75] Gross Domestic Product is recorded as official exchange rate, not purchasing power parity. Data are from the CIA World Factbook entry for the relevant country. https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/.

agreement, the Wadi Arabah Agreement, in 1994. Syria and Iraq, two other major foes of

Israel in the past, have torn themselves apart in civil war and anti-ISIS fighting. The

Abraham Accords, negotiated between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain,

Sudan, and Morocco under President Donald Trump, are an important step forward.

However, these nations are all distant from Israel and therefore not natural geographic

enemies.[76] Furthermore, none are regional powers like Turkey and Iran.

Religion. Religion plays a major role in this conflict. The Jewish claim to

Palestine is based on Genesis, the first book in the Jewish Torah, and similar passages

throughout the *Tanakh*. Furthermore, the Jewish claim is based on centuries of recorded

history in which the Jews held the Promised Land. Jerusalem is home to the holiest place

in Judaism, the Temple Mount. The Muslim Palestinians see Jerusalem as one of their

most holy cities, the site of the ascension of Muhammad, and the location of two

important mosques, Al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock. Christian-majority nations also

consider this area to be one of the holiest places in the world, complicating the religious

mix and increasing opportunities for misunderstanding. The Palestinian Authority (PA)

maintains a "martyr's fund" to provide financial support to families of Palestinians killed,

injured, or imprisoned by Israeli forces, including those participating in attacks.[77]

Palestinians and others killed when fighting Israel are typically provided a martyr's

burial. Israeli soldiers who die in the line of duty are buried at Mt. Herzl, a military

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[76] According to Kautilya, author of the Indian manual on statecraft, *Arthashastra*, geography is major factor in determining friends and enemies in statecraft. Nicolo Machiavelli would agree in *The Prince*. Though they are not natural geographic enemies, they may be natural cultural or economic enemies.

[77] Welcome to Palestine, "The Palestinian Authority Martyrs Fund Explained," last modified June 24, 2017, https://www.welcometopalestine.com/article/the-palestinian-authority-martyrs-fund-explained/#:~:text= The%20Palestinian%20Martyrs%E2%80%99%20Fund%20is%20a%20financial%20 service,planning%20attacks%20against%20Israeli%20armed%20forces%20or%20civilians. The fact that the Palestinian Authority calls it a "martyr's fund" is strong evidence that the PA sees this conflict as a religious war.

cemetery, regardless of their religion.[78] The Eighty Percent Rule also suggests that religion, Judaism against Islam, plays a major role in this conflict.

The Arab Israeli conflict contains a Christian-Muslim component as well. Evangelicals, especially in the US, generally support Israel against her Arab neighbors.[79] Christian Zionists believe that the state of Israel must endure to bring on the second coming of Christ. David Krush states, "Christian Zionism can be defined as Christian support for the Zionist cause — the return of the Jewish people to its biblical homeland in Israel. It is a belief among some Christians that the return of Jews to Israel is in line with a biblical prophecy, and is necessary for Jesus to return to Earth as its king."[80] Christian Zionists therefore contend that the Jews remain God's chosen people and that Muslims cannot be allowed to destroy them.[81] This support influences elections, provides military and economic aid to Israel, and frustrates Muslims.

The Arab Israeli conflicts include the high DMI of Islam, the middling DMI of Judaism, and the low DMI of Christianity. Based on these numbers alone, one might assume a moderate likelihood of fighting and a medium duration. In reality, the Arab Israeli conflict has raged since long before the inception of the state of Israel in 1948.[82]

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[78] Mount Herzl, Jewish Virtual Library, accessed Oct 26, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtual library.org/mount-herzl. The Mount Herzl Cemetery inters soldiers, police and other leaders who have served the nation of Israel, including Christians, Muslims, and Druze. This suggests a specific intention by the state to focus on nationalism, not religion. One wonders if the Muslims see this conflict as a religious war. The Jewish state does not, but many Jews in Israel, especially religious Zionists, do. Ayelett Shani, For Religious Zionists, Israeli-Palestinian Conflict is Holy War, Scholar Says, last modified Dec 17, 2015, https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-scholar-for-religious-zionists-the-conflict-is-holy-war-1.5378513.

[79] David French, "The Real Reasons American Evangelicals Support Israel," *National Review*, March 22, 2019, https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/03/the-real-reasons-american-evangelicals-support-israel/. The US government gives no indication of seeing the conflict between Jews/Christians and Muslims in Palestine as a holy war, but individual Christians may.

[80] David Krusch, "Zionism: Christian Zionism," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed May 5, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/christian-zionism.

[81] French, "The Real Reasons."

[82] Another interesting idea is that before the founding of the state of Israel, the Jewish-Arab conflict in the Holy Land was seen as a religious conflict by many on both sides. After the founding, the state of Israel tried to "de-religify" the conflict.

The Eighty Percent Rule would characterize this conflict as religious, and long duration is consistent with religious conflicts. Suicide bombing, seen in Islam and occasionally seen in other faiths in the past, is a feature.[83]

Leaders typically wish to know several things with respect to violent conflict. First, will a conflict occur? Second, who will the parties be? Third, when will it start? Fourth, how long will it last? Fifth, who will win? Sixth, what can be done to prevent or end it? While no one can predict the future with precision, doctrinal and lived militancy can be revealing. The DMI identifies doctrinal impairments and inducements to engage in physical violence, addressing the first, fourth, and sixth questions. Lived militancy reveals the past and helps to predict the future, addressing the second, third, and fifth questions. For example, the DMIs of Pakistan and India are high, suggesting that conflict is likely to occur, is likely to be prolonged, and would be difficult to end or prevent. The lived militancy of Hinduism and Islam reveals that conflicts between these groups tended to be violent, and that Hindus tended to lose.

Final Thoughts

Religion is a cause of war, but it generally is a secondary cause, not a primary cause. Religion is not the most important cause of bloodshed in the world.[84] The ideological wars of the twentieth centuries shed far more blood than all the other wars in history. Religious militancy is a key part of each religion studied, and a key contributor to militancy in the world today. According to this study, doctrinal militancy is highest in Islam, followed by Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and Buddhism. Nonetheless, lived militancy did not differ markedly between religions, regardless of DMI. Lived militancy in each religion is highest when secular and sacred authority are combined. Doctrinal

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[83] Japanese suicide attacks associated with the kamikazes in WW2 is another famous example.

[84] These assertions are covered at length in chapter 1.

militancy is resistant to change, as the authoritative documents of each religion were written long ago. Even new interpretations cannot change the original words, so more militant interpretations can be reclaimed by every generation.

Knowing the reason why a religion is violent will help modern leaders influence the level of violence in a faith to achieve their purposes. For example, Buddhist leaders trying to decrease the violent tendencies of fellow Buddhists may emphasize the peacefulness of their scriptures and their founder. The Eightfold Path comes close to forswearing violence, as do many Buddhist scriptures. Governments and businesses could institute public information campaigns, fund research, commission art projects, and engage experts to highlight the pacific nature of the Buddhist faith. Knowing that Buddhism is prone to violence when it collaborates with secular authorities, institutions could emphasize a separation of Temple and State, similar to separation of Church and State in the US.

Hindu leaders attempting to grow modern India into a world power might reject the nonviolent legacy of Gandhi and revitalize interest in the martial aspects of the *sruti*, the *smrti*, and Indian history. The 1989 film *Mahabharata* portrayed the famous Indian epic poem, highlighting heroism and martial virtues. The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) includes nationalism and a more powerful military in its platform.

Amira Sonbol suggests that Muslim scholars anxious to present a gentler face of Islam to the world might reinterpret Islamic Law or at least history in light of modern realities.[85] Similarly, such Islamic scholars can focus on historical examples of Muslim tolerance and peacemaking. Both the second Bush and the Obama administrations advanced policies and allocated resources to "steer Islamic debates, practices, and education in order to delegitimize the interpretations and narratives articulated by jihadist

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[85] Amira Sonbol, "Norms of War in Sunni Islam," in *World Religions and Norms of War*, ed. Vesselin Popovski, Gregory M. Reichberg, and Nicholas Turner (New York: United Nations University Press, 2009), 282–83.

groups."[86] Christians might focus on the Beatitudes, seek peaceful resolution to disputes, and engage aggressively in peacemaking throughout the world, as the Christian communities in France and Germany did after World War II.[87]

As noted in chapter 1, governments in the United States and the West have made progress in fully integrating religion into their foreign policy. Examples include the US Office of Faith Based Community Initiatives, the Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium in the United Kingdom, and the Faith Initiative in the World Bank. Leaders at all levels can affect militancy. To do so they should determine their goals, take religion seriously, take history seriously, understand and acknowledge differences between religions, engage at all levels, and get past the past.

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[86] Gregorio Bettiza, *Finding Faith in Foreign Policy: Religion and American Diplomacy in a Postsecular World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 3.

[87] Johnston and Sampson, *Religion: The Missing Dimension,* 37–63. Negotiators facilitated a post-World War II Franco-German rapprochement by building understanding and encouraging forgiveness based on their shared Christian faith, shared scriptures, and shared experience.

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ABSTRACT

ECHOES OF WAR:
RELIGIOUS MILITANCY IN JUDAISM, BUDDHISM,
HINDUISM, ISLAM, AND CHRISTIANITY

Mark David Harris, PhD
The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2021
Chair: Dr. George H. Martin

Religion is commonly considered a major cause of violence across the world and throughout history. Also, debates rage over whether religions differ in their militancy, and if so, which is the most militant. Leaders at all levels try to influence their situation to achieve organizational goals. In this study, I compare common militancy related words in the key scriptures of Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity to estimate the relative doctrinal militancy of each. I confirmed my interpretations with interpretations of experts in each religion. Then I qualitatively but not quantitatively examined the military history of each religion to identify themes in their lived militancy. Doctrinally, Islam is the most militant religion, followed by Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, and Buddhism. According to lived militancy examples, after the first three hundred years, there does not seem to be a difference in lived militancy between the religions. Militancy is directly related to secular authority in each religion, meaning that the more temporal power a faith has, the more militant it tends to be. Leaders should use the doctrinal militancy index and lived militancy history to inform their decisions in diplomacy, business work, missions, and other areas.

VITA

MARK DAVID HARRIS

EDUCATION
        BS, Biola University, 1987
        MD, Loma Linda University, 1991
        MPH, Johns Hopkins University, 2001
        MBA, University of Texas at El Paso, 2006
        MDiv, Liberty University Theological Seminary and School of Divinity, 2012
        PhD, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2021
        ThM, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2021

PUBLICATIONS
        "The Local Church, the Arts and Shaping the World for Christ." *Journal of the Evangelical Missiological Society* (2016).

ORGANIZATIONS
        Evangelical Missiological Society

MINISTERIAL EMPLOYMENT
        Teaching Elder, Coronado Baptist Church, 2006-2007
        Lay Minister in Service, Missions, and the Arts, Memorial Baptist Church, Beckley West Virginia, 2020-2022