

Brian Stanley, ‘The “Heathen” in Protestant Missionary Vocabulary’: Further reading, structure of the paper, and foreign words

1. *The ‘Heathen’ in Recent Research*

Patrick Seamus McGhee, “‘Heathenism’ in the Protestant Atlantic World c. 1558 - c. 1700’ (Cambridge PhD thesis, 2019). See also his “‘I Shall Give Thee the Heathen for Thine Inheritance’’: Psalms, Parishioners, and Propagating the Gospel in the Protestant Atlantic World, c. 1649–1660’, *Exchange* 51 (2022): 215-44.

Kathryn Gin Lum, *Heathen: Religion and Race in American History* (2022).

Other sources include: E. Bolaji Idowu, *African Traditional Religion: A Definition* (1973), and Jerry Hwang, “‘For the Conversion of the Heathens’’: Reflections on Insider/Outsider Dynamics’, *Mission Round Table* 18:2 (Jul-Sep 2023): 8-14, <https://omf.org/for-the-conversion-of-the-heathens-reflections-on-insider-outsider-dynamics/>

A favourite Victorian missionary text: ‘Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.’ (Psalm 2:8, King James Version).

2. *The Translation History of the Heathen*

Hebrew: *gôy* (singular) or *gôyim* (plural). Greek: *ethnos* (singular), or *ethnē* (plural).

Alternative, more relational, biblical terms for people: ‘am in Hebrew, and *laos* in Greek.

Vulgate usually translates *gôyim* and *ethnē* as *gentes* (hence Gentiles).

German: *Heiden*; *Heidentum*; *Heidenbekehrung*; *Heidenbekehrer*; *Heidenchristen*; *Heidenchristentum*.

3. *Heathenism and the construction of world religions*

4. *The heathen in the Edinburgh 1910 reports*

Geoffrey Oddie, *Imagined Hinduism* (2006) on Charles Grant and the neologism ‘Hindooism’, 1787. The three Chinese traditions of wisdom (the teaching of the Buddha; Laozi, *Zuangzhi*, and the Daoist tradition; the Ruist veneration of Confucius) become described as *zongjiao* (‘teaching’ or ‘religion’).

5. *The heathen in the records of Jerusalem, 1928*

Gustav Warneck, *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen* (Leipzig, 1882). The Jerusalem report quotes from the 1904 English edition.

Johannes Warneck, *The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism: The Experiences of a Missionary in Animistic Heathendom* (1909).

6. *The heathen in the records of Tambaram, 1938*

Hendrik Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (1938).

Siegfried Knak, S. C. Graaf van Randwijck, V. S. Azariah, Toyohiko Kakawa.

Christian Keysser, Neuendettelsau Mission; Volkskirche; Sturm-Abteilung.

Keysser’s *Eine Papuagemeinde* (1929); Eng. transl. *A People Reborn* (William Carey Press, 1980).

7. *The construction of African traditional religion and the demise of heathenism*

Geoffrey Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion* (1954).

8. *Conclusions: Heathenism and Race*

- (1) no automatic correspondence between the use of heathen vocabulary and adherence to racist ideology.

Jakob W. Hauer and the German Faith movement—*Die Neuheiden* or *Deutschheiden*; Johannes Hoekendijk; Bruno Gutmann and *völkisch* mission theory.

- (2) When and how conservative evangelicals replaced the heathen with the ‘lost’ or ‘unreached’ remains to be researched.

Kathryn Long, *God in the Rainforest: A Tale of Martyrdom and Redemption in Amazonian Ecuador* (2019); *Waorani*; ‘*Auca*’.

- (3) Heathen vocabulary carried its sharpest racial implications in the relatively short period between construction of the ‘world religions’ and construction of ‘African traditional religion’.

- (4) Caution is needed before labelling all examples of cultural recoil from ‘the other’ as racism. Furthermore, Edinburgh 1910 suggests that racial ideology actually encouraged those progressives who wished to give sanction to Asian (not yet African) theologies and cultural expressions of Christianity.