

Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society



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Ethnographies of Religion

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"Thematically divided into three parts dealing with Islamic, East Asian, and alternative religious encounters, this fine collection of twelve essays examines various historical and contemporary outcomes of religious encounters across the globe. Its specifically broad scope will catch readers' attention and will make it an important contribution for area specialists and students of religion, globalization, and processes of transculturation alike." —**Nikolas Broy**, Leipzig University

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—**Fabio Scialpi**, Sapienza, University of Rome

This volume focuses on the various phenomena of religious encounters in a transcultural society where religion or religious traditions play a significant role in a multicultural concept. *Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society* is divided into three parts: Islamic encounters with regional religions, East Asian religious encounters, and alternative religious encounters. This book evokes the fact that religious encounters exist in every transcultural society even though they often remain hidden behind socio-cultural issues. The situation can be changed, but one culture cannot harmoniously and always contain two or multi-beliefs. The issue of religious encounters mostly arises in the transnational process of religious globalization.

Contributors

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Ethnographies of Religion

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Margaret Paloma, and Michael Wilkinson*

As religion pushes toward an uncertain late-modern world rife with contradictions, and as modern rationality unevenly blends with supernatural beliefs, this series will focus on spatial and temporal practices of embodied religious experience in the (post)modern world. Works in the series will move beyond the hard world of maps and demographics of researchers who chart the quantitative spread of religions, and into religious spaces and places where people actively make meanings and responses to their structural conditions. Taking seriously the assertion of Michele de Certeau that "what maps cut up, the story cuts across," this book series looks for creative ethnographic styles to travel the soft, malleable, and bending spaces with those engaged in religious practices as it occurs in time and space. The importance of connecting history, structure, culture, and biography offers insight into the dialectical role of religion in the modern world, one that is expected to yield highly surprising results. The ethnographic approaches taken throughout this series will take into account the public and private spaces of religious experience where the visible and invisible, mundane and transcendent, ecstatic and frightful, and myopic and reflexive worlds burst from the scenes of social life into the pages of this series.

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Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society: Collision, Alteration, and Transmission, edited by David W. Kim

Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society

Collision, Alteration, and Transmission

David William Kim

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*For Tammy, Rebekah, Harrison, Jaiden,
and the families in Australia and Korea*

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ANU) as the academic mentor helped me in many ways including official and administrative issues, including University access. Professor Robert Cribb, Associate Professor Greg Fealy, and Professor Edward Aspinall, Department of the Political and Social Change, Australian National University (ANU) supported my research by advising the internal academic developments. Dr Peter Friedlander shared his experiences of Indian religious studies for deepening my understanding of the life of indigenous people in the region of South Asia. Helen McMartin and Maxine McArthur, the research assistants of the University solved most of practical issues for my academic activities.

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David W. Kim
Australian National University

Introduction

Intimacy in the context of an assembly for a social, cultural, or religious purpose is a creative aspect of human existence.¹ A close, familiar, and affectionate relationship can be the result of positive impressions. The development of mutual connections between two parties can affect each side in productive ways. On the other hand, unplanned or unexpected encounters may cause negative issue(s). Human beings live as they encounter different people. Regarding such social encounters, "encounters become defining movements as people enter into conversation with each other."² Moreover it may be said that "encounters are opportunities that open doors to new aspects of oneself and of abilities to understand and participate in community."³ A person, then, may "become more fully oneself and aware of own strengths and weaknesses."⁴ In this regard, Amy Hanser presents the social and economic changes that create new social values and forms of inequality.⁵ Examining changes to a particular set of jobs—service work (sales clerk work)—she argues that a new "structure of entitlement," which makes elite groups feel more entitled to public forms of respect and social esteem, is constructed in settings like new, luxury department stores. Her book (*Service Encounters: Class, Gender, and the Market for Social Distinction in Urban China*) shows the phenomenon of social encounter not only with respect to how this change involves unequal relations between clerks and customers in contemporary Chinese society, but also how marketplaces have become sites where social differences and inequalities are recognized and justified.

The term "cultural encounters" is another concept often employed when trying to describe modern phenomenon of globalization, or mass migration. The concept is claimed to be of importance when explaining dynamic changes in history.⁶ The term is used to refer to cultural relations, places, and objects. Cultural encounters bring with them movement and change as the

result of colonialism, war, or migration. It challenges ideas about cultural homogeneity and the unchanging nature of traditions. They are also indicators of transformation and innovation.⁷ *The French-American Religious Encounter in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century New France* (2002) approaches the cultural encounters in which the French settlers experienced "Amerindian culture" in the colony of New France (1534–1763).⁸ One of the colonial realities was seen as the colonists being controlled by Amerindian cultures which seemed to lure young Canadians from the traditional culture in droves. The main concern was the adoption of the Native American rituals (such as "hunting excursions, tattooing, dancing, singing, and warfare") into the French culture.⁹ Seforosa Carroll also writes on the topic of an Australian case where the commonwealth territory was facing a cultural encounter as a result of migration due to the abolition of the White Australian policy by the Whitlam Labor government in 1973.¹⁰ Australia is called "home" by people of many cultures, but Carroll pointed out that "the presence of diverse cultures in the contemporary Australian context raises the question of and ambivalence of home."¹¹ The concept of home for the culture of Australian Aborigines particularly confronted conflicts with the new approach of the outsiders' cultures from Europe, Middle East, India, Asia, and the Pacific. The long history of Aboriginal culture eventually marginalized or mixed into the multicultural society. The cultural illustration reflects the result where a diasporic culture predominantly impacted the traditional culture.

The subject of religious encounters has rarely been studied among scholars in the field of humanity studies although the teachings of religion often become moral and ethical standards for the community. When religious tradition is changed in a nation, social attitudes can be modified. However, change of social traditions does not directly cause fundamental teachings of religion. Yet, religious encounters bring confusion and conflict among members of community. Elizabeth J. Harris describes the story of the encounter of British colonialism in Sri Lanka (single culture) in which there were three conflicted times between the colonial government and the local religion of Theravāda Buddhism: from 1796 to 1830, from 1830 to 1870, and from 1870 to 1900.¹² The relationship between the state and religion was seen in the perspective of a religio-political encounter. However, the British interest in Buddhism was not a genuine one, but "from apologetic concerns."¹³ J. D. Y. Peel similarly explores the case of a foreign religion emerging into a nation of Africa. The local people abandoned the traditional religion and adopted the new religion. Peel shows that the majority of the Yoruba people (Southern Nigeria) transformed into Christianity in the early 20th century. Yet, they were not seen as carriers of western culture or shapers of an indigenous African Christianity.¹⁴ The case of religious encounter reflected that the Yoruba Nigerians "were

Accordingly, this edited book uniquely focuses on the various phenomena of religious encounter in a transcultural society where religion or religious traditions play a significant role in a multicultural concept. How did multi-faith groups survive or coexist in a multiethnic community? *Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society* that are composed with various case studies, is divided into Three Parts of "Islamic encounters with regional religions (four chapters)," "East Asian religious encounters (four chapters)," and "alternative religious encounters (four chapters)." This book primarily explores the condition of religious organizations or teachings within a different culture where one or more indigenous religions are already present. Part I particularly probes into Islamic encounters where the Middle Eastern religion confronts religio-cultural objections in non-Muslim regions of Europe and Pacific including France, Australia, and New Zealand. Among them, chapter 1 (*An Inter-Religious Perspective: The Dialogue of Islam within Abrahamic Religions in the 21st Century*) demonstrates that Muslims consider Islam to be a fulfillment of Judaism and Christianity and the restoration of a primordial Abrahamic monotheism. The Qur'an and prophetic traditions contain much material and guidance for dialogue with People of the Book. Despite the historical conflicts and theological differences, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam have common heritages and linkages such as common prophetic figures of Ibrahim (Abraham) and Ismail (Ishmael). Forgiveness and reconciliation can be one of the common areas which need to be revisited in a new contemporary context. Here, Farooq Hassan argues that the Qur'anic text related to Islam-Judeo-Christian relationships must be understood in the historical and cultural contexts in which it was revealed and should be kept in mind while interpreting it. He discusses that cooperation and good relationship of Muslims with Christians and Jews are not only allowed (lawful and legal) but encouraged, and the prohibition of cooperation applies only if it is certain that the other religions can bring damage to Islam. The paper critically views that a suitable and better version of pluralism is needed to live together gracefully in a truly pluralistic way, so that these three faiths can be a cohesive force rather than a divisive force.

As seen in the classical study of coexistence between Abrahamic religions, Pauline C. H. Kollontai in chapter 2 approaches the globalization of Islam in modern and contemporary France. She begins with the history of a French religious conflict that the leaders of the new French Republic in 1789 concerned about the nature of Church-State relations. Limiting the influence of religion (Roman Catholic Church: RCC) in state affairs reflected the desire and aim of establishing a system of democracy in France that at its core had the concept of secularism known as *Laïcité*, which refers to the absence of religious involvement in government affairs as well as absence of government involvement in religious affairs. *Laïcité* was intended to guarantee

the neutrality of the public sphere from religious influence. *Who Is My Neighbor?: The Laïcité-Islam Encounter in France* looks at some of the key points and outcomes in the encounter between France and Islam to provide a context for exploring the recent legislation banning religious symbols (2004) in certain public places which has had a particular impact on Muslims. This legislation, designed to uphold and protect the secular state in France, is analyzed to ascertain certain notions it presents about Muslims in terms of their place within French society as either neighbor or as the enemy within.

Chapter 3 explores Muslim identity in the multicultural Australian context as linked to the problem of secularization and debates within the literature about the academic study of Islam. The paper's argument (*The Cultural Muslim, Secularization and the Academic Study of Islam*) is contentious in that it takes what it holds to be an "against the grain" position of commonly held views about religious (and Islamic) revivalism. Contrary to this view, Milad Milani contends that secularization is an ongoing process and one that has in multiple ways contributed to the destabilization of religion, both on an institutional level and on a personal/individual level of faith-based practice. Notwithstanding, the persistence of religion is defined in the context of the emergence of a wide-scale response to this destabilization in the form of "projects of modernity." These include the emergence of minority extremism, revivalist movements, new religious movements, spiritualisms, and various forms of individual style worship. Not all are reacting to the secularization process by reorienting religious experience, rather some are instead retaining the cultural value of religious identity but rejecting strict adherence to religious doctrine and rigid enforcement of faith. The emerging phenomenon of the "cultural Muslim," as signaled by Akbarzadeh and Roose (2011), is argued to be a significant by-product of the secularization process, whereby a large proportion of Muslims identify with their faith through their cultural heritage, rather than identifying as practicing Muslims. Chapter 4 unveils the social position of Western Muslims through the case study of New Zealand. As what happened on November 13, 2015 in Paris, or going to Syria and Iraq to fight alongside Daesh against their Western countries' policies and interests, the issue of numerous cases of Western Muslims resorting to violence on behalf of the foreign extremist groups such as al-Qaeda and Daesh (ISIL) in their Western countries of residence, has raised concerns regarding the level and nature of loyalty some Muslims have for their Western societies of citizenship. Mortaza Shams analyses the cultural attitudes of diaspora Muslims and argues that although the majority of Muslims of the West insist that they are proud citizens of their countries and do not see their identity as faithful Muslims incompatible with being good Western citizens, some doubt the genuineness of such claims. Especially, for those who consider membership

the demands of citizenship and the membership of "Ummah (the Islamic community)" is the major focus of concern. As such, due to a perceived contradiction between Ummah and citizenship, Shams reminds that the (assumed) lack of loyalty of Muslims to their Western countries of citizenship is portrayed as a challenge to state sovereignty and even a major security concern.

Part II regards the perspective of Asian religious encounters, forced on the local societies of East Asia as well as transnational reflections. The case studies of China, Korea, and Japan are demonstrated through the four illustrations of "Tibetan Buddhism of China," "Chinese Taoism of Korea," "the political struggle of Catholicism into the Confucian Chosŏn," and "Japanese Tenrikyo of Congo and Nepal." Chapter 5 is the result of an ethnographic work in and around Beijing and Gyalthang in Diqing Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province. *Chinese Tibetan Buddhists and the Confucian Revival in Contemporary China* explores the views of Chinese Tibetan Buddhist informants concerning Confucianism and its place within or separate from their faith. Some of the concerns about, or willingness to accept, the hybridization of Tibetan Buddhism with Confucianism have parallel precedents in both Chinese Buddhist and Tibetan Buddhist historical contexts. Yet, the interpretation of what the Confucian tradition encompasses, while always being in dispute in historical times, has now leant itself to an even wider set of multifaceted meanings in contemporary China, against the backdrop of recent adaptations of Confucian political philosophy under the leadership of the CPC (Community Party of China). These multifaceted definitions of what Confucianism is and embodies in contemporary China are intersecting with the ideas of these middle-class Chinese Tibetan Buddhists. Joshua Esler examines these points of intersection, and shows how they in some ways represent a continuation of historical Confucian-Buddhist interaction, and in other ways are something quite new. Ultimately, he reveals how the willingness of some practitioners to hybridize Confucianism with the Tibetan tradition is reflective of the drive in China, as elsewhere, to make soteriological religion imminent and useful in addressing "this worldly" concerns; alternatively, the hesitation of others to embrace this hybridization implies the concerns of those who feel that the soteriological message of Tibetan Buddhism or Buddhism in general will become weakened due to "worldly" Confucian influence.

Chapter 6 deduces that Chinese Daoism flowed into Korea in the Samguk (Three Kingdoms) period, but it never formed a formal religious body in history. Unlike China where Daoism could have a national authorization, Taoism was transmitted as a non-authorized folk religion in Korea. Especially to the scholar class of the Chosŏn dynasty with a strong Confucian civilization, Taoism was considered a superstitious belief. However, Korean folk Taoism took a big role whenever national crisis occurred. *Narrative*

Hybridity of Folk Daoism and National Religion in Early Twentieth Century Korean Literature elicits the social role of Taoism in the early 20th century when Chosŏn was facing its greatest threat ever by the powers of foreign authorities (France, Great Britain, United States, Russia, Germany, Japan, and China). Which character did the Korean Daoism have under the yoke of imperialism and colonialism? How did the folk Taoism affect the national religion (Confucianism)? Sooyoun Kim demonstrates the literary way to worry about and respond to a new era of the Korean folk Daoism and national religion in 1905–1910 (the patriotic enlightenment period), and argues that old Korean novel under the principle of the “genre tradition of the Korean classic epic” and “Taoist imagination theory” performed as the venue of debate and discussion to suggest a vision for new era.

Similarly, the religious encounter of the Roman Catholic Church within the Confucian (and Buddhist) society of Korea is approached in Chapter 7. *The Silk Letter: A Case of Transcultural Religious Conflict* examines socio-political conflict brought about by an intercepted letter from a Korean to the Western Catholic Bishop in Beijing. The infamous “Silk Letter” (帛書, K. *paeksŏ*) composed by Hwang Sayŏng (1775–1801) is one of the most important documents in Korea’s Catholic Church history. The letter, which was intended for the Catholic bishop in Beijing to inform him of the plight, as well as the growth of Korea’s fledgling Catholic Church, was unfortunately intercepted by the Confucian authorities. These Confucians, threatened by the letter’s explosive contents, used it to validate the arrest, torture, and execution of several hundred early adherents, as well as banish several hundred others into lonely exile in a brutal attempt to eradicate what they considered to be a dangerous heterodox doctrine. Kevin N. Cawley examines Hwang’s letter in detail, highlighting its relevance as a repository of information detailing the transmission and integration of Catholicism into a transcultural society where the Confucian hegemony repressed the religious “other” in whatever form it took: Shamanism, Buddhism, and in this case, Catholicism. It also engages with this text using James H. Grayson’s theory of “implantation,” which describes the process whereby an alien religion is transmitted, taught and spread in a new context—usually by missionaries—but in this case for the most part, without them. The chapter demonstrates how this rather unique religious encounter led to conflict, alteration, and resolution of linguistic and conceptual problems, which in turn led to conversions, ushering in a social transformation that also dared to challenge the “genealogy of morality” reinforced through Confucian laws and threat of punishment.

Midori Horiuchi in chapter 8 offers a transnational perspective in introducing one of the oldest Japanese new religions that is usually regarded as a proselytizing religious organization. According to the Japanese scholar,

through Oyasama, Miki Nakayama, and has spread throughout Japan and worldwide to other countries. By the visit of the Second Shinbashira, Shozen Nakayama, (the Former Head of Tenrikyo) to Brazzaville, capital of Congo in 1960, a mission was started there from 1963. Japanese missionaries subsequently engaged in missionary work; however, the 1990s civil war created a period of absentee Japanese professional missionaries. At about the same time (in the 1960s), a Tenri worker was sent to Kathmandu, Nepal, a country that has a diversity of living religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism. Some Nepali people accepted the teachings of Tenrikyo even though the Tenri person struggled to overcome the cultural shocks. *Japanese Religions Outside of Japan: A Case Study of Tenrikyo in Congo and Nepal*, in term of glocalization, considers the implications of being a Japanese Tenrikyo follower through multicultural contacts of Congo and Nepal.

Part III illustrates alternative religious encounters within ideological subjects of “collision,” “variant,” “cosmology,” and “new religions.” The case studies of a Jewish-Buddhist community and of the early modern Catholic Term controversy are explored together with the encounters of religious alteration and transmission from Mediterranean literature and Afro-Caribbean new religion. In particular, Lionel Obadia (chapter 9) discusses the religious encounters of the Jubus, Jewish converts to Buddhism, claim to be “half-Jew” half-Buddhist. The paper focuses on the tensions existing between juvenile and family education, acquired by transmission, and mature and peer-relationships learning, achieved by means of conversion. The case study of Jewish Buddhists is an example of the tension between inherited and adopted religious cultures. *The Relevance and Limits of “Hybridization” Theory: The Case of Jubus, “Jewish-Buddhists”* depicts Jubus has a majority, as having relinquished their native religion (that is supposed to have had little influence in their life) and have chosen to engage in a “spirituality” which is supposed to “fit” their personal preferences and epitomizes a life the opposite of Judaism: Buddhism. They are trained in new ritual and meditative practices, new values and norms, and they adopt new (universal) ethics against the previous (ethicized) references to a minority community, ritual observances, and exclusive loyalty. Obadia argues that this instruction in Buddhism for (adults) Jews does not erase their Jewish background despite lack of religious education (in childhood). This discreet but persistent foundation of their identity and memory still shapes their worldview.

The Astrological Cosmology of a Gnostic Community in Tchacos Codex (chapter 10) infers the textual transformation of a Gnostic Community, particularly through the astrological figures of the Judas Coptic text. The manuscript, called the *gospel of Judas* was surfaced in 2006 as part of Codex Tchacos. The narrator of *Tchacos Judas* uniquely depicts the powerless host

of the corruptible aeon. The great invisible Spirit dwelling in the great and boundless aeon created a Self-Generated angel as the god of the light. Four angels came into being to be the attendees of the Self-Generated angel who also created Adamas and luminaries. The mystical numerology of 12, (24), 72, and 360 was applied to the luminaries, in accordance with the will of the invisible Spirit. The names of El, Nebro (Yaldabaoth), Saklas, Seth, Galila, Yobel, and Adonaios are representative of the astrological icons, but the figures and roles of the stars are interpreted diversely regarding the fate of human beings. Was the context of the text original or a transmission form from the Mediterranean astrology of Greek, Jewish, or Mesopotamian (including Iranian) lore? How would the mystical Sethian community understand the astrological idea in relation to their faith or fate? David W. Kim argues that the image of Judas's astrology indicates an Egyptian Sethian iconography in the Greco-Roman religious context of cosmological syncretism.

Chapter 11 evinces the contemporary phenomenon of an Afro-Caribbean new religion, Rastafarianism which had its origins in early 20th-century Jamaica of the Caribbean Sea (near Central America). Stephen D. Glazier presumes that the new religion primarily addressed fundamental issues of injustice experienced by people of African descent in the Caribbean and elsewhere. In the mid-20th century, the religion spread from Jamaica to other islands in the Caribbean, Europe, North America, Africa, Brazil, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Fiji, Israel, Japan, and Russia and has also attracted followers among tribal peoples like the Maori of New Zealand and the Hopi in the United States. Glazier especially regards the status of women in the movement. While Rastafarianism had its origins as a religion of protest, the movement today claims many middle-class and wealthy followers. The transformation of Rastafari from a sectarian to a church-like organization seemed inevitable, but in recent years the movement has become more "individualistic." *Worldwide Rastafarianism and Challenges to the Status of the Rasta Women* argues that as the Afro-Jamaican new religion spread outside the Caribbean region, its belief system has become more varied—each new place giving rise to a blending of Jamaican ideas and preexisting local attitudes concerning gender. The final chapter (chapter 12) addresses the Roman Catholic Church's struggle to adopt a local Chinese term for the meaning of the Christian God from the 16th century. Daniel S. H. Ahn assumes that no issue has been more controversial in the history of Christian missions in China than translating the name of God into vernacular languages, known as the Term Question, since the progress of Christian missions has essentially depended on the ability of indigenous people to acknowledge the Christian God in terms that made sense within their traditional worldview. The Term Question first emerged among the Roman Catholic missions from 1637 to

the Chinese Confucian deity, Shangti (上帝: the Supreme Lord of the Confucianism), initiated by the Jesuits Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in 1603, or a neologism, T'ienzhu (天主: the Lord of Heaven), coined by the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans. This paper (*Deus and Shangti: Chinese Rites Controversy*) argues that the term Shangti played a significant role in growth of the early Chinese churches because, in Chinese's view, Shangti is situated at the hierarchical structure of gods and spirits as the highest being, so the resonance of this term was uniquely suited to pave the way for an understanding of the monotheistic God of Christianity as being distinctively Chinese as well as universal. Ahn also mentions the role of Matteo Ricci who adopted the term Shangti in the *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*. It was seen as a link between the Chinese religious culture and the imported Christian faith, prompting an effective transition for the Chinese people from the indigenous notion of god, Shangti, to that of Christian image.

Ultimately, the chapters of this book demonstrate the various cases of religious encounters in many culturally different societies in the form of collision, alteration, or transmission. The Islamic encounters with regional religions (France, Australia, and New Zealand) or (Western) cultures, are not seen in a positive perspective, for lack of information was exchanged between Muslims and local Western authorities or people. The cross-cultural illustrations, such as Tibetan Buddhism of China, Chinese Taoism of Korea, the transmission of Catholicism into the Confucian Chosŏn, and Japanese Tenrikyo of Congo and Nepal, reflected the concept of religio-cultural hybridity that the East Asian religious encounters experienced opposite religious powers when they relocated into other culture where there were already indigenous religions deeply rooted into mind of local people. The religious subjects of cosmology and new religion, with the cultural differences of between Catholicism and Chinese, and of between European Jews and Asian Buddhism, depicted the religious concepts of transformation, torment, and development in order to survive in the new environment of each region and each era. Thus, this book evokes the fact that religious encounters exist in every transcultural society even though they often remain behind socio-cultural issues. The situation can be changed, but one culture cannot harmoniously and always contain two or multiple beliefs. The issue of religious encounters mostly arises in the transnational process of religious globalization.

NOTES

1. Stephanie Mitchem, "Religious Encounters, Communities of Conversation," *Cross Currents* 57, 3 (Fall, 2007): 320–24.
2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Amy Hamser, *Through Service Encounters: Class, Gender, and the Market for Social Distinction in Urban China* (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).
6. Hamlet A. Gevorkian, "The Concept of Encounter of Cultures in the Philosophy of History: Problems and Solutions," <https://www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Cult/CultGevo.htm>, accessed on October 17, 2015.
7. Further, Cross-cultural encounters have taken place throughout history in all parts of the world. They involve contacts and interactions of various types, whether peaceful or violent, between people from different backgrounds.
8. Daniel A. Scalberg, "The Franch-Amerindian Religious Encounter in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century New France," *French Colonial History* 1 (2002): 101–12.
9. Scalberg, "The Franch-Amerindian Religious Encounter in Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth-Century New France," 107.
10. Seforosa Carroll, "Reimagining Home: A Diasporic Perspective on Encounters with the Religious Other in Australia," in *Asian and Oceanic Christianities in Conversation: Exploring Theological Identities at Home and in Diaspora*, ed. Heup Young Kim, Fumitaka Matsuoka and Anri Morimoto (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2011), 169–81.
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